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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 75--80th Congress

Chapter 81--1st Session

S. 938

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Digest of Public Law 75	1
Index and Summary of History on S. 938	2

DIGEST OF PUBLIC LAW 75

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY. Authorizes the President to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey through financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise; detailing Government employees to those countries; providing for transfer to, and procurement for, those countries of articles, services, and information, and the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; etc. Authorizes appropriation of \$400,000, 000 and advances for RFC, to be repaid from the appropriations. Permits allocation of such funds to Government departments and agencies, and prohibits any department or agency from furnishing articles or services to those countries under the act unless it receives advances or reimbursements out of such allocation.

INDEX AND SUMMARY OF HISTORY ON S. 938

March 18, 1947	H. R. 2616 was introduced by Rep. Eaton and was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Print of the bill as introduced. (Companion Bill).
March 19, 1947	S. 938 was introduced by Senator Vandenberg and was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Print of the bill as introduced.
March 20, 1947	Hearings: House, H. R. 2616.
March 24, 1947	Hearings: Senate, S. 938.
March 27, 1947	Amendments intended to be proposed by Senators Ball, and Lodge. Prints of the amendments.
March 28, 1947	Amendments intended to be proposed by Senator Johnson. Prints of the amendments.
March 31, 1947	Amendments intended to be proposed by Senators Lodge, Murray, and Vandenberg. Prints of the amendments.
April 3, 1947	Senate Committee reported S. 938 with amendments. S. Rept. 90. Print of the bill as reported.
April 7, 1947	Amendment intended to be proposed by Senator Vandenberg. Print of the amendment.
April 8, 1947	Senate began debate on S. 938.
April 9, 1947	Senate debate continued.
April 10, 1947	Senate debate continued. Amendment intended to be proposed by Senator Johnson. Print of the amendment.
April 11, 1947	Senate debate continued. Amendments intended to be proposed by Senators Baldwin and Johnson. Prints of the amendments.
April 15, 1947	Senate debate continued. Extension of remarks of Representatives Twyman, Cole, Bender, and Celler.
April 16, 1947	Senate debate continued. Amendments intended to be proposed by Senator Murray. Prints of the amendments.

April 17, 1947	Senate debate continued. Extension of remarks of Senator Myers, and Rep. Smith.
April 18, 1947	Senate debate continued.
April 21, 1947	Senate debate continued. Extension of remarks of Senators McMahon, Stewart, Johnson, and Morse. Amendments intended to be proposed by Senators Pepper, and Vandenberg. Prints of the amendments.
April 22, 1947	Senate debate concluded. S. 938 passed Senate with amendments. Extension of remarks of Senator Johnson and Representatives Sanborn, and Harris
April 25, 1947	House Committee reported H. R. 2616 with amendments. House Report 314. Print of the bill as reported. Extension of remarks of Senator Brooks and Rep. Bender.
May 2, 1947	House Rules Committee reported H. Res. 205 for the consideration of H. R. 2616. Extension of remarks of Rep. Minshaw.
May 6, 1947	House debate began on H. R. 2616. Extension of remarks of Reps. Buchanan, Jarman, Mason, Reed, and Twyman.
May 7, 1947	House debate continued.
May 8, 1947	House debate continued. Extension of remarks of Reps. Corbett, Scott, Smith, and Fulton.
May 9, 1947	House debate concluded. S. 938 passed House with the language of H. R. 2616.
May 13, 1947	House and Senate Conferees appointed. House received the Conference Report. House Rept. 377.
May 15, 1947	House and Senate agreed to the Conference Report. Extension of remarks of Reps. Case, Smith, and Potts.
May 22, 1947	Approved. Public Law 75.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2616

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 18, 1947

Mr. EATON introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the
4 President may from time to time when he deems it in the
5 interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and
6 Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms
7 and conditions determined by him——

8 (1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans,
9 credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

10 (2) by detailing to assist those countries any per-
11 sons in the employ of the Government of the United

1 States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938
2 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel
3 detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be
4 applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this para-
5 graph;

6 (3) by detailing a limited number of members of
7 the military services of the United States to assist those
8 countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the pro-
9 visions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565),
10 as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to
11 such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel
12 detailed pursuant to this paragraph; and

13 (4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the
14 procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the
15 transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and
16 information, and (B) the instruction and training of
17 personnel of those countries.

18 SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction
19 Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the
20 appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may
21 be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act, and
22 any necessary expenses related thereto, to any depart-
23 ment, agency, or independent establishment of the Govern-
24 ment. Any amount so allocated shall be available as

1 advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the
2 option of the department, agency, or independent establish-
3 ment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or
4 accounts existing or established by it for the purpose.

5 (b) Whenever the President requires payment in ad-
6 vance by the government of Greece or of Turkey for assist-
7 ance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with
8 this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to
9 accounts for such countries established for the purpose. Sums
10 from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments,
11 agencies, or independent establishments of the Government
12 which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in
13 the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the
14 same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of
15 this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as
16 reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

17 (c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under sub-
18 section (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement,
19 the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering
20 into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which
21 the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year.
22 Where the head of any department, agency, or independent
23 establishment of the Government determines that replace-
24 ment of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4)

1 (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in
2 payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as mis-
3 cellaneous receipts.

4 (d) (1) Payment in advance by the government of
5 Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for
6 any articles or services furnished to such country under para-
7 graph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from
8 funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
9 under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under author-
10 ity of section 4 (b).

11 (2) No department, agency, or independent establish-
12 ment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services
13 under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or
14 Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements
15 therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this
16 section.

17 SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
18 assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting
19 such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of
20 United States Government officials for the purpose of observ-
21 ing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in
22 accordance with the undertakings of the recipient govern-
23 ment; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio
24 of the United States to observe freely and to report fully
25 regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to

1 transfer, without the consent of the President of the United
2 States, title to or possession of any article or information
3 transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such
4 consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of
5 any such information by or to anyone not an officer, em-
6 ployee, or agent of the recipient government; and (d) to
7 make such provisions as may be required by the President
8 of the United States for the security of any article, service,
9 or information received pursuant to this Act.

10 SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any
11 other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is au-
12 thorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation
13 shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section,
14 to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,-
15 000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such
16 manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

17 (b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to
18 the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the
19 provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under
20 this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction
21 Finance Corporation the advances made by it under sub-
22 section (a) of this section.

23 SEC. 5. The President may from time to time pre-
24 scribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and
25 proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2616

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

By Mr. EATON

MARCH 18, 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs



80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 19 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947

Mr. VANDENBERG (by request) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the
4 President may from time to time when he deems it in the
5 interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and
6 Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms
7 and conditions determined by him—

8 (1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans,
9 credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

10 (2) by detailing to assist those countries any per-
11 sons in the employ of the Government of the United

1 States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938
2 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel
3 detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be
4 applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this para-
5 graph;

6 (3) by detailing a limited number of members of
7 the military services of the United States to assist those
8 countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the pro-
9 visions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565),
10 as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to
11 such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel
12 detailed pursuant to this paragraph; and

13 (4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the
14 procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the
15 transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and
16 information, and (B) the instruction and training of
17 personnel of those countries.

18 SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction
19 Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the
20 appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may
21 be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act, and
22 any necessary expenses related thereto, to any depart-
23 ment, agency, or independent establishment of the Govern-
24 ment. Any amount so allocated shall be available as
25 advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at

1 the option of the department, agency, or independent estab-
2 lishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or
3 accounts existing or established by it for the purpose.

4 (b) Whenever the President requires payment in ad-
5 vance by the government of Greece or of Turkey for assist-
6 ance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with
7 this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to
8 accounts for such countries established for the purpose.
9 Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the depart-
10 ments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Gov-
11 ernment which furnish the assistance for which payment
12 is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and
13 credited in the same manner, as allocations made under sub-
14 section (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation
15 not used as reimbursement shall remain available until
16 expended.

17 (c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under sub-
18 section (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement,
19 the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering
20 into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which
21 the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year.
22 Where the head of any department, agency, or independent
23 establishment of the Government determines that replace-
24 ment of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4)
25 (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in

1 payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as
2 miscellaneous receipts.

3 (d) (1) Payment in advance by the government of
4 Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for
5 any articles or services furnished to such country under para-
6 graph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from
7 funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
8 under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under
9 authority of section 4 (b).

10 (2) No department, agency, or independent establish-
11 ment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services
12 under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or
13 Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements
14 therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of
15 this section.

16 SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
17 assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting
18 such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of
19 United States Government officials for the purpose of observ-
20 ing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in
21 accordance with the undertakings of the recipient govern-
22 ment; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio
23 of the United States to observe freely and to report fully
24 regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to
25 transfer, without the consent of the President of the United

1 States, title to or possession of any article or information
2 transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such
3 consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of
4 any such information by or to anyone not an officer, em-
5 ployee, or agent of the recipient government; and (d) to
6 make such provisions as may be required by the President
7 of the United States for the security of any article, service,
8 or information received pursuant to this Act.

9 SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any
10 other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is au-
11 thorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation
12 shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section,
13 to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,-
14 000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such
15 manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

16 (b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to
17 the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the
18 provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under
19 this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction
20 Finance Corporation the advances made by it under sub-
21 section (a) of this section.

22 SEC. 5. The President may from time to time pre-
23 scribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and
24 proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and
25 he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon

1 him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency,
2 independent establishment, or officer of the Government as
3 he shall direct.

4 SEC. 6. The President shall submit to the Congress
5 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
6 authority of this Act.

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

By Mr. VANDENBERG

MARCH 19 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947
Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations



80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BALL to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

1 Beginning with line 22 on page 5 strike out down
2 through and including line 6 on page 6, and insert in lieu
3 thereof the following:

4 “SEC. 5. (a) The President is authorized and directed
5 to appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the
6 Senate, a Commissioner for Aid to Greece and a Commis-
7 sioner for Aid to Turkey. Each such Commissioner shall
8 serve at the pleasure of the President and shall be paid com-
9 pensation at the rate of \$ per annum.

10 “(b) The Commissioner for Aid to Greece and the

1 Commissioner for Aid to Turkey shall have responsibility,
2 under rules and regulations prescribed by the President, for
3 the administration of the aid authorized by this Act to be
4 furnished by the President to Greece and Turkey,
5 respectively.

6 “(c) Funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance
7 Corporation under section 4 (a) and funds appropriated
8 under section 4 (b) shall be available to pay the salaries
9 and necessary expenses of the Commissioners appointed under
10 this section and of their appropriate staffs, including personal
11 services in the District of Columbia and elsewhere without
12 regard to the civil-service and classification laws; travel
13 expenses without regard to the Standardized Government
14 Travel Regulations, as amended, the Subsistence Expense
15 Act of 1926, as amended, and section 10 of the Act of
16 March 3, 1933, and, under such rules and regulations as
17 the President shall prescribe, travel expenses of families
18 and transportation of effects of such Commissioners and
19 members of their staffs in going to and returning from their
20 posts of duty; allowances for living quarters, including heat,
21 fuel, and light, as authorized by the Act approved June 26,
22 1930 (U. S. C., title 5, sec. 118a); cost-of-living allowance
23 under such rules as the President may prescribe; communica-
24 tions services; stenographic reporting, translating, and other
25 services, by contract, if deemed necessary, without regard

1 to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 5,
2 sec. 5) ; local transportation of things; rent of offices; printing
3 and binding; official entertainment; stationery; purchase of
4 newspapers, periodicals, books, and documents; and such
5 other expenses as may be authorized by the President.

6 "SEC. 6. The Commissioners for Aid to Greece and
7 Turkey, respectively, shall submit to the Congress quarterly
8 reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this
9 Act."

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BAIL to the bill
(S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece
and Turkey.

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938) to
provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

1 On page 4, line 16, after "SEC. 3." insert "(1)"; and
2 on page 5, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:

3 “(2) As a further condition precedent to the receipt
4 of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid under
5 paragraph (1) of section 1, the government requesting such
6 aid shall agree not to use any part of the proceeds thereof
7 for the making of any payment on account of the principal
8 or interest on any loan made to such government by any
9 other foreign government.”

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Lodge to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 4, line 16, after "SEC. 3." insert "(1)";
2 and on page 5, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:
3 "() Any government furnished assistance under this
4 Act shall agree to undertake within days after the
5 enactment thereof a bona fide effort through taxation to
6 support its own national reconstruction, rehabilitation, and
7 economy; and such government shall further undertake
8 within such period to graduate the rates of any taxes im-
9 posed by such government upon the incomes of its nationals
10 in such a manner as to insure that the appropriate burden of

1 taxation is borne by those taxpayers with the greatest ability
2 to pay. The quarterly report required by section 6 shall
3 include a statement of the progress of such government in
4 effectuating the provisions of this paragraph.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Lodge to the
bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

1 SEC. 7: There is hereby created in the Department of
2 State an office to be known as the Administrator of Greek
3 and Turkish Aid. The Administrator shall be appointed by
4 the President by and with the advice and consent of the
5 Senate, shall be paid compensation at the rate of \$
6 per annum, and shall perform, under the general supervision
7 and direction of the Secretary of State, such functions relating
8 to the administration of this Act as the President shall
9 prescribe.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Lodge to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 27 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out "and Turkey".
- 2 On page 1, line 6, strike out "their governments" and
- 3 insert in lieu thereof "its government".
- 4 On page 1, line 9, strike out "those countries" and
- 5 insert in lieu thereof "such country".
- 6 On page 1, line 10, strike out "those countries" and
- 7 insert in lieu thereof "such country".
- 8 On page 2, lines 7 and 8, strike out "those countries"
- 9 and insert in lieu thereof "such country".

1 On page 2, line 15, strike out "those countries" and
2 insert in lieu thereof "such country".

3 On page 2, line 17, strike out "those countries" and
4 insert in lieu thereof "such country".

5 On page 3, line 5, strike out "or of Turkey".

6 On page 3, line 6, strike out "countries" and insert in
7 lieu thereof "country".

8 On page 3, line 8, strike out "countries" and insert in
9 lieu thereof "country".

10 On page 4, line 4, strike out "or of Turkey".

11 On page 4, lines 12 and 13, strike out "to either Greece
12 or Turkey".

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to provide for
assistance to Greece."

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of
Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for
assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

1 SEC. . As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
2 assistance pursuant to this Act, the Government requesting
3 such assistance shall agree (a) to abolish within ninety days
4 all hereditary offices and titles under such government; (b)
5 to hold within ninety days free and democratic elections for
6 the purpose of determining the chief executive officer of such
7 government and the membership of its legislative body and to
8 grant prior to such elections universal suffrage for all persons
9 over the age of twenty-one; (c) to afford to all political
10 parties full opportunity to participate and engage in election

- 1 activities prior to the holding of such elections; and (d) to
2 grant immediate amnesty to all political opponents of the
3 persons or parties in control of the government requesting
4 such assistance.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill
(S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey,
viz: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

1 SEC. . (a) Nothing in this Act shall be construed
2 to imply that the Government of the United States has
3 adopted as its policy in international affairs (a) intervention
4 in civil strife, civil war, or political conflicts in foreign coun-
5 tries; or (b) unilateral action, either now or in the future,
6 in disregard of its obligations to the United Nations.

7 (b) The Congress hereby reaffirms the basic policy of
8 the United States to bring before the United Nations all
9 economic, political, or military conditions which may
10 endanger the peace of the world.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

- 1 SEC. . As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
2 loan pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such
3 loan shall (a) register with the United States Treasury
4 Department all holdings of gold held by such government,
5 and by the nationals of such government, both at home and
6 abroad; (b) register with the United States Treasury De-
7 partment all foreign assets, stocks, bonds, or other holdings,
8 of such government and of the nationals of such government;
9 (c) make public the full foreign and domestic indebtedness

1 of such government; and (d) relegate all foreign indebted-
2 ness of such government to a subordinate position to the
3 indebtedness incurred pursuant to this Act.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST Session

S. 938

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of
Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for
assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

1 On page 1, line 5, after the word "furnish" insert
2 "nonmilitary".

3 On page 1, line 9, after the semicolon, insert "and".

4 On page 2, line 5, strike out the semicolon and insert
5 in lieu thereof a period.

6 Beginning on page 2, line 6, strike out all down to and
7 including line 15 on page 4.

8 On page 4, line 16, strike out "3" and insert in lieu
9 thereof "2".

10 On page 5, line 9, strike out "4" and insert in lieu

1 thereof "3".

2 On page 5, line 22, strike out "5" and insert in lieu
3 thereof "4".

4 On page 6, line 4, strike out "6" and insert in lieu
5 thereof "5".

Amend the title so as to read: "A bill to provide for
nonmilitary assistance to Greece and Turkey."

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of
Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for
assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 28 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 4, line 16, after "SEC. 3.", insert "(1)";
- 2 On page 5, between lines 8 and 9, insert the following:
- 3 "() No assistance shall be furnished under this Act
- 4 which shall have the object (a) of promoting the continu-
- 5 ance or expansion of any totalitarian purpose or goal,
- 6 whether communistic or fascistic; or (b) of rejecting the
- 7 proposition that individuals have inalienable rights and must
- 8 be both free and the masters of their government."

80TH CONGRESS
1ST Session

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Lodge to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 5, line 5, strike out the word "and".
- 2 On page 5, before the period in line 8, insert a semicolon
- 3 and the following: "and (e) not to use any part of the pro-
- 4 ceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid
- 5 rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any pay-
- 6 ment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made
- 7 to such government by any other foreign government".

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Lodge to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (Legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the amendments
(relating to taxation) intended to be proposed by Mr.
LODGE to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 1, line 5, after the word "taxation" insert the
- 2 following: " , the stabilization of prices, control of exports
- 3 and imports; and internal reform of its fiscal system and
- 4 governmental budget,".

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the amendments (relating to taxation) intended to be proposed by Mr. LODGE to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG (for himself and Mr. CONNALLY) to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: Strike out the whereas clause beginning in the sixth line on page 2 of said amendment, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has recently completed a thorough survey of the food, agricultural, and other needs of Greece; has published its recommendations for immediate and long-term aid, both of financial and technical assistance; has urged that Greece request such assistance from the United Nations and from the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization is sending a small mission into Greece at the request of the Greek Government to continue assistance to Greece; and

Whereas this effort on the part of an important unit of the

United Nations is indicative of the continuing interest and responsibility of the United Nations for aid to Greece and a willingness to accept that responsibility as an obligation of the United Nations; and.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG (for himself and Mr. CONNALLY) to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the
end of the bill add a new section reading as follows:

1 SEC. . There is hereby established a joint congres-
2 sional committee to be composed of three members of the
3 Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representa-
4 tives, to be appointed by the Speaker, and three members
5 of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, to
6 be appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate,
7 which shall not less than twice a year during the period
8 this Act is in effect visit the countries receiving assistance
9 hereunder, and shall make full reports to the Congress and
10 the American people as to the administration of this Act,
11 current problems, and prospective conditions in such coun-
12 tries, to the extent that the interests of the United States
13 may be affected.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the
end of the bill insert the following new section:

- 1 SEC. . In the enactment of this Act the United States
2 undertakes to perform certain activities on behalf of Greece
3 and Turkey which are emergency measures only, with the
4 full realization that they are a continuing responsibility of
5 the United Nations, for which that International Organization
6 should be made ready with the utmost expedition.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
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80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the
end of the bill insert the following new section:

1 SEC. . (a) An agreement shall be signed between the
2 United States and each government applying for assistance
3 under the provisions of this Act, which shall commit such
4 government to the acceptance of aid in full conformity with
5 the provisions of this Act before any steps shall be taken to
6 carry out its terms. Such agreement shall be made public,
7 and a copy filed with the United Nations.

8 (b) The agreement shall clearly set forth the condition
9 that the recipient government shall make available to the
10 Economic Mission every possible facility necessary in carry-

1 ing out the mission's work under its own leadership, direction,
2 and control.

3 (c) When direct relief is furnished under the terms of
4 such agreement to destitute persons, it must be provided
5 without regard to any consideration other than their need.

6 (d) Essential consumers goods furnished under the
7 terms of this Act shall be distributed according to plans
8 worked out by the Economic Mission which shall have full
9 responsibility to insure that their distribution is equitable,
10 according to need, and on terms and in such manner as
11 provides the widest distribution of these goods amongst
12 the people.

13 (e) Noncompliance with any provision of the agree-
14 ment by the recipient country, or the existence of any
15 condition which prevents the mission from carrying out its
16 work effectively, may be considered by the Administrator
17 or his mission chief as sufficient cause to discontinue the
18 distribution of goods and performance of services in the
19 entire country or any part of it.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

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80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the
end of the bill add a new section 7 reading as follows:

1 SEC. 7. (a) The Administrator shall establish economic
2 missions, staffed by persons of professional and technical
3 competence who, after careful investigation, are found to be
4 loyal American citizens. One such mission shall operate for
5 Greece and one for Turkey. Each such mission shall be
6 directly responsible to the Administrator in the discharge of
7 its duties, and under no circumstances shall the Administrator
8 or the mission in carrying out their duties under this Act
9 be subject to the administrative control of the countries
10 in which they work.

1 (b) Each economic mission shall be of such numbers
2 and technical composition as the Administrator deems neces-
3 sary to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act.

4 (c) The Administrator is authorized to employ and fix
5 the compensation of such officers and employees as may be
6 necessary to enable him to carry out his duties, without
7 regard to the provisions of other laws applicable to the
8 employment and compensation of officers and employees of
9 the United States.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

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80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: Beginning in line 22, strike out through line 6 on page 6 and insert in lieu thereof the following:

1 SEC. 6. (a) The program developed under the provi-
2 sions of this Act, and the funds appropriated for such
3 program, shall be administered under the direct supervision
4 and control of an Administrator appointed by the President,
5 by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. All
6 departments, bureaus, and other agencies in the executive
7 branch of the Government having any part in carrying out
8 the provisions of this Act shall do so in accordance with the
9 program developed by the Administrator. The Adminis-

1 trator shall be advised in formulating this program and
2 carrying out its administration by the Secretary of State,
3 the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secre-
4 tary of Commerce, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

5 (b) All functions, powers, and duties conferred upon
6 the Administrator by this Act shall be exercised under the
7 direction and control of the President.

8 (c) The President may, for security reasons, exercise
9 any power or authority conferred on him or the Adminis-
10 tration pursuant to this Act through any department, bureau,
11 or other agency in the executive branch of the Government.

12 (d) The President shall submit to the Congress detailed
13 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under the
14 authority of this Act.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. Murray to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: On
page 5, after line 22, insert a new section reading as follows:

1 SEC. 5. Of the sum allocated for Greece, not less than
2 \$ shall be used for foodstuffs, clothing, medicines,
3 and similar essential consumers goods for relief of destitute
4 people, but not any consumer goods of a luxury or unessen-
5 tial character, which may be distributed through relief or
6 other channels of distribution; not more than \$ for
7 the rehabilitation of agriculture, industry, communications,
8 and transport, through the purchase of tools and equipment,
9 repairs, installation and operation, technical aid and super-
10 vision; and not more than \$ for other aids, includ-
11 ing, but not limited to, the maintenance of order and quelling
12 of riots and insurrections.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
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S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

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AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 5, line 21, after the period insert the following:
- 2 “Not to exceed \$250,000,000 of the \$400,000,000 shall be
- 3 available to carry out the provisions of this Act with re-
- 4 spect to Greece; and not to exceed \$150,000,000 shall be
- 5 available to carry out the provisions of this Act with respect
- 6 to Turkey.”

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
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S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the proper place in the bill insert the following:

- 1 SEC. . The President is directed to withdraw any or
2 all aid authorized herein under any of the following circum-
3 stances: (1) If requested by any government of Greece or
4 Turkey representing a majority of the people of either such
5 nation; (2) if requested by a procedural vote in the Security
6 Council or a majority vote in the General Assembly of the
7 United Nations; (3) if the President finds that the purposes
8 of the Act have been substantially accomplished or are
9 incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG to
the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
Greece and Turkey.

MARCH 31 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
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DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Legislative Reports and Service Section
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 4, 1947
For actions of April 3, 1947
80th-1st, No. 63

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	3	Foreign affairs.....	1,10	Prices, farm.....	5,14
Adjournment.....	4,6	Forests and forestry.....	9	Quarantine, plant.....	8
Buildings and grounds...	7	Health.....	10	School-lunch program.....	12
Crop insurance.....	3	Nominations.....	2	Soil conservation.....	15
Dairy industry.....	5	Personnel.....	11	Wool.....	13

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported Greece-Turkey aid bill. Senate received GAO audit report on FCIC and USDA answers to exceptions. Rep. St. George criticized Government in connection with milk-price reductions in N.Y.

SENATE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Foreign Relations Committee reported with amendments S. 938, to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey (S. Rept. 90)(p. 3212).
2. NOMINATION. Continued debate on the Lilienthal nomination (pp. 3177-212).
3. FCIC AUDIT. Received the GAO audit report on FCIC, together with a USDA answer to exceptions taken; to Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee (p. 3177).
4. RECESSED until Mon., Apr. 7 (p. 3213).

HOUSE

5. DAIRY PRICES. Rep. St. George, N.Y., criticized the Government in connection with the reduction of milk prices in the N.Y. area (pp. 3219-20).
6. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 7 (p. 3223).

BILLS INTRODUCED

7. BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS. H.R. 2955, by Rep. Reeves, Mo., authorizing and directing the Commissioner of Public Buildings to determine the fair market value of the Fidelity Building in Kansas City, Mo., and to receive bids for the purchase thereof. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3223) In introducing the bill Rep. Reeves criticized the Government's purchase of the building which he claims is unsuitable for Government occupancy and badly needed for private office space (pp. 3217-9).
8. PLANT QUARANTINE. H.R. 2950, by Rep. Hope, Kans., "to amend the Plant Quarantine Act." To Agriculture Committee. (p. 3223.)

9. NATIONAL FORESTS. H.R. 2957, by Rep. Zimmerman, Mo., to establish a National Memorial Forest Park in Missouri as a memorial to World War II veterans. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3223.)
10. HEALTH; FOREIGN AFFAIRS. S. J. Res. 98, by Sen. Vandenberg, Mich. (for himself and Sen. Connally, Tex.), providing for membership and participation by the U.S. in the World Health Organization and authorizing an appropriation therefor. To Foreign Relations Committee. (p. 3179.)
11. PERSONNEL. H.R. 2909 (see Digest 61) amends the Terminal Leave Act so as to provide for payroll deductions for income tax from lump-sum payment for accumulated or accrued annual leave upon separation from the service, and deletes the provision requiring refunds in cases of reemployment in the Federal Government.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

12. SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM. Rep. Jones, N.C., inserted his recent radio interview favoring this program (p. A1576).
13. WOOL. Sen. Lodge, Mass., inserted a Wall Street Journal article "Worried Wool Men" (p. A1566).
14. FOOD PRICES. Rep. Price, Ill., inserted a Granite City (Ill.) Press-Record article on increased bread prices (p. A1562).
15. SOIL CONSERVATION. Rep. Trimble, Ark., inserted letters and statistics from Yellville and Clinton (Ark.) Conservation Committees on soil conservation programs in that area (pp. A1560-2).

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COMMITTEE-HEARING ANNOUNCEMENT for Apr. 4: H. Public Lands, Mineral Resources Division. For Apr. 11: H. Agriculture, regulation of marketing of rotenticides, weed killers, pest-control devices, etc. (Harry Reed).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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last year by the TVA under the prices at which it could be manufactured by private industry. Two million dollars' worth of it was given away. Much of it went to my State. Some of those who received it called themselves Tennessee Valley farmers, and they came down to testify for Mr. Lilienthal. They approached me about it.

Let me say also—and I am picking up some of the loose ends as we conclude—that the presentation made to the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] a while ago that this is a fight between the private citizens and the great power companies and power resources of the United States is the most unfounded assumption that I have yet heard stated in this debate. I told this body last Friday that only one great utility man had approached me. Others came before the committee, but only one approached me—taking 2 hours of my time at my home last Sunday to tell me that it is necessary for the good of the Republican Party to endorse and confirm Mr. Lilienthal. He is a representative of one of the greatest power companies or holding companies in this country. He is the only one to approach me, the only man who has talked to me about the power issue in this case.

In the second place, I think we should ask the question, Does Mr. Lilienthal possess the ability to work harmoniously with the Congress and with the departments of the Government? We have already heard, here, enough discussion to convince anyone that there is serious question as to whether Mr. Lilienthal will work along with the Congress of the United States. I could not help but think there was serious question as I listened to the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], whom I greatly admire, as he spoke of the difficulties he had had, in his responsible place in the Senate, with Mr. Lilienthal; and that testimony can be confirmed by that of almost everyone else who, in serving on the committees either in this body or in the House of Representatives, has had contact with Mr. Lilienthal.

Then, finally, let us consider whether this man has the desire and ability to choose capable and loyal personnel to carry out the will of our people, as expressed in the law. There has been a great deal of discussion about the records, about the exhaustiveness of the committee's investigation, and about what is in the record and what is not in the record. I read into the RECORD of this body last week the story about those in permanent places in the Commission who have been appointed at salaries far above the level of the salaries for similar positions in other departments or branches of the Government—among them the attorney who at the end of 2 years will draw more than the Solicitor General of the United States, and the comptroller of this organization, who will draw more money than the Comptroller General of the United States.

I also pictured here the character of employees who have been gathered together by Mr. Lilienthal to aid him in carrying out this most responsible task. I know of the Wisconsin incident which,

last night, turned into quite a Wisconsin affair before it was finally finished. There is no explanation of it except the one which was given by the senior Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] today. I remember it because I was a member of the Ohio Utilities Commission at the same time, and I know the discussion which went on among the membership. I know it was not common practice, either, for a utilities commissioner to carry along with him a publicity expert under the guise of a truck inspector. That was not common practice among the utilities commissioners in that day. But it was practiced by Mr. Lilienthal on the Wisconsin commission.

Let us pass over the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and consider the employees of the great Tennessee Valley Authority. There is no question that there was Communist activity there; there is no doubt that there were radical influences that hurt, and that they occurred from the top down—not solely among the adolescents who came before the committee to testify. I should like to see that question, too, gone into thoroughly by this committee of the Senate.

Then we asked for reports on the employees in the Atomic Energy Commission field. We got nine. There were only three or four of them that had anything pertinent or of interest. We asked for more, and 20 of them came. Six were sent back because they were not in the nature of a report at all. Then, out of the 23, 5 were analyzed—not by me, but by one of the employees of the committee. His report I also presented to the Senate last week. It contained the names of five men. One of them, a Mr. Burling, is reported to have given secret information from the files of the department of the Government in which he was employed at one time. That should be a red flag; yet the committee made no further investigation of that, and it would not have been called to the attention of the Senate or to the attention of any of us if we had not insisted upon seeing those files. I insisted at that hour, Mr. President, that they be made a part of the record, but that request was denied because it was said they were confidential files. I also asked that an attorney be appointed to investigate them, but that request was also denied because of the time that would be consumed. I asked further, then, that a synopsis of the record of those employees be included in the record, so that the Senate might know the character of the men Mr. Lilienthal has gathered about him to carry on this very great public responsibility.

I mention Herbert Marks; he has been a subject of much discussion. I wondered, as the record was made, why so much was brought into the record in regard to Herbert Marks. He was not a candidate for one of these positions; he was not before us as a nominee to be considered by the Senate. Yet when this record is studied, it reveals that the Navy of the United States turned him down as a candidate for a commission because he was not acceptable for a commission in the Navy of the United States.

Under those circumstances, I say to you, Mr. President, that he has no business dealing with atomic energy and atomic bombs, if the Navy of the United States has turned him down because of his radical and left-wing associations.

O, Mr. President, I could go on through the list to the three others who were just as bad. One of them was a man who scratched out, in an application for a passport, the words that he would defend the Constitution of the United States, and he qualified it by writing in, "as far as my conscience will permit."—I ask that that matter be sent back to the committee, to have it determine whether that man had a conscientious religious belief against taking the oath.

Mr. President, I consider the approaching vote to be one of the most serious votes I shall ever cast in the Senate. We need more information. This committee can get it if it goes at the job and casts aside a lot of the trivial things that we have spent 6 weeks upon.

I wish to say to the Senate, in the words of General Washington before the Battle of Trenton:

This is the time, this is the night, to put only Americans on guard—no French, no allies.

Mr. President, this is the time and the hour to put only true, trusted, patriotic Americans on guard of this, the most precious asset which a free people perhaps ever had in the history of time. Let us not use men who are questionable, who are pink, who will gather about them others who are not thorough-going Americans, men about whom there is any doubt at all. Let us not use men who will change a record to win a case.

Mr. President, this motion should be sustained by the Senate; and I am sure that when the committee concludes its investigations, the Senate will open its eyes to the seriousness of our responsibility.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska, who has the floor.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER rose.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Iowa?

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Eastland	Knowland
Baldwin	Eaton	Langer
Ball	Ellender	Lodge
Barkley	Ferguson	Lucas
Brewster	Flanders	McCarran
Bricker	Fulbright	McClellan
Bridges	George	McFarland
Brooks	Green	McGrath
Buck	Gurney	McKellar
Bushfield	Hatch	McMahon
Butler	Hawkes	Magnuson
Byrd	Hayden	Malone
Cain	Hickenlooper	Martin
Capehart	Hill	Maybank
Capper	Hoey	Millikin
Chavez	Holland	Moore
Connally	Ives	Morse
Cooper	Jenner	Murray
Donnell	Johnson, Colo.	Myers
Downey	Kem	O'Connor
Dworshak	Kilgore	O'Daniel

Overton	Stewart	Wagner
Pepper	Taft	Watkins
Reed	Taylor	Wherry
Revercomb	Thomas, Okla.	White
Robertson, Va.	Thomas, Utah	Wiley
Robertson, Wyo.	Thye	Williams
Russell	Tobey	Wilson
Saltonstall	Tydings	Young
Smith	Umstead	
Sparkman	Vandenberg	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Ninety-one Senators having responded to the roll call, a quorum is present.

By unanimous-consent agreement, the hour has been reached when debate is concluded, and the question now before the Senate is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] to recommit to the Senate members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, with certain instructions, the nominations of David Lilienthal and others to be members of the Atomic Energy Commission, together with the nomination of Carroll L. Wilson to be General Manager of the Commission.

Mr. RUSSELL and other Senators asked for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WHERRY (when Mr. CORDON's name was called). The Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], who is absent by leave of the Senate on official committee business, is paired with the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], who also is absent on official committee business. If present and voting the Senator from Oregon would vote "yea," and the Senator from Wyoming would vote "nay."

Mr. MAGNUSON (when his name was called). I have a pair with the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY]. If he were present and permitted to vote he would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote I would vote "nay."

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I repeat the announcement made by the distinguished junior Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON]. The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. McCARTHY] is necessarily absent on official business, and is paired with the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON]. If present and voting the Senator from Wisconsin would vote "yea." If the Senator from Washington were permitted to vote he would vote "nay."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce the absence of the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. JOHNSTON], because of a death in his family. If he were present he would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 38, nays 52, as follows:

YEAS—38

Brewster	Edton	Overton
Bricker	Ferguson	Reed
Bridges	Flanders	Revercomb
Brooks	Hawkes	Robertson, Wyo.
Buck	Jenner	Stewart
Bushfield	Kem	Taft
Butler	McCarran	Watkins
Byrd	McClellan	Wherry
Cain	McKellar	White
Capehart	Malone	Wiley
Cooper	Martin	Williams
Donnell	Moore	Wilson
Dworshak	O'Daniel	

NAYS—52

Aiken	Hoey	Pepper
Baldwin	Holland	Robertson, Va.
Ball	Ives	Russell
Barkley	Johnson, Colo.	Saltonstall
Capper	Kilgore	Smith
Chavez	Knowland	Sparkman
Connally	Langer	Taylor
Downey	Lodge	Thomas, Okla.
Eastland	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Ellender	McFarland	Thye
Fulbright	McGrath	Tobey
George	McMahon	Tydings
Green	Maybank	Umstead
Gurney	Millikin	Vandenberg
Hatch	Morse	Wagner
Hayden	Murray	Young
Hickenlooper	Myers	
Hill	O'Connor	

NOT VOTING—5

Cordon	McCarthy	O'Mahoney
Johnston, S. C.	Magnuson	

So Mr. BRICKER's motion was rejected.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement by which we are operating, the Senate is supposed to recess immediately. The Chair asks unanimous consent to recognize the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG].

The Chair hears no objection.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY—REPORT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE (S. REPT. NO. 90)

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, as in legislative session, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, I ask unanimous consent to report favorably with amendments, the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

I also ask unanimous consent that the committee may be permitted to file a report during the recess following today's session.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, as in legislative session, the bill will be placed on the calendar, and, without objection, leave is granted to file the report as requested by the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished Senator from Michigan when he expects to move the consideration of the bill providing for aid to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am unable to answer the Senator categorically. Obviously it is desirable to proceed as soon as possible next week. If the pending executive business shows any sign of conclusion within a reasonable time, I would be prepared to wait before moving to proceed in legislative session with the bill; but I cannot give the Senator any assurances on the subject until we find out the status of the Lilienthal matter next week.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH], and the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] be excused from attendance on the Senate during the sessions next week, in order that we may attend an international conference overseas.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, permission is granted.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. TYDINGS. I ask unanimous consent to have the RECORD of yesterday corrected on page 3150, in the third column, about line 43 or 44, after the words "world then refused to," to add "prohibit the," so it will make sense.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The correction will be made.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, under the unanimous-consent agreement adopted yesterday it is provided that in the event the motion, which is the motion just had, be rejected, the Senate immediately thereafter recess. I am not sure whether that means that the Senate is in automatic recess at the moment, or whether it is appropriate that I make a motion to that effect.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair's understanding is that anything can be done in the Senate by unanimous consent, and unanimous consent is being obtained for all that is now transpiring.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield to me?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. STEWART. I should like to propound a question to the majority leader concerning the probability of a vote being taken on Monday on any measure that may come before the Senate, or on the nominations now pending to the Atomic Energy Commission. I know that a number of Members of this body contemplate going away over the week end, and some of them perhaps cannot return before Tuesday. I should like, if possible, to have an announcement made and an understanding with respect to what is proposed to be done on Monday.

Mr. WHITE. On Monday we will proceed with the consideration of the unfinished business. Whether a vote will be reached during Monday afternoon I cannot say. I shall be perfectly willing myself, if that should be agreeable to the Senator in charge of the matter, the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER], now to agree not to vote on Monday, but to vote on Tuesday.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. That is agreeable to me, Mr. President.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, on the basis of what has just been said to me, I will give such assurance as I can that there will be no binding vote on Monday.

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, will the Senate again yield to me?

Mr. WHITE. I yield to the Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. STEWART. As I understand that statement, it does not mean that there will be a vote on Tuesday; only that there will not be a vote on Monday.

Mr. WHITE. That is all we can do.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President—

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHITE. I am being bombarded fore and aft. I yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

APRIL 3 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. VANDENBERG, from the Committee on Foreign Relations,
submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 938]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, which has had under consideration the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, report the bill with amendments favorably to the Senate and recommend that it do pass.

MAIN PURPOSE OF THE BILL

This bill would authorize the President, when he deems it in the interest of the United States, to extend financial and other assistance to Greece and Turkey. For this purpose an appropriation not to exceed \$400,000,000 would be authorized. In general, the assistance contemplated may take the following forms: (1) Financial aid such as loans, grants, and credits; (2) persons in the employ of the United States Government; (3) military personnel for advisory purposes only; (4) articles, services, and information; and (5) instruction and training of personnel in these two countries. Consistent with the sovereign independence of Greece and Turkey, the bill provides adequate safeguards against the improper utilization of the assistance rendered.

BACKGROUND OF THE GREEK-TURKISH ISSUE

The difficult situations in which Greece and Turkey find themselves have been developing over an extended period. For some time it has been evident that without outside assistance these countries would have great difficulty in solving the problems confronting them. It appears from the testimony before the committee that the question of assistance to Greece and Turkey became a matter of urgency for the United States as a result of the decision by the British Government that it could no longer provide the aid it had been giving or had planned to give, and the subsequent urgent appeal by Greece. The decision of the British Government was communicated to the United

States Government by notes delivered on February 24, 1947; the request of the Greek Government on March 3.

In Greece there exists an extremely serious economic situation resulting from the destruction which occurred during the invasion and occupation of the country by the enemy and from the disruption of normal economic activities which has been caused by that destruction and by postwar internal armed strife. This armed strife also is in part the result of the events of the war period. During the war, with the aid of the Allies, many thousands of Greeks, organized in armed bands, made incessant war on the enemy. Upon the conclusion of the war most of these Greek irregulars further demonstrated their loyalty to their country by laying down their arms and returning to peaceful pursuits. Communist leaders, however, have been successful in gaining control of a number of guerrilla bands and are endeavoring to use them as instruments for effecting the overthrow of the Government and the establishment of a Communist regime. These armed bands are supported by the small but well-organized and effective Greek Communist Party and its affiliates and appear also to receive assistance and direction from sources outside Greece.

Up to the present the guerrillas have had considerable success creating chaos and uncertainty in various parts of Greece, particularly in the north, and the evidence presented to the committee indicates that the Greek security forces will be unable to restore domestic tranquillity without outside assistance in the form of equipment and supplies. The success of the bands is attributable in part to the demoralization of the population, which has undergone great suffering since the outbreak of the war; to the disorganization of the economy of the country; and to lack of equipment and supplies for the security forces of Greece. The program of aid which the committee recommends to the Congress is designed simultaneously to strengthen the morale of the Greek people, to improve economic conditions, and to make more effective the Greek security forces.

In Turkey there do not exist the internal disorders which are the primary cause of concern in Greece. Turkey, however, is under a severe economic strain which, if long continued, might lead to conditions similar to those now existing in Greece. The strain on the Turkish economy is caused to a large extent by the maintenance of large armed forces which are in need of modernization. Turkey feels herself obligated to maintain relatively large armed forces so long as the severe external pressure under which she labors continues to be applied to her. The immediate objectives of this pressure appear to be to separate certain portions of eastern Turkey from the rest of the country and to abridge Turkish control over the Dardanelles, but the ultimate objective might be to deprive Turkey of her independence. The purpose of the aid to Turkey which is proposed in the bill under consideration is to enable her to take certain necessary steps for strengthening the effectiveness of her security forces without overburdening Turkish economy to such an extent as to endanger its stability. The loss by the Turkish people of confidence in their future might eventually lead to conditions not dissimilar to those now prevailing in Greece.

Your committee finds that the conditions prevailing in Turkey are quite different from those in Greece and that consequently there should be differences in the character of the assistance to be rendered.

It is of the opinion, however, that in view of their geographic relationship, the collapse and loss of independence of one of these countries would have most serious effects upon the position of the other. Both countries are striving to progress on the democratic road, and both face difficulties in this endeavor created by forces over which their people have at present no control. The committee believes, therefore, that the matter of assistance to Greece and Turkey constitutes a single problem and that to extend aid at this time to only one of these countries might give rise to events which would seriously threaten the independence of both.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS

Shortly after receipt of information from the British Government that it could not continue aid to Greece and Turkey after March 31, the President informed congressional leaders of this fact. Moreover, on March 12, because of the gravity of the general situation confronting the world and involving the foreign policy and national security of the United States, the President appeared before a joint session of the Congress.

Stressing the urgent character of the Greek situation, the President said in part:

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid, but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn * * *.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

Concerning the needs of Turkey, the President declared:

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece; and, during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East * * *.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

Stating that he was fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, the President said:

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guaranties of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Specifically the President recommended:

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

EXPLANATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

Section 1 of the bill authorizes the President, upon the request of the Governments of Greece and Turkey and when he deems it in the national interest, to furnish assistance to these countries upon terms and conditions determined by him. The assistance authorized includes financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or other form of financial aid; the detail of persons in the employ of the Government to assist those countries; the detail of a limited number of members of the military services of the United States, to assist in an advisory capacity only; and provision for the transfer and procurement of articles, services, and information and for the instruction and training of personnel of those countries. The effect of the clause "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," in section 1, is to insure that statutes inconsistent with or partially dealing with the subject matter covered by the provisions of this section be not construed so as to prohibit the effective carrying out of the terms of the section.

Persons detailed under the authority of section 1 are entitled to the rights, privileges, benefits, and status authorized under existing legislation with respect to persons, civilian or military, as the case may be, detailed to assist the Governments specified in such legislation, without limitation of the authority of the President to provide for the detail of such persons in a manner which will permit the most effective administration in the field of the programs of assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Section 2 permits the speediest and most effective use, in terms of assistance needed by Greece and Turkey, of such funds as are authorized in the bill. Subsection (a) prescribes the manner of allocation of funds to the agencies of the Government through which the President may act to provide assistance. Subsection (b) empowers the President to authorize the agencies of the Government to furnish such assistance on the basis of advance payments for the assistance by Greece or Turkey. By virtue of subsection (c), when any property which is surplus to the needs of any agency of the Government is transferred to Greece or Turkey under the bill, any funds received in payment therefor are required to be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. The purpose of subsection (d) of section 2 is to prohibit the furnishing of any articles or services to Greece and Turkey under the bill unless they are paid for either from funds authorized by the bill or from funds paid in advance by the government receiving such articles or services.

Section 3 provides that before assistance is furnished, the Governments of Greece and Turkey shall agree to certain reasonable undertakings, consistent with the sovereign independence of these countries, which provide the United States with proper safeguards against the improper utilization of the assistance furnished. These undertakings include permission to appropriate representatives of the United States Government to observe the utilization of the assistance furnished, and permission to representatives of the American press and radio to observe freely and report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance. Such conditions are not, of course, intended to impair in any manner the sovereign independence or internal security of the two countries. Other conditions are that the Governments receiving assistance shall not make unauthorized transfer or use of articles, or unauthorized use or disclosure of any information, furnished to them; shall make such security provisions as the President may require with respect to any article, service, or information furnished; and shall not use the proceeds of any financial aid for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such Governments by any other foreign government.

In order that the most urgent needs for assistance may be promptly met, section 4 of the bill authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make available not to exceed \$100,000,000 until such time as an appropriation shall be made to carry out the purposes of the bill. This section also authorizes the appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 from which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation shall be repaid for the funds made available by it.

Under section 5 the President is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the bill and to exercise any power or authority conferred upon him through such agency or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

Section 6 (sec. 8 of the amended bill) provides for the submission by the President of quarterly reports to the Congress of expenditures and activities under the authority of the bill.

During its consideration of the bill the committee approved five amendments. A brief analysis of these amendments may be found below in the section entitled "Action Taken by the Foreign Relations Committee."

RELATIONSHIP OF THE BILL TO RELIEF LEGISLATION

In his message to the joint session of the Congress in which he requested \$400,000,000 for assistance to Greece and Turkey, the President stated:

I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

Representatives of the Department of State testified during the course of the hearings before the committee that they contemplated that from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 of the appropriation for relief purposes would be utilized for the furnishing of relief supplies to Greece. The amount so used for relief purposes in Greece would thus be in addition to that portion of the \$400,000,000 authorized in the present bill which may be used for furnishing financial, economic, and technical assistance to Greece.

Your committee is satisfied that the two measures do not in any way overlap as the relief legislation is designed to deal with the minimum requirements of the country to prevent starvation and suffering. The funds provided in this bill, on the other hand, would be devoted to the essential reconstruction and rehabilitation needs of Greece and to the other technical assistance which will be described in detail in later sections of this report.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

In view of the great importance of the program envisaged in S. 938 to American foreign policy in general, it was considered desirable to go to extraordinary lengths in developing all possible information as a basis for intelligent judgment in Congress and the country. To this end the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee invited the Members of the Senate to submit any questions they might have with respect to the extension of aid to Greece and Turkey. As a result of this invitation more than 400 such questions were received. These questions were consolidated so as to avoid duplication and a composite questionnaire of 110 items was submitted to the State Department on March 20 for reply.

Subsequently many of the questions were answered in the statements made to the committee by Secretaries Acheson, Patterson, Forrestal, and Clayton. On March 29 the State Department submitted a complete reply to the committee. The questionnaire, together with the Department's replies to each question, was printed for the use of the Senate on April 1. It is believed that the information contained therein has done much to clarify many important issues and furnish the Senate with the information necessary for intelligent action.

THE COMMITTEE HEARINGS

The committee began its formal consideration of the principles involved in S. 938 the day after the President delivered his message to the joint session of Congress. On March 13 Acting Secretary Acheson, Secretary Patterson, and Secretary Forrestal appeared before the committee in executive session to discuss with the members the implications of the program proposed by the President. One

week later the chairman of the committee submitted to the State Department the questionnaire referred to above.

Meantime public hearings were held from Monday, March 24, to Monday, March 31, inclusive. Acting Secretary Acheson, Secretary Patterson, Secretary Forrestal, and Under Secretary Clayton appeared on March 24 and 25. Some 33 other witnesses, many of them representatives of local or national organizations, appeared personally before the committee on March 26, 27, and 31. A complete list of these witnesses and the organizations they represent will be found below. In executive session on Friday, March 28, and Tuesday, April 1, the committee again had before it Mr. Acheson, Mr. Patterson, and Mr. Forrestal and also heard the Ambassador to Greece, Mr. Lincoln McVeagh, and the Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Edward C. Wilson, and Mr. Paul Porter, chief of the President's special economic mission to Greece.

The committee also extended an invitation to the Members of the Senate who had introduced amendments to S. 938 to appear. Accordingly on April 1, Senator Ball, Senator Johnson, Senator Murray, and Senator Pepper explained their amendments and discussed the implications of the bill with the committee.

NONGOVERNMENTAL WITNESSES

On March 24, 25, and 31 the committee heard 33 nongovernmental witnesses. A few of these testified as individuals but the great majority of them represented either local, State, or National organizations. Many of the witnesses who appeared objected to the provisions of S. 938 mainly on the following grounds: (1) Unilateral action by the United States in the way of assistance to Greece and Turkey would tend to weaken the United Nations; (2) the extension of military assistance to these countries might not be in the best interests of world peace; (3) it was objectionable to support in this fashion the regimes now in power in Greece and Turkey; and (4) this initial request for aid might result in a series of similar requests from other states in various parts of the world. These and other objections raised during the hearings are examined in later sections of this report.

During the hearings the committee heard every witness who asked to appear. It should be pointed out, however, that the witnesses who testified did not represent a good cross section of American public opinion. Most of the leading religious, educational, labor, farm, business, and professional organizations did not ask to be heard. This may have been due to the fact that in the few weeks intervening since March 12, their policy-forming organs have been unable to meet to consider the matter.

A full list of the witnesses, together with the organizations they represented, follows:

Bolte, Charles G., chairman, American Veterans Committee.

Boss, Dr. Charles F., Jr., secretary, Commission on World Peace, the Methodist Church.

Brodsky, Nathan E., president, Zionist Council of Essex County, N. J.

Cloward, Rev. Donald B., executive secretary, Council on Christian Social Progress, Northern Baptist Convention.

Couvaras, Costa G.

Eichelberger, Clark, American Association for United Nations.

Fairchild, Prof. Henry Pratt, secretary, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Fields, Allen D., Nation Associates.

Fleischman, Henry, national secretary, the Socialist Party.

Gillette, Col. Douglas H., technical adviser to Greek Embassy.

Inman, Prof. Samuel Guy, guest professor of international relations, Ohio Wesleyan University.

Karanikas, Alex, American Council for a Democratic Greece.

Kingdon, Dr. Frank, cochairman, Progressive Citizens of America.

LaGuardia, Fiorello.

Mallery, Lawrence.

Margold, Mrs. Stella, correspondent, Boston, Mass.

Marshall, Mrs. Katherine Lee, legislative secretary, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

McDonald, Dr. J. J. (Rutherford Sharp), radio broadcaster.

Melish, Rev. William H., chairman, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Mitchell, Prof. Broadus, Post War World Council.

Moore, Mrs. S. J.

Muste, Rev. A. J., secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Pirinsky, George, national secretary, Macedonian American People's League.

Popper, Martin, secretary, National Lawyers' Guild.

Schutzer, Arthur J., executive secretary, American Labor Party, New York State.

Shaw, Mark R., associate secretary, National Council for Prevention of War.

Smith, Russell, National Farmers' Union.

Taylor, Arthur K., Society of Friends.

Thom, William T. III, member, Society of Friends.

Vernon, Miss Mabel, director of People's Mandate Committee.

Waters, Mrs. Agnes.

Watley, David.

Wood, Richard R.

EXCERPTS FROM THE STATEMENTS OF PRINCIPAL WITNESSES

In view of the importance of the statements made before the committee by Acting Secretary Acheson, Secretary Patterson, Secretary Forrestal, and Under Secretary Clayton excerpts from their statements are reproduced below for the information of the Senate.

The general situation and the basic problems confronting us were well summarized in Acting Secretary Acheson's formal statement on March 24, in which he said in part:

The cessation of outside aid to Greece means immediate crisis. Unless help is forthcoming from some other quarter, Greece's economy will quickly collapse, very possibly carrying away with it the authority of the government and its power to maintain order and the essential services. * * *

Essential imports for civilians and for the army under the circumstances can continue for only a few weeks. Two weeks ago the dollar resources available to Greece were only \$14,000,000—enough for 1 month's imports of food and other essentials from the United States and other countries. If imports should cease, the price of such goods as are available would very rapidly reach astronomical figures. This is inflation. Its results in a country so dependent upon imports would be paralysis of the government and of economic life. It would also very probably mean the end of Greek freedom and independence.

The armed bands in the north, under Communist leadership, are already fighting. In the event of economic collapse and Government paralysis, these bands would undoubtedly increase in strength until they took over Greece and instituted a totalitarian government similar to those prevailing in countries to the north of Greece. The rule of an armed minority would fasten itself upon the people of Greece.

In this critical situation, Greece has urgently asked the United States for help. She requests financial assistance for the following purposes: (1) to enable her to carry on essential imports of food, clothing, and fuel necessary for the subsistence of her people; (2) to enable her to organize and equip her army in such a way that it will be able to restore order throughout her territory; and (3) to enable her to begin the process of reconstruction by putting her production facilities in order; (4) finally, Greece requests the aid of experienced American administrative, economic, and technical personnel to assure the effective utilization of what-

ever financial aid may be extended her and to help her to begin the reconstruction of her own economy and public administration.

The situation in Turkey is substantially different, but Turkey also needs our help. The Turkish Army has been mobilized since the beginning of World War II and this has put a severe strain upon the national economy. During the war Turkey received substantial assistance from Great Britain and the United States, which helped her to carry this load.

Today the Turkish economy is no longer able to carry the full load required for its national defense and at the same time proceed with that economic development which is necessary to keep the country in sound condition. With some help from the United States, and further assistance which Turkey may be able to negotiate with United Nations financial organs, Turkey should be in a position to continue the development of her own resources and increase her productivity, while at the same time maintaining her national defenses at a level necessary to protect her freedom and independence * * *

The situation of Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives. We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United Nations.

This becomes clear when we consider the specific problems that confront Greece today and the specific kinds of assistance that Greece has requested from the United Nations on the one hand, and from the United States on the other.

Let us consider first the problem arising from outside Greece's borders. Greece has charged before the Security Council that armed bands operating within her territory are partly supplied, trained, and given refuge in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, and that these bands are moving back and forth across the border. Greece has asked the United Nations for help in dealing with this situation, and the Security Council has appointed a Commission which is at the present moment investigating the Greek charges on the spot. It is expected that this Commission will begin writing its report early in April, and that report should be ready shortly thereafter.

We do not know what the report will contain or the action that may be taken by the United Nations upon it. We hope and believe that the United Nations' action in this matter will result in the cessation of disturbances along Greece's northern borders. Such a result would be a most vital contribution to the situation in Greece and make possible the task of stabilization and rehabilitation. It would not be a substitute for the assistance which Greece has asked from the United States. More is needed to deal with internal disorder and economic break-down.

The second problem confronting the Greek Government is the need for supplies and funds to enable it to cope with its internal difficulties, namely, the restoration of order in the country and the averting of economic collapse. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the British Government have been helping Greece with these particular problems, and the present crisis has arisen because those two supports must be withdrawn.

To whom was Greece to turn? The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations which recently sent a mission to Greece recommended that the Greek Government request the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the United States and the United Kingdom to extend aid to it in securing funds for the continuation of essential food and other imports to cover the period after UNRRA's withdrawal, until expanding exports, international development loans, and expanding production should enable Greece to balance its international accounts.

If Greece had applied to the United Nations or any of its related organizations, the essential element of time would have been lost and the end result would have been the same. The funds would have to come primarily from the United States. The United Nations does not of itself possess funds. The Economic and Social Council is an advisory body that recommends economic and financial and social action to member states. The International Bank, which is just now completing its organization, is set up primarily to make self-liquidating loans for long-term reconstruction purposes. It has not yet made any loans whatsoever. The Economic Commission for Europe is still in its early organization stage.

It may be that at some future time the United Nations will be organized and equipped so as to render emergency aid to member states of the kind now needed in Greece and Turkey. But, as the President said, the United Nations and its related organizations are not now in position to extend help of the kind that is required. Even if some organ of the United Nations should decide to recommend

assistance to Greece and Turkey, it would have eventually to turn primarily to the United States for funds and supplies and technical assistance. Even if the project were not blocked by the objections of certain members of the United Nations, much time would have been lost, and time is of the essence * * *

Under Secretary Clayton took up specially the economic and financial aspects of the proposed program, saying in part:

I shall endeavor to outline the program of assistance which is proposed. The Congress has already been advised that with the termination of UNRRA shipments Greece will require minimum relief aid of \$50,000,000 if serious malnutrition and further retrogression in the minimum operation of the economy are to be prevented. This sum will be provided under the post-UNRRA relief bill if this is approved by the Congress.

This amount of relief aid alone would not, however, be enough to restore domestic security and provide the minimum reconstruction and stability which are essential if Greece is again to take her place among the self-supporting democratic nations of the world.

For this purpose it is believed that approximately \$300,000,000 will be necessary. Of this, about half would be devoted to making available to the Greek armed forces the arms, ammunition, clothing, rations, and equipment necessary to deal effectively with the guerrillas. The political and military reasons for strengthening the Greek Army have been discussed by others, but I should like to emphasize that the establishment of military security is an essential prerequisite to economic stability. * * *

The economic program envisaged will cost about \$150 million. Of this amount we have estimated that imported equipment and materials for reconstruction until June 30, 1948, will cost about \$50,000,000. The first priority in reconstruction must be given to the restoration of transport facilities. Internal transportation in Greece is a serious bottleneck to further recovery.

The railroad network should be restored and sufficient rolling stock provided. Greek highways have deteriorated so seriously that the life of vehicles is only a fraction of normal and operating costs are excessively high. The two principal Greek ports, Piraeus and Salonica, were very badly damaged and have been restored on only a provisional basis.

In order to make progress toward the restoration of the Greek transport system, it will be necessary to import considerable quantities of rolling stock, rails, structural steel and bridge-building material, road machinery and earth-moving equipment, some vehicles, and the services of United States contractors and technicians.

Restoration of damaged and destroyed electric utilities and communications systems must also be given a high priority. Substantial imports of electrical machinery and communications equipment will be required.

The various flood-control, irrigation, and water-control projects likewise require restoration. These facilities were neglected by the Nazi invaders and the equipment necessary to keep them in good condition was either destroyed or removed. The dams, dikes, canals, and ditches have, as a result, deteriorated seriously, and unless they can be reclaimed soon, further deterioration and loss of agricultural output is inevitable. Hydraulic dredges, draglines, bulldozers, and tractors are needed. Such equipment will have to be imported.

Industrial facilities in Greece need extensive repair; and equipment removed or destroyed by the Nazis needs to be replaced. Substantial imports of industrial and mining equipment will be required to permit Greek production to return to prewar levels.

In addition to industrial reconstruction, Greece urgently needs further assistance in the rehabilitation of agriculture. UNRRA has made a start by the importation of some livestock, farm machinery, food-processing equipment, and the like. Our program includes \$20,000,000 for this important task. * * *

It is our firm opinion that the reconstruction program in Greece cannot be carried out successfully unless consumers' goods are made available from abroad, roughly equivalent in value to the drachma expenditures in connection therewith. The best available estimate of these expenditures is \$80,000,000. The precise method of carrying out an integrated program of reconstruction, including the procurement and distribution of the necessary consumers' goods should, I believe, be left for determination by the American mission which it is proposed to send to Greece. * * *

Turkey has sufficient current foreign exchange earnings to finance the importation of the normal requirements of the civilian economy. Turkey also has about \$245,000,000 in gold and foreign exchange largely accumulated during the

war under circumstances which will no longer prevail. The existence of this reserve has contributed in large part to the maintenance of confidence in the Turkish currency and avoidance of strong inflationary tendencies. This reserve also helps to give Turkey a credit standing which should enable her to secure, through existing credit channels, a portion of the funds she needs for general economic development. It should not be assumed, however, that Turkey will continue to add to her foreign exchange reserves indefinitely in view of the unusually favorable conditions which existed for her during the war.

If Turkey has to spend large amounts of foreign exchange for strengthening her military defenses, she can accomplish this, if at all, only at the expense of a serious reduction in her currency reserves and curtailment of civilian imports which would seriously react on her domestic economy. This development would impair the credit standing upon which Turkey depends for obtaining financial assistance for general economic development.

I want to emphasize that none of the \$100,000,000 recommended for Turkey is for normal civilian supply purposes. All of it will be expended for purposes which will contribute to the security of Turkey. This would include equipment for the Turkish armed forces and, possibly, related projects such as rehabilitation of the Turkish railroad system.

Secretary Patterson stressed the military needs of Greece and Turkey, saying, in part, in his statement of March 24:

Timely assistance at this time on our part should enable the Greek forces to deal effectively with the armed resistance and to restore order. But there is no doubt of the fact that assistance is needed.

The Greek Army and Air Force are obliged to depend on external sources for their military equipment and for their food supply. The proposed assistance will enable the Greek Government to procure equipment and supplies not obtainable in their own country, as well as assistance in the training and instruction of key personnel in operation and maintenance of equipment so procured. The material required is principally repairs and gasoline for airplanes, weapons and ammunition, vehicles and fuel, clothing and food. In money value, weapons and ammunition account for about one-third; vehicles, fuel, clothing, and food for another one-third; the balance would go for such items as engineering supplies, communications equipment (such as radios, telephones, and wire), mules and horses for use in the mountains, and miscellaneous supplies.

It is believed that about one-half of the requirements would consist of civilian-type supplies. The need for a considerable part of these supplies can be met from present War Department stocks. But since a portion only can be provided out of surplus stocks, the passage of legislation will be necessary in order to make possible the replenishment of War Department stocks by procurement from United States sources.

We believe that we have a reasonably accurate picture of the nature and scope of the assistance required by the Greeks. We feel assured that the authorization requested in the legislation is in an amount which is justified by the requirements of the situation. We are taking steps to review and to study in detail the data upon which the recommendations are based. Clearly, however, the urgency of the situation does not justify the delay which would be required to make a minute analysis of the long lists of supplies and of all the various tables of organization and equipment upon which the estimates are based. * * *

As in the case of Greece, it is our purpose in programing assistance to Turkey to provide the most necessary of their military requirements which they are not in a position to provide for themselves. Without such assistance, Turkey may be unable to maintain its national integrity, which, as the President has stated, is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. We know that the situation of the Turkish armed forces and the internal condition of Turkey are not at this time as acute as in the case of Greece; and we know also that assistance rendered to Greece will have valuable collateral effects upon the Turkish position. It is believed, however, that we should be forehanded in facing this situation by taking positive steps to avert further crises. * * *

To summarize: In Greece, the situation is one characterized by internal disorder due to economic crisis and to the warfare waged by the armed bands. Our objective is to help the Greek Government economically and militarily. From the War Department viewpoint, the best way to render military assistance is to provide equipment with which to make possible Greek control of her internal disorders and at the same time permit reorganization of the Greek Army as an effective force in the preservation of national integrity and peace. We can help

Turkey from the military standpoint, first by our assistance to Greece, and second by making it possible for the Turks to modernize their armed forces to an extent which will enable them to maintain their stability at this time.

Secretary Forrestal said in his statement of March 24 with regard to the naval aspects of the situation:

As regards Greece, preliminary departmental studies based on the limited information now available indicate that Greek naval needs will consist principally of certain types of amphibious vessels such as tank landing ships, personnel boats, tugs, and other minor craft. There also appears to be a requirement for mine-sweepers and minesweeping gear to sweep mines from coastal waters to clear the way for coastal shipping needed to support the Greek economy. Information currently available as to the extent that other naval material is required or as to the extent of the requirements for instruction and training of Greek naval personnel is incomplete. These matters can be determined when a report is available from those United States naval personnel who may be sent to Greece.

Information available to the Navy Department indicates that British assistance to the Greek Navy during the last year totaled over \$8,000,000 including, among other things, fuel, food, ordnance materials, and clothing. This expenditure, if it may be considered as an indication of current requirements, will of course be in addition to the cost of naval ships which may be required by Greece.

As in the case with Greece, the Navy Department has only preliminary and incomplete information regarding Turkish naval needs. Requests and inquiries received from the Turks are of a preliminary and tentative character. However, a thorough investigation concerning the present condition of the Turkish Navy and an exhaustive study of the necessary tactical and strategic employment of the Turkish Navy must be made. Details would be determined by naval experts who could be sent to Turkey under the authority of the bill under consideration.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH MONEY WOULD BE SPENT

Greece

The program of assistance proposed in S. 938 does not duplicate the relief assistance for Greece provided under the post-UNRRA relief resolution now before the Congress (H. J. Res. 153). The Department of State estimates that at least \$50,000,000 would come from the funds authorized by House Joint Resolution 153 to meet minimum relief needs in Greece to prevent serious malnutrition and further retrogression in the operation of the national economy.

The assistance proposed in S. 938 provides an additional sum of about \$300,000,000 for Greece. This total consists of \$150,000,000 for arms, ammunition, rations, clothing, and other supplies and equipment for the Greek armed forces for 15 months ending June 30, 1948. This sum will permit the Greek armed forces to maintain a determined campaign against guerrilla bands during the summer of 1947 and to maintain their forces at a strength sufficient to assure internal order thereafter.

The remaining \$150,000,000 in the Greek program is intended for civilian reconstruction and rehabilitation. Of this amount, the Department of State estimates that \$50,000,000 will be required for the foreign exchange costs of equipment, materials, and services needed in reconstruction projects. A preliminary break-down of the reconstruction program would be as follows: Roads, \$10,000,000; railroads, \$11,000,000; ports and harbor facilities, \$3,000,000; public utilities and telecommunications, \$5,000,000; reclamation and irrigation, \$8,000,000; industrial reconstruction, \$6,000,000; mines, \$2,000,000; and housing, \$5,000,000. First priority in this list would be given to restoration of transport facilities in order to break this serious bottleneck to further recovery in Greece. In order to make progress in restoration of railways and highway transportation and of port

facilities, it will be necessary to import considerable quantities of rolling-stock, rails, structural steel, road machinery, sonic vehicles and services of American contractors and technicians.

Restoration of damaged and destroyed electric utilities and communications systems is also given a high priority. The various flood-control, irrigation, and water-control projects, which suffered serious damage and deterioration, also require restoration in order to prevent loss of agricultural output and further deterioration. Industrial facilities in Greece need extensive repair; and equipment removed or destroyed by the Nazis needs to be replaced. All these require substantial imports of a wide variety of supplies and equipment, and of technical services, in order to bring Greek production back to prewar levels.

In addition to industrial reconstruction, the program provides \$20,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation. UNRRA made a start by the importation of some livestock, farm machinery, food-processing equipment and the like. Greece urgently needs additional assistance for these purposes and for repairs equipment and fishing equipment in order to enable her to increase her agricultural output for domestic consumption and for foreign-exchange producing exports.

Turkey

The \$100,000,000 recommended for Turkey is to be expended for purposes which will contribute to the security of Turkey. This would include equipment for the Turkish armed forces, and, to the extent that further studies may indicate desirable, related projects of military significance such as rehabilitation of the Turkish railway system. No part of the amount recommended for Turkey is for normal civilian supply purposes.

TIME FOR WHICH ASSISTANCE WILL BE GRANTED

The amount of \$400,000,000 authorized under S. 938 would be sufficient to cover expenditures through the period ending June 30, 1948, for the program for both Greece and Turkey. Whether further expenditures may be required for a successful conclusion of the program cannot now be determined. In any event, the successful application of the funds so authorized for Greece and Turkey would improve considerably their economic and their credit position.

SUPERVISION OF EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS

The organization plans of such a mission have not been completed, but action would be taken promptly to send a small group, perhaps 25 to 50, headed by a chief of outstanding ability, to initiate the program, and to develop the plans in more detail, and to establish the necessary relationships with the Greek Government. Expenditures for the Greek program would not be made until specific plans have been developed, and have been approved by this Government. The American mission in Greece would be in a position to carry a large part of the responsibility for this activity. The expenditure in Greece of any funds that may be made available to the Greek Government for the program would be subject to control by the American mission there. Purchases in the United States with the funds made available would be made through the procurement agencies of this

Government, or, if made otherwise, would be subject to careful supervision and strict control.

The committee is strongly of the opinion that the fullest success will not be achieved unless competent persons are sent to Greece to insure the development of controls at key points and to supervise their application. The United States Government must be assured that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in matters such as the following:

Fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These measures are necessary to enable Greece to achieve stability.

The interest of the United States in the military programs will be administered through small groups of United States military and naval personnel sent to Turkey and Greece. These would review requirements and advise in the best application and use of the materials and equipment, made available to the armed forces of Greece and Turkey.

FORM OF FINANCIAL AID—GIFT, LOAN OR GRANT

The bill provides that the President shall determine the terms upon which assistance will be furnished to Greece and Turkey from the appropriations authorized. These terms may be loans, credits, grants, or otherwise. In view of the unusual conditions confronting us in this situation, the committee does not believe that it would be wise or practical to attempt to specify further in the legislation what these terms might be.

Assistance provided under this bill for military purposes, being essential to our own security, and not in itself creating the where-withal to repay, should be made as a clear grant. Financial assistance for current civilian consumption should also be a grant since such assistance would not directly produce capital assets. Repayment could be sought, however, when the direct effect of the financial aid is to create capital assets and the ability on the part of the receiving country to meet such obligations in foreign exchange. However, financial repayment obligations should not be established if there appears to be no reasonable prospect of repayment.

EXTENT OF PREVIOUS AID BY THE UNITED STATES

Greece

The United States Government has made available to the Greek Government up to the beginning of 1947 approximately \$196,500,000 in loans or credits as indicated below. Of this amount, approximately \$56,000,000 are available for further use in the future. In addition, the United States share of UNRRA shipments to Greece amounts to \$255,000,000 (excluding freight).

United States aid to Greece

[In millions of dollars]

United States agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
Export-Import Bank.....	\$25.0	\$5.2	\$19.8
OFLC Surplus Credit.....	45.0	23.8	21.2
Maritime Commission.....	45.0	30.0	15.0
Lend-Lease.....	81.5	81.5	-----
Total.....	196.5	140.5	56.0
UNRRA.....	255.0	-----	-----
Total.....	451.5	-----	-----

Turkey

The United States Government has disbursed or advanced \$101,-000,000 to Turkey as aid of one sort or another since the war began. Turkey has remaining \$30,000,000 more from the authorizations available for further use. UNRRA, to which the United States contributed, has made no advances to Turkey. A summary of United States aid from the beginning of the war to January 31, 1947, follows:

United States Agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
Export-Import Bank:			
Westinghouse.....	\$3,060,000	-----	\$3,060,000
Exporter credit.....	25,000,000	\$4,905,440	20,094,560
OFLC credits.....	10,000,000	3,226,518	6,773,482
Lend-Lease.....	¹ 90,000,000	90,000,000	-----
Maritime Commission.....	2,919,811	2,919,811	-----
Total.....	130,979,811	101,051,769	29,928,042

¹ In addition, the Turkish Government received \$5,000,000 in lend-lease articles for which it paid cash.

NATURE OF THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROPOSED

It has been clearly brought out in the hearings that the military assistance contemplated in the bill will consist only of arms and other supplies for the armed forces of Greece and Turkey, such supplies to be provided on the basis of investigations and recommendations by small military missions sent out by the United States in an advisory capacity. It is proposed solely to help these Governments help themselves and not to assume military responsibilities for them. There is no plan to send to Greece or Turkey combat forces of any nature. The supplies in question are expected to have, in the case of Greece, a maximum value of about \$150,000,000 and, in the case of Turkey, about \$100,000,000 during the period ending June 30, 1948. They will be designed in each case to meet the specific needs of the Greek and Turkish armed forces as they may be determined by American experts.

Secretary Patterson testified that the material required for Greece— is principally repairs and gasoline for airplanes, weapons and ammunition, vehicles and fuel, clothing and food. In money value, weapons and ammunition account for about one-third; vehicles, fuel, clothing, and food for another one-third; the balance would go for such items as engineering supplies, communications equipment (such as radios, telephones, and wire), mules and horses for use in the mountains, and miscellaneous supplies.

For Turkey the assistance would take the form principally of equipment which Turkey cannot produce, such as antiaircraft weapons, transport equipment, communications equipment, and some railway and port improvements.

The total personnel involved in determining these needs and in supervising the delivery of the equipment will be quite small in number. Testimony heard by the committee indicates that the military mission to Greece would probably not exceed 40 and the naval mission would probably be less than 30.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEM

During the course of its hearings, the committee has carefully explored the relationship between the President's proposals and the role of the United Nations.

It has become increasingly clear that by taking the action suggested by the President, the United States will be fulfilling a basic objective of the United Nations Charter—to create conditions of political and economic stability which will preserve the freedom and independence of its members and thus safeguard their sovereign equality. The United Nations was not created to supersede friendly relations between states through assistance from one state to another to carry out the purposes set forth in the Charter.

The Greek Government has requested the assistance of both the United States and the United Nations. At the request of the Greek Government, the Security Council of the United Nations is already dealing with important aspects of the Greek problem. A commission of investigation of the Security Council is concluding an investigation of the disturbed conditions along the northern Greek border. The action taken by the Security Council on the basis of its report should contribute materially to the maintenance of the political independence and the territorial integrity of Greece.

The committee is satisfied that the type of assistance for which Greece and Turkey have asked the United States as a matter of urgency cannot now be furnished by the United Nations. The question is not whether the assistance requested should be granted by the United States or by the United Nations, but whether it shall be granted immediately by the United States. Greece and Turkey stand in need today of equipment and technical assistance for their armed forces if the authority of their Governments and their territorial integrity are to be maintained.

Furthermore, the United Nations is not in a position to furnish the funds so critically needed by Greece to prevent an economic collapse. There is no United Nations agency which can fill the immediate economic vacuum which will be created by the imminent termination of UNRRA and British aid. The United Nations itself has no funds to lend or grant to member nations. The Economic and Social Council is at present primarily an advisory body without resources to make direct financial grants. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has not yet begun to make loans; and, if it had, would scarcely regard Greece as a sound credit risk in the present circumstances. The Economic Commission for Europe, which has just been established by the Economic and Social Council for the specific purpose of coordinating reconstruction activities on

that continent, cannot begin to function for some time to come. Even if some United Nations body were to recommend economic action on behalf of Greece, the United States is the only country which could provide the bulk of the necessary assistance. For these reasons, the committee has concluded that direct and straightforward aid from the United States is necessary to meet the short-term crisis now confronting Greece.

The proposals made by the President do not preclude longer-range action by United Nations agencies on behalf of Greece. On the contrary, they set the stage for such action. Without the application of first-aid measures today, the gradual restoration of Greece's economic health would be impossible. The bill under consideration should permit Greece to achieve a degree of economic recovery and political stability sufficient to warrant financial assistance from the International Bank. Other types of aid which may eventually be rendered under the auspices of the United Nations are indicated by the comprehensive recommendations of the Food and Agriculture Organization's Mission for Greece. These recommendations include the organization of a United Nations advisory mission whose personnel might be drawn from the United Nations itself and from various specialized international organizations, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

PROPOSED ASSISTANCE NOT INTERVENTION

The assistance contemplated in this bill has been repeatedly requested by the Greek and Turkish Governments. If we respond to these requests, we cannot be said to be intervening in the affairs of Greece and Turkey, since whatever action we may take will be at their request and with the full agreement of their Governments. The committee is assured that the greatest care will be taken to avoid taking any action which could be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of either country.

QUESTION OF ASSISTANCE TO OTHER STATES

In his message to the Congress on March 12, the President said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

During the course of the hearings it was made clear that this policy will not and cannot be implemented in the same manner in each case. A number of factors must enter into any particular decision in this regard, among them the question of whether a given country is in really serious straits, whether it genuinely desires American support, and whether as a practical matter the United States would be able to provide it effective assistance and support. Consequently, it is not to be assumed that this Government will be called upon, or will attempt, to furnish to other countries assistance identical with or closely

similar to that proposed for Turkey and Greece in the present bill. If similar situations should arise in the future they will have to be examined in the light of conditions existing at the time.

PROPOSED ACTION AN AID IN PRESERVATION OF PEACE

On the basis of the information it has received during the hearings, the committee is convinced that the proposed action would be an effective measure toward the preservation of peace. It would tend to strengthen the stability and to support the independence of two countries which lie between the east and the west. If the constitutional systems of Greece and Turkey should be overthrown, if these two countries should be deprived of their independence and their peoples of their liberties, political disorder and economic chaos might well be expected in other countries on the Mediterranean, in the Near and Middle East, and even in Europe. World peace would be in extreme danger in an atmosphere of the kind which would be created. On the other hand, the reestablishment and maintenance in Greece and Turkey of political and economic security would not only tend to prevent disintegration in neighboring areas but would have a powerfully encouraging influence upon all regions of the world now suffering from the disorganization, fears, and uncertainties which serve as breeding grounds for wars.

UNITED STATES NOT ASSUMING BRITISH OBLIGATIONS

It is quite clear to the committee that the proposed legislation is not based in any way upon the idea that the United States should assume the obligations or take over any position which Great Britain may have or may have had in either Greece or Turkey. Rather, this legislation would enable the United States to pursue a positive policy of its own in its own interest, in the interest of Greece and Turkey, and in the interest of world peace based on the principles of the United Nations. In extending aid of the character proposed, the United States would not be underwriting the position of any other power or interfering with the legitimate interests of any other power.

ATTITUDES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TOWARD THE EXISTING REGIMES IN GREECE AND TURKEY

The primary purpose of the assistance proposed to be rendered under the bill is to enable the peoples of Greece and Turkey to retain their freedom to decide for themselves what the form and composition of their Governments are to be. It is believed that given conditions in which they feel themselves secure politically and economically, the peoples of both these countries will decide to continue along the road of democracy down which they have already made much progress.

This committee is convinced that our Government does not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece or Turkey. It proposes to confine its assistance to that of the character set forth in the bill. The committee agrees that pressure by representatives of our Government to bring about a change of government in either Greece or Turkey would be an infringement of sovereignty entirely foreign to the purpose and spirit of the program. However, as Acting Secretary

Acheson properly observed in his testimony before the committee, this does not mean that we "condone everything the present Government has done or will do." He added:

It is not the object of our aid to Greece either to help to maintain or to help to remove the present Government or the King of Greece. It is our object to help to maintain the present constitutional system of Greece so long as the majority of Greeks desire it, and to help Greece create conditions in which its free institutions can develop in a more normal fashion.

In Greece today we do not have a choice between a perfect democracy and an imperfect democracy. The question is whether there shall be any democracy at all. If the armed minorities that now threaten Greece's political and economic stability were to gain control, free institutions and human freedoms would disappear and democratic progress would come to an abrupt halt.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

On April 1, 2, and 3 the committee met in executive session to complete its consideration of the bill and to examine some 22 amendments that had been proposed. On April 3, by a vote of 13 to 0, it decided to report the bill favorably to the Senate with the following amendments:

1. The first amendment is designed to identify the extension of assistance to Greece and Turkey more closely with the United Nations program and purposes. It points out the functions already being undertaken by the Security Council and the Food and Agriculture Organization with respect to Greece, but indicates that the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish the financial and economic assistance immediately required. Inasmuch as Greece and Turkey sought aid from the United States in order to preserve their independence and their national integrity, the amendment makes clear that the steps contemplated by the United States are in conformity with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. The committee felt it essential to leave no doubt whatsoever with respect to this point.

The amendment, insert the following preamble:

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other hand, and, if the present emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of all Members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter: Now, therefore, be it.

2. The second amendment is designed to clarify the authority conferred on the President to incur and defray necessary expenses incident to carrying out the program of assistance to Greece and Turkey. In addition, the term "necessary expenses" is expressly stated to include administrative expenses and compensation of personnel. This amendment was recommended by the legal counsels of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the State Department.

The amendment: On page 2, lines 21 and 22 after the word "Act" delete the comma and the words "and any necessary expenses related thereto" and the comma thereafter. On page 2, line 12, delete the word "and"; in line 17 delete the period after the word "countries" and substitute a semicolon followed by the word "and"; insert thereafter a new paragraph (5) reading as follows:

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

3. The third amendment would require the recipient governments, as a condition precedent to receiving assistance, to agree not to use the financial assistance granted in order to make payments on their debts to foreign countries. The purpose of the amendment is clear and the committee agreed the objective is a desirable one.

The amendment: On page 5, line 5, strike out the word "and".

On page 5, before the period in line 8, insert a semicolon and the following:

and (c) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government.

4. The overriding purpose of the fourth amendment is to demonstrate beyond any possible question the good faith of the United States and the loyalty of our Government to the United Nations and the ideals for which it stands. The United States is responding to the appeal of Greece and Turkey inasmuch as the United Nations is not yet in a position to render the kind of assistance required at the present time. By this amendment, however, our Government invites the surveillance of the United Nations and indicates its willingness to withdraw any or all aid authorized by the bill whenever the United Nations finds that its own program of action or of assistance to Greece and Turkey make the continuance of American assistance unnecessary or undesirable. Moreover, with respect to any such vote in the Security Council the United States would expressly waive the exercise of the veto and be guided by the collective will of that body.

Members of the committee expressed the sincere hope that in due course the United Nations, acting through the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the various specialized agencies, would be in a position to cope adequately with such situations as that now confronting us in Greece and Turkey. Meanwhile the present amendment would reassure the world that the United States does not intend to act unilaterally but with the tacit if not the express consent of the United Nations.

The amendment: After section 5 insert a new section (6) reading as follows:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Governments of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

5. The fifth amendment lays down the requirement that the chief of any mission appointed by the President to handle the program of assistance to Greece or Turkey must be confirmed by the Senate. This does not mean that the Senate would be called upon to approve the heads of various technical missions which might be sent to these countries. Confirmation would be required only for the chief of mission responsible for the entire program of assistance to Greece or to Turkey.

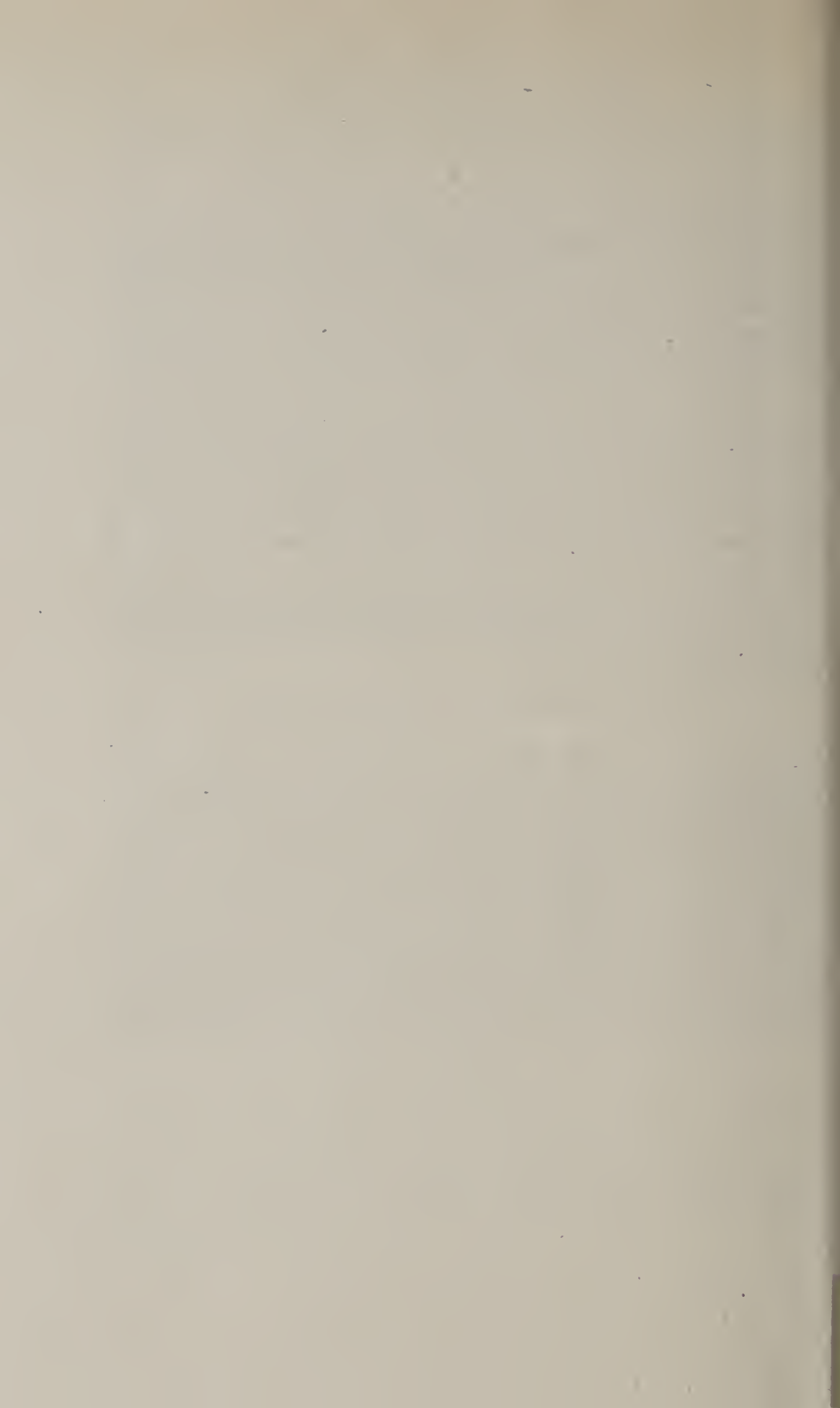
The amendment: At the end of the bill add a new section as follows:

SEC. 8. The Chief of any Mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe.

NEED FOR SPEEDY ACTION BY THE SENATE

The appeal which the Greek Government made to the United States on March 3, 1947, stressed the fact that in view of recent developments in Greece "further and immediate assistance has unfortunately become vital." Likewise the President, in his message to the Congress, underlined the urgency of the situation. "We must take immediate and resolute action," he said. Clearly this is not a matter which can be postponed; delayed action might prove more ineffectual than no action at all. The independence and integrity of Greece and Turkey are at stake; and assistance, if it is to be given at all, must be given at once. The Committee on Foreign Relations, therefore, convinced that the recommendations of the President are in the best interests of world peace, recommends the passage of the bill and urges the Senate to act upon it at the earliest possible time.





80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

Calendar No. 87

S. 938

[Report No. 90]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 19 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947

Mr. VANDENBERG (by request) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

APRIL 3 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Reported by Mr. VANDENBERG, with amendments

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other, and, if the present

emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter: Now, therefore,

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the
 4 President may from time to time when he deems it in the
 5 interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and
 6 Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms
 7 and conditions determined by him—

8 (1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans,
 9 credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

10 (2) by detailing to assist those countries any per-

sons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565); as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph; and

(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to; and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may

1 be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act, and
2 ~~any necessary expenses related thereto~~, to any depart-
3 ment, agency, or independent establishment of the Govern-
4 ment. Any amount so allocated shall be available as
5 advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at
6 the option of the department, agency, or independent estab-
7 lishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or
8 accounts existing or established by it for the purpose.

9 (b) Whenever the President requires payment in ad-
10 vance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assist-
11 ance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with
12 this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to
13 accounts for such countries established for the purpose.
14 Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the depart-
15 ments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Gov-
16 ernment which furnish the assistance for which payment
17 is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and
18 credited in the same manner, as allocations made under sub-
19 section (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation
20 not used as reimbursement shall remain available until
21 expended.

22 (c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under sub-
23 section (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement,
24 the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering
25 into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which

1 the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year.
2 Where the head of any department, agency, or independent
3 establishment of the Government determines that replace-
4 ment of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4)
5 (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in
6 payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as
7 miscellaneous receipts.

8 (d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of
9 Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for
10 any articles or services furnished to such country under para-
11 graph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from
12 funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
13 under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under
14 authority of section 4 (b).

15 (2) No department, agency, or independent establish-
16 ment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services
17 under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or
18 Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements
19 therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of
20 this section.

21 SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
22 assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting
23 such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of
24 United States Government officials for the purpose of observ-

1 ing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in
2 accordance with the undertakings of the recipient govern-
3 ment; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio
4 of the United States to observe freely and to report fully
5 regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to
6 transfer, without the consent of the President of the United
7 States, title to or possession of any article or information
8 transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such
9 consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of
10 any such information by or to anyone not an officer, em-
11 ployee, or agent of the recipient government; ~~and~~ (d) to
12 make such provisions as may be required by the President
13 of the United States for the security of any article, service,
14 or information received pursuant to this Act; *and (e) not*
15 *to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant,*
16 *or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this Act*
17 *for the making of any payment on account of the principal*
18 *or interest on any loan made to such government by any*
19 *other foreign government.*

20 SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any
21 other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is au-
22 thorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation
23 shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section,
24 to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,-

1 000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such
2 manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

3 (b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to
4 the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the
5 provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under
6 this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction
7 Finance Corporation the advances made by it under sub-
8 section (a) of this section.

9 SEC. 5. The President may from time to time pre-
10 scribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and
11 proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and
12 he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon
13 him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency,
14 independent establishment, or officer of the Government as
15 he shall direct.

16 *The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid*
17 *authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:*

18 (1) *If requested by the Government of Greece or*
19 *Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the*
20 *people of either such nation;*

21 (2) *If the President is officially notified by the*
22 *United Nations that the Security Council finds (with*
23 *respect to which finding the United States waives the*
24 *exercise of the veto) or that the General Assembly finds*

1 *that action taken or assistance furnished by the United*
2 *Nations makes the continuance of such assistance un-*
3 *necessary or undesirable; and*

4 *(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the*
5 *Act have been substantially accomplished by the action*
6 *of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds*
7 *that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory*
8 *accomplishment.*

9 SEC. 6. The President shall submit to the Congress
10 quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under
11 authority of this Act.

12 SEC. 7. *The chief of any mission to any country re-*
13 *ceiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the*
14 *President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,*
15 *and shall perform such functions relating to the administration*
16 *of this Act as the President shall prescribe.*

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

[Report No. 90]

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

By Mr. VANDENBERG

MARCH 19 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Foreign Relations

APRIL 3 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Reported with amendments

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 7 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

1 On page 7, line 21, strike out the words "the President
2 is officially notified by the United Nations that,".

3 On page 7, line 24, strike out the word "that", so that
4 paragraph (2) of section 5 in the amendment will read:

5 "If the Security Council finds (with respect to which
6 finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto)
7 or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance
8 furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of
9 such assistance unnecessary or undesirable; and".

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 7 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed



CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 9, 1947
For actions of April 8, 1947
80th-1st, No. 65

CONTENTS

Animal industry.....	4	Foreign affairs.....	6	Property, surplus.....	3,7
Arbor day.....	5	Labor, farm.....	2	Remount service.....	4
C.C.C.....	1	Monopolies.....	8	Trade, foreign.....	8

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed bill to continue CCC until June 30, 1948. Senate passed bill to continue farm-labor program for 6 months. Senate vacated passage of bill to authorize RFC to purchase surplus property for resale to small business. Senate debated Greek-Turkish aid bill.

SENATE

1. COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION. Passed, as reported and without debate, S. 350, to continue CCC as a U. S. agency until June 30, 1948 (p. 3316).
2. FARM LABOR. Passed with amendments H. R. 2102, to continue the farm-labor supply program for 6 months (pp. 3300-15). Sens. Aiken, Bushfield, Young, Thomas of Okla., and Ellender were appointed conferees (p. 3315). Agreed to an amendment by Sen. Knowland, Calif., permitting Mexican farm laborers to remain in the U. S. as long as the program is in effect but not later than Dec. 31, 1947 (p. 3306). (Otherwise the bill, as passed by the Senate, is the same as reported to the Senate.) Rejected an amendment by Sen. Kem, Mo., to require employers to reimburse the Government for recruitment and transportation of off-shore employees (pp. 3306-14), and an amendment by Sen. Ball, Minn., to require that this program shall not be construed to interfere with the functions of USES or State employment services regarding a farm placement service (p. 3314).
3. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Reconsidered the passage of H. R. 2535, to authorize RFC to purchase surplus property for resale to small business, and returned it to the calendar (p. 3299). In asking for reconsideration, Sen. White stated that he had been asked to object to passage but had not been able to do so.
4. REMOUNT SERVICE. Received a Calif. Legislature memorial urging continuation of this project (pp. 3293-4).
5. ARBOR DAY. Sen. Butler, Nebr., spoke on the background and significance of Arbor Day, Apr. 10 (pp. 3294-5).
6. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3296-9, 3316). As reported, S. 938 authorizes appropriation of \$400,000,000 to provide aid for Greece and Turkey; authorizes the detail of Government employees to those countries; provides for the transfer to, and the procurement for (by manufacture or otherwise), those countries of any articles,

services, and information; authorizes RFC to make advances up to \$100,000,000 until an appropriation is made, and to make allocations from such advances to any Government agency or department; and specifies certain conditions precedent to the receipt of any assistance by these countries, including free access of Government officials and the press.

HOUSE

NOT IN SESSION. Next meeting Wed., Apr. 9.

BILL INTRODUCED

7. SURPLUS PROPERTY. S. 1068, by Sen. Thomas, Okla., to provide for the more expeditious disposal of surplus personal property. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 3294.)

ITEM IN APPENDIX

8. FOREIGN TRADE; MONOPOLIES. Sen. Mores, Oreg., inserted E.H. Levi's (Univ. of Chicago) address, "The Cartel System," in which he discusses the monopolistic trend in foreign countries and in the U.S. (pp. A1638-42).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 9: S. Appropriations, deficiency appropriation bill; S. Public Lands, Gila reclamation project; S. Banking and Currency, housing bill; H. Appropriations, Agricultural appropriation bill (ex.); H. Banking and Currency, Wolcott housing bill; H. Foreign Affairs, Greek-Turkey aid; For Apr. 11: S. Expenditures in the Executive Departments, merger of quarantine services (Fladness and Rohwer to testify).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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tree growing." He sounded a call for a "grand army of husbandmen" to join in the "battle against the treeless prairie."

"Our seedling forests," Morton pleaded, "will nurse great timbers, from which will come sills and joists to build the homes of thousands of new Nebraskans."

Bringing his campaign to a climax, on January 4, 1872, Sterling Morton went before the Nebraska State Board of Agriculture at Lincoln, to urge that body to proclaim the world's first Arbor Day. There was debate, but Morton prevailed. At his suggestion the board offered a special prize of \$100 to the county agricultural society, and a farm library worth \$25 to the individual, "that on April 10 shall plant properly the largest number of trees."

Alert to the value of trees in prairie Nebraska, the State's newspapers now gave prominent space to Morton's unique tree growing campaign. When the first Arbor Day came around, public enthusiasm for the planting was at a high pitch.

All over Nebraska, on April 10—three-quarters of a century ago—farmers and townspeople went out onto their lands, to plant more than a million seedlings, oak, pine, willow, elm, cottonwood. They had begun a long and determined battle to make Nebraska a finer place in which to live, had launched a ceremony destined to spread to the far corners of the world.

Yet, strangely enough, the father of Arbor Day himself was denied a part in the first historic celebration. Sterling Morton had ordered 800 seedlings, and made great preparations for the planting ceremony on his farm at Nebraska City—but the seedlings failed to arrive until the world's first Arbor Day had passed into history. Yet, Morton's enthusiasm ran undiminished, for his tree-poor plains State had auspiciously launched one of the greatest tree-growing movements in history.

Two years later, by proclamation of the Governor of Nebraska, the second Wednesday in April was set aside as Arbor Day, and this date was observed until 1885, when the Nebraska Legislature changed it to Sterling Morton's birthday, which falls on April 22.

Tennessee and Kansas began to celebrate Arbor Day in 1875, and Minnesota joined the procession of Arbor Day States in 1876. By 1893, Arbor Day had spread to almost every State in the Union. In the South it was generally celebrated early in the year. In the North, somewhat later in the season.

Arbor Day, by 1892, had crossed the Pacific to New Zealand. Canada observed a day for tree-planting in 1895, and the next year King Alfonso XIII was ceremoniously planting a pine sapling 2 miles east of Madrid. World-wide observances of Morton's tree-growing campaign were now making the founder of Arbor Day something of a legendary figure in his own time. Arbor Day was bringing a new understanding of forest and fruit trees to millions of school children the world over. Yet, Morton himself by no means claimed that he was a plaster saint.

Born in Adams, N. Y., on April 22, 1832, Sterling Morton at an early age went west with his parents. Entering the University of Michigan in 1850, he embarked upon a lively career as a student. Annoyed by a chapel bell which aroused the student body to morning prayers at a distressingly early hour, Morton determined to silence it. Forming a committee on acoustics, he tried to shackle the unwelcome bell with chains and padlocks. One winter's night, his committee tipped the bell and filled it with water, which froze hard. But next morning, alas, the janitor thwarted the scheme, waking the students with a hand dinner bell.

Always a center of controversy, young Morton found his enterprising scholastic career was suddenly interrupted a few weeks short of graduation by an invitation to leave

the university. This he did, amid a storm of protest which his departure caused.

Striking out for Nebraska Territory shortly after it was opened in 1854, the high-spirited Morton speedily became one of the best-known men in the Territory. He not only sponsored tree growing, but took a leading role in all the pioneer civic issues. He championed the entrance of railroads into early Nebraska, and became a storm center in Nebraska's early controversy over the location of the State capital.

In 1893, already a national figure, J. Sterling Morton became Secretary of Agriculture under President Cleveland. In Washington, where he distinguished himself, he carried on his tree-growing crusade, which he always felt was his major achievement.

The father of Arbor Day pursued his tree growing as a religion to which he was passionately devoted. He saw the planting of trees as a means of bringing millions of school children closer to the love and beauties of nature.

Morton's own love of beauty may be seen today in Arbor Lodge, his home just west of Nebraska City, which in 1923 was made into a State park. The magnificent results of his early plantings may be found in the 130 varieties of trees and shrubs which make Arbor Lodge a shrine of quiet woodlands.

"Here are a few acorns today; in time to come they will be sturdy oaks, then railroad ties, ships, and timbers to build homes," said Morton, speaking on an Arbor Day long ago. He saw in the forests perpetual crops of wood to make man comfortable, to keep him warm, to serve him in thousands of wood products, as well as to inspire him to lead a richer spiritual life.

It is an extraordinary tribute to Morton's crusading zeal that he achieved world-wide success with his tree-growing campaign, launched at a time when there were great areas of untouched virgin forest across the United States—when wood was cheap and there was little dollars-and-cents profit in growing trees.

Morton preached that trees must be planted properly, must be cared for all year round. Slowly his message of tree growing gained ground, spurred by the rapidly increasing demand for wood for new uses.

In 1872, when Arbor Day was first celebrated, the United States used little more than 2,000 cords of wood for paper making. Now we use more than 16,000,000 cords a year for this purpose. This is but one example how our uses of wood have increased—whether for construction, paper making, or many new chemical applications. Farmers and other small wood-lot owners, as well as the men who own great tracts of timberland, are learning that trees are a highly profitable "crop" to grow. In a modern version of Morton's tree-growing campaign, which already extends into 16 States, owners of more than 13,000,000 acres of America's privately owned woodlands have dedicated their forested acres to growing perpetual crops of timber under a national "tree farm" banner.

The protection of our tree-growing lands has also come a long way since the first Arbor Day. In 1872 almost no money was being spent to control fires in our forests. In contrast, today private industry, State and Federal Governments spend more than \$27,000,000 a year to protect our woodlands from fire. And to enlist the cooperation of the public in reducing the number of man-caused fires which every year take heavy toll of American forest lands a national movement for practical fire prevention has spread into 18 forested States, under a "Keep America green" slogan. In such State campaigns, forest-industry groups team with State and Federal forestry agencies and civic groups. Working together to spread the gospel of being fire careful in our forests,

such campaigns have already helped lower our forest-fire losses.

The big job of tree growing in the United States is primarily the task of the owners of tree-producing lands. While Arbor Day embraces the idea of trees for beauty and decorative purposes, the first thought of the founder was for trees for use. In the United States we have some 460,000,000 acres we call commercial-forest lands, where our trees for use must be grown. Sixty percent of these forest lands consists of small wood lots, owned by more than 4,000,000 farmers and others; 14 percent by forest industries; and 26 percent by Federal, State, and local governments. While most new tree growth is started by natural reseedling, it has been estimated that 75,000,000 acres of these lands need to be planted. Of these acres, 44,000,000 are on farms. To this time, the largest production of seedlings was in 1941, when forest nurseries grew 98,000,000 young trees. While the war slowed this work, it now is being expanded again.

With increased scientific knowledge of timber growing wood-lot owners are finding that they can raise trees on soil not suited for other purposes. This, together with today's strong demand for wood, for housing, for pulp on which the world's newspapers and books are printed, has lent strong impetus to the movement to grow trees with year-round care—and profit.

Spurred by 1947's exceptional demands for wood for thousands of uses, America's owners of timberlands are growing trees—and caring for them—as never before, carrying on the time-honored traditions of Arbor Day, which Julius Sterling Morton launched in tree-poor Nebraska exactly three-quarters of a century ago.

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hill	O'Daniel
Ball	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Bricker	Holland	Pepper
Bridges	Ives	Reed
Brooks	Jenner	Revercomb
Buck	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Va.
Bushfield	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson, Wyo.
Butler	Kem	Saltonstall
Byrd	Kilgore	Smith
Cain	Knowland	Sparkman
Capehart	Langer	Stewart
Capper	Lodge	Taft
Chavez	Lucas	Taylor
Connally	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Cooper	McCarthy	Thye
Cordon	McClellan	Tobey
Donnell	McFarland	Tydings
Downey	McGrath	Umstead
Dworshak	McKellar	Vandenberg
Eastland	McMahon	Watkins
Eaton	Malone	Wherry
Flanders	Martin	White
Fulbright	Maybank	Wiley
George	Millikin	Williams
Green	Moore	Wilson
Gurney	Morse	Young
Hayden	Murray	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES] is necessarily absent.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] are absent by leave of the Senate

to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. THOMAS] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAIN in the chair). Eighty-three Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in response to the urgent recommendations of the President of the United States, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously reported the bill (S. 938) entitled "A bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey." It could be alternatively titled "A bill to support the purposes of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security," or it could be titled "A bill to serve America's self-interest in the maintenance of independent governments."

The committee makes this report primarily in response to direct appeals to our Government from heroic Greece which, by her sacrificial World War loyalties, has richly earned the right to perpetuate her proud, historic independence. It does so in response to direct appeals from Turkey, which is the only truly independent nation left on the borders of Soviet Russia from the Baltic to the Black Sea. It also does so in the presence of the overriding strategic fact that the fall of Greece, followed by the collapse of Turkey, could precipitate a chain reaction which would threaten peace and security around the globe. It does so in the profound belief that we Americans have an unescapable stake in all human rights and fundamental freedoms; and that they were better saved—for us as well as others—by adequate and timely support than by waiting for cumulative hazard to magnify the risk. It does so not only in the name of the liberties for which the Allies said they fought two World Wars, but also in the name of the intelligent American self-interest which prefers an ounce of precaution to a pound of cure, and which believes "that a stitch in time saves nine."

I am not one of those, Mr. President, who conceive that we are launching what has been called, by some, a new doctrine in any such unique sense as did James Monroe a century and a quarter ago. Rather, in my opinion, we are launching a plan which has numerous precedents—although we must frankly and honestly assess the fact that it has new and "broad implications," as President Truman himself declared in his message of March 12. There is no new doctrine in American aid to distressed nations. There is no

new doctrine in striving for "the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a life from from coercion" or in "supporting free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation," again quoting the Presidential message. The pending plan unquestionably broadens our precedents when it enters the Mediterranean—although the Navy and the marines were there in the earliest days of the Republic and in the finest American tradition. The plan broadens geographically, although we long since pronounced the open door for China. It broadens when peacetime military missions, heretofore largely confined to pan-America, enter the Near East. But it is not new in concept. Certainly there is nothing new in our opposition to communism outside of areas where it is officially embraced. We have always done these things. It would be new only if we now were to desert these ideals. In any event, in whatever degree it is new, it is necessary.

But it is much more than a plan for relief of human suffering in Greece and Turkey. Let us be totally plain about it. It is a plan to forestall aggression which, once rolling, could snowball into global danger of vast design. It is a plan for peace. It is a plan to sterilize the seeds of war. We do not escape war by running away from it. No one ran away from war at Munich. We avoid war by facing facts. This plan faces facts. But of course there are other facts to face. No plan can guarantee peace. The most it can do is to take the better calculated risk. That, I believe, is what this plan does. It is a plan, I repeat, for peace. It is a plan to strengthen the United Nations by supporting its objectives in respect to immediate necessities, pending the time when the United Nations can take over.

The Senate, in turn, faces an additional fact. It faces the fact that if we were to reject the plan in its basic purpose we would give the green light to aggression everywhere. Our moral authority and leadership would die on the spot. We would multiply our own hazards. We would weaken the United Nations by multiplying its subsequent responsibilities.

This is not an imperialistic plan. It covets nothing for America but honorable peace in a free world of free men. That is not imperialism. I like what Elihu Root once said of our Monroe Doctrine:

It rest upon the right of every sovereign state to protect itself by preventing a condition of affairs in which it will be too late to protect itself.

That is not imperialism. That is intelligent self-interest. That is what we here propose.

I recall that President Monroe himself declared that the impulse of his "Doctrine" was to prevent the aggressive extension of alien systems "dangerous to our peace and safety." This not imperialism. It is prudent common sense. It is the pattern of this plan. Curiously enough, one of the things contributing to the birth of the Monroe Doctrine was old Russia seeking to fish in North American waters. Communism thrives on "fishing

in troubled waters" today. It is not imperialism to calm the waters. Our purposes are the exact opposite of imperialism. So is this plan. This truth shines through every word of the statement made on March 28 to the Security Council of the United Nations by our American Ambassador:

The United States * * * does not desire to dominate, intimidate, or threaten the security of any nation, large or small. The United States will support collective security for all nations—large as well as small. The United States respects the rights of all members of the United Nations to follow whatever way of life or system of government they choose, so long as the choice is freely made without intimidation and so long as such nations do not interfere with the rights of other countries or the liberties of other peoples.

I say once more, Mr. President, that we here confront a plan—a special and particular plan. I do not view it as a universal pattern but rather as a selective pattern to fit a given circumstance. We are not suddenly resolved to underwrite the earth. That would be fantastic, improvident, and impossible. What we do is to underscore once more a principle long ingrained in the American character—namely to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation," again quoting the Presidential message. We point the general direction we propose to go. We do not, we cannot, chart the total course. This plan fits a key, strategic need. Undoubtedly there will be other problems facing other and different needs. For example, our occupational responsibilities in Korea unquestionably will soon demand positive support. It is part of World War II—unless we propose to lose the peace.

It would be a fraud upon our people to pretend that this plan ends all need for aid. Our people prefer the truth. The truth is we do face the fact that Greece and Turkey are not isolated phenomena—even though they involve a unique and emphasized importance. We must face the fact that other situations may arise which clearly involve our own national welfare in their lengthened shadows. Let us harbor no soft illusions. But I emphatically repeat that we do not here set a universal precedent, except in basic self-defensive purpose. We shall always react; but we shall react as any given situation seems to require. Meanwhile, it is to be fervently hoped and prayed that we may have enough foresight hereafter so that we do not always have to react on a "crisis basis."

This plan requires complete candor with ourselves and with the world. It requires prudence lest we overextend ourselves or overpromise others. Equally it requires courage and tenacity of democratic purpose. But I cannot believe it would be intelligent self-interest to deny the plan and thus invite the earth to think that our divided government is impotent. I believe that "standing up" is a better risk than "lying down." I believe that we either take or surrender leadership—and I can find no intelligent, American self-interest in any such surrender.

But the situation, Mr. President, requires something more than is in this bill. It calls for two collateral efforts on our part: First, to strive for the honorable removal of underlying friction, if mutually possible, between the two greatest powers on earth; second, to strive for the closest possible integration of all our plans with the collective responsibilities of a strengthened and matured United Nations which is the world's prime hope for peace.

I shall return to both these propositions before I have concluded. At the moment I now address myself to the specific plan for which the approval of the Senate is now sought.

Aid for Greece is aid for a brave war ally which suffered war invasion; then 4 years of cruel enemy occupation; then bitter internal terrorism which the President identifies as of Communist origin; then Communist-inspired violation of its hard-pressed borders. I have no doubt there also has been terrorism on the right. In any event, Greece is prostrate. British support, assigned to Britain by the Allies as a postwar responsibility, is being withdrawn because Britain herself is in economic straits. In this dire emergency Greece appeals to us to save her political and economic independence. This bill is our response. We are not bailing out the British Empire. We are not perpetuating Greek monarchy. We are making it possible for the Greek people to survive in stability and self-determination.

It is highly important at this point to note that financial and other outside aid for Greece is recommended in a powerful contemporary report of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations itself—with an appeal to the United States for special aid. The report frankly recognizes this need for special aid from the United States. Then, praising the Grecian tradition of self-reliance, this international report says that "democratic and voluntary methods of future development, rather than compulsory dictation or direction, are in keeping with the century-old characteristics of the Hellenic temperament." Remember, this is the United Nations speaking. From no other possible source could Greece be quite so sure of democratic aid looking toward self-reliance as from the United States. It is a precise prescription from the United Nations itself for the thing we here propose to do.

We need not condone the present Greek regime, though clearly chosen in a free election, in order to come to the aid of the Greeks themselves. We are entitled to expect that the Greeks themselves, responding to the advice they voluntarily have sought from us, will build a more efficient and equitable democracy when relieved of the pressures which have driven them to any sanctuary that has been presently available. But such precious objectives are impossible so long as Greece is torn by externally and internally stimulated civil war. Therefore aid to Greece must include means to develop adequate Greek defense in behalf of lawful peace. In the absence of lawful peace, our aid would be no more

than a transient bounty—as has been the case for the last 2 years.

Peace is prerequisite. So is helpful guidance in the establishment of a sound national economy. Greece turns to the United States as the only source of these imminently necessary helps. These comprehensive purposes are the program of the pending bill. Lest there be overemphasis in the wrong place, I hasten to add that our contemplated military mission involves only from 10 to 40 officers and no combat troops. The naval mission contemplates nonbelligerent craft like mine sweepers, in the main. The military effort, though accounting for \$150,000,000 of this grant, is to help Greece to help herself to be self-reliant in defense of her self-chosen government, whatever that may be.

The sum of \$130,000,000 is for basic reconstruction; \$20,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation; plus \$50,000,000 for relief in the general relief bill now pending in the House.

But that is not all. The plain fact seems to be that if the Greeks, in their extremity, are not successfully helped to help themselves to maintain their own healthy right of self-determination, another Communist dictatorship will rise at this key point in world geography. Then Turkey, long mobilized against a Communist war of nerves, faces neighboring jeopardy. The two situations are inseparable. Turkey confronts no such internal extremity as does Greece; but it requires assistance to bulwark its national security. The President says that the maintenance of its national integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. If the Middle East falls within the orbit of aggressive Communist expansion, the repercussions will echo from the Dardenelles to the China Sea and westward to the rims of the Atlantic. Indeed, the Middle East, in this foreshortened world, is not far enough away for safety from our own New York or Detroit or Chicago or San Francisco. That is where we come in. Do we face it now or later? Which is the wiser course? Which holds the better promise of honorable peace? Which is recommended by intelligent American self-interest? The President's answer is this: "If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation." He adds, "Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events." God knows these responsibilities are great, no matter what our course. God knows that this would be an infinitely happier land if it were physically possible for us to close our tired eyes, retire within what were our bastions of yesterday, and shut out the external menace of shapes and forms which we abhor. God knows that we painfully search our hearts for wisdom. May His way be the way we choose.

This plan is for 15 months. Can this job be done in 15 months? I do not know. I doubt it; although in 15 months both the United Nations and the World Bank should be able substantially to take over. But I ask neither Congress nor the country to ignore the nature of this

obligation. I say again that I trust them to prefer the truth.

In a sense we are a tragic generation, despite our blessings and our place in the sun. We have been drawn into two World Wars. We finally won them both, and yet we still confront a restless and precarious peace. Something has been wrong. It is our supreme task to face these present realities, no matter how we hate them, and to mend the broken pattern if such be within human power.

Therefore, Mr. President, I say again, let us all face facts. The problem involved in this bill—like the problem involved in every other phase of languishing peace—is the persistent controversy between what we loosely call eastern communism and western democracy. From it inevitably stem persistent difficulties between the Soviet Union and its satellites upon the one hand, and the United States and like-minded non-Communist states upon the other. Still more explicitly, it involves hostility to Communist expansionism and infiltration. This expansionism, in turn, arises, we constantly are told from Soviet fears of resurgent aggression by her neighbors and from fears of encirclement looking toward her destruction. If Moscow really has those fears, she is entitled to have them dependably removed. She cannot be expected to react any differently than we do under like circumstances. Given a fair chance, on a two-way street, we should be able to mitigate those fears because we believe in self-determination for Russians precisely as we insist upon it for Americans and others. We plot no offense against the Soviet Union. We are not hunting world dominion. We are not seeking dictation anywhere. But what we deny to ourselves as a matter of morality we also must deny to others as a matter of conquest.

It may be remembered, Mr. President, that as long ago as January 10, 1945, I discussed this same, identical theme in the Senate. I said then that if Russia pursues expansionism through fear of a reborn Axis, we should offer her a hard and fast alliance against a reborn Axis. We have made that offer. It still stands. It has not been accepted. We can expand that offer. We can sign anything at Moscow which guarantees the independence of the Soviet Union within its own legitimate domain. But there must be two signatures—and they must both be good—better, I regret to say, than signatures at Yalta or at Potsdam. We, in turn, have the reciprocal right to demand effective proof that Moscow is not plotting to encircle us in a Communist-dominated world; that Communist assaults upon us, within and without the United States, shall cease; and that our mutual pledges to the Atlantic Charter and to the principles and purposes of the United Nations shall be reliably honored in behalf of all concerned. I do not mean in words alone. I mean in deeds. I mean the rebirth of international integrity.

It still seems to me, Mr. President, that the great need is comprehensively candid discussions between us, if possible, with all the cards face up upon the table. Although we cannot wait for any such ne-

gotiations before proceeding to mend the imminent situation in Greece, yet this is the fundamental objective which I should hope might be pursued. Let us not again drift into misunderstanding of what America means when it speaks. The Greek crisis or the Turkish crisis or any others among potential crises will largely disappear if the mutual will exists between Washington and Moscow. If it cannot exist, even that ominous knowledge is worth having. While we cannot avoid the eternal rivalry of these incompatible ideologies, there ought to be an honorable way to live and let live within the rules of the United Nations. We should mutually strive to search it out on the basis not only of salvaging the ideals of World War I and World War II, but also and particularly on the basis of the self-interest of the two greatest nations on earth—neither one of whom wants any part of another war. But we, for our part, will never find it through equivocation which will be misread as timidity. We shall never find it except as we succeed in convincing Moscow, first, that we have absolutely no ulterior designs; and, second, that we shall not compromise or whittle away the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms which we both have pledged in the most solemn peacetime commitments of which honorable nations are capable.

But we shall never again be able to convince anybody of this latter, vital fact if, at the instant moment, we refuse our solid backing to the President of the United States when he speaks in this behalf. It is the task of statesmanship to stop these present trends or lay bare the alternative. It is time to agree, or to agree to disagree. It is our own task to say what we mean and mean what we say in friendly but incorrigible firmness regarding the only way to establish the realities of peace.

At this point, Mr. President, I want to say a final word about aggression, the major sin against a peaceful world. We did not write a definition of "aggression" in the San Francisco Charter, because we feared our own inability to find adequate words. Yet it needs definition. One of the best attempts was the Convention for the Definition of Aggression, signed at London, July 3, 1933, by the Soviet Union and, among others, ironically, the Balkan States. By this definition, an aggressor is one who commits acts including the following:

Provision of support to armed bands formed in its territory which have invaded the territory of another state, or refusal, notwithstanding the request of the invaded state, to take, in its own territory, all the measures in its power to deprive those bands of all assistance or protection.

I content myself with the observation that, in the case at hand, somebody is an aggressor on these violated Greek frontiers, according to the Soviet's own specifications.

This brings me, Mr. President, to the most important of all considerations that have been raised by the pending plan. The United Nations, the voice of collective security, must always be our first reliance and our prime concern as far as possible in every problem of this

nature. It must be used to the maximum of practical possibilities. In no available aspect should we bypass its functions. But in no unavailable aspect should we ruin it by assigning to it functions which it does not possess. Such an assignment would destroy it for keeps. Meanwhile, under such circumstances as in the present instance, Greece would sink into the Communist orbit and the fateful chain reaction would set in both East and West.

Under the amended bill, now pending in the Senate, this whole situation is honestly and faithfully assessed. The Foreign Relations Committee has added a preamble which recites the facts. It asserts our belief and purpose that this bill "will contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter. The committee has added an amendment which stops the functions of this bill whenever the Security Council, without counting vetoes, or the General Assembly finds that "action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of assistance—under this bill—unnecessary or undesirable."

Mr. President, far from bypassing the United Nations, this amended bill is the greatest act of voluntary allegiance to it in the whole story of the United Nations. It even goes to the heart and core of the veto controversy. In the first great test which the Security Council ever faced Britain and France demonstrated their good faith by accepting a Council verdict regardless of vetoes in the case of little Lebanon and Syria. We now do so in advance in the case of Greece and Turkey. We accept the untrammelled judgment of the organized conscience of the world on what we do, and we invite it to intervene at its own will. A technical error in the wording of the committee amendment has been corrected. This is not a weasel-worded gesture. This is an act of total faith. Microscopic analysts may try to find hypothetical flaws in it. But no such flank attacks can dull its purpose and effect.

Now let us examine the facts. I speak first of what the United Nations cannot do and what no wise well-wisher will ask it to do. It is not and was never intended to be a relief organization. It has no such funds and was never intended to have such funds. It could get the funds only by an assessment in which we would carry the heavy share and thus face, all over again, the vicious dissatisfaction which we suffered through UNRRA, despite its notable humanities, when we put up our money for others too frequently to maladminister to suit themselves. It has no sustaining military force because the Soviet representatives thus far have declined to permit these plans to materialize. If it had either the funds or the force, their use would depend upon the Security Council. In the Security Council this use would face a veto. Any frank assessment of realities, in the light of experience to date, must concede that the veto would be used by the Soviet Union in any phase of conflict between

communism and democracy. These are the facts. There is no way to bypass these facts. Greek independence cannot be saved, at least for the time being, in any such fashion, no matter how adroit the scheme of reference. The implications to which the President refers cannot be met by any attempts, no matter how nobly meditated, to misuse the United Nations as of today. The United Nations itself cannot be sustained by any such misuse. The most we can do at the moment is to leave certain special phases of the problem in United Nations jurisdiction; and to leave an over-all authority in the Council and Assembly to hold us to strict accountability for what we do.

Mr. Sumner Welles recently pointed out what he said will be the line that Soviet propaganda will follow in its efforts to combat the administration's present foreign policy. He cited *Izvestia* and *Pravda*—both official Moscow publications—which charge us with destroying the United Nations. He was a good prophet. This argument has met with much popular and often innocent support in the United States. On the one hand, this support is a precious tribute to the faithful hopes of humankind. On the other, it is a cunning backfire to becloud the issue. I know of no better way to destroy the United Nations than to give it a specific job which it is neither intended nor prepared to do. The only better way to destroy the United Nations of which I know is to overuse the veto. Indeed, it is a significant thing that this plan is opposed by two totally opposite and incompatible groups in the United States. As has been well said, it is opposed, first, by those who hope it will not work but are afraid it will, and, second, by those who hope it will work but are afraid it will not.

It is no depreciation of the United Nations to frankly recognize the fact that the Greek petition to us seeks primary relief which the United Nations cannot provide. It is of no small significance, in this connection, that Greece and Turkey, both members of the United Nations, did not themselves apply to the United Nations, but applied direct to the United States.

But, Mr. President, the United Nations does have its important place in this prospectus even as things are today. It is already rendering important aid. Its Security Council has had a commission on the Greek border investigating disturbances between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. This commission will report within a few weeks. It will establish truth and responsibility at this point of major friction. If a veto does not subsequently intervene, the Security Council may well establish a permanent border commission whose moral authority and whose sanctions may well minimize this phase of the Greek hazard. If the Security Council is permitted to function in this regard, it will greatly simplify the Greco-Turkish problem and greatly hasten success for our own peaceful adventure. Surely it does not destroy or remotely hamper the United Nations, in this phase, if the United States simulta-

neously is helping Greece to rebuild her own competent independence and helping Turkey to preserve hers. On the contrary, it is what would be called, in American idiom, "team ball."

Nor is that all. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization has submitted a 25-year long-range program for Greek economic rehabilitation. And mark this! I repeat that this important instrumentality of the United Nations has specifically recommended that Greece should apply to the United States, among others, for temporary aid in launching this rehabilitation. It frankly recognizes the present limitations within which the United Nations operates.

Nor is this all. It is definitely anticipated that the World Bank will step into this situation and carry the major rehabilitation load just as soon as the imminent crisis is surmounted; just as soon as peace and preliminary stability are restored; just as soon as there is any basis whatever for banking credit.

So, Mr. President, the United Nations does have its important place in this historic prospectus. It can do things to help as of today even though its larger availability is a matter for tomorrow. We must use it to the maximum of its possibilities. We must use all of its functions which are available. We must take no unilateral or bilateral action without full and constant notice to this world fraternity, and with full and constant eagerness to have it succeed to our separately assumed responsibilities whenever and wherever this can be done. I frankly regret that when the President spoke to Congress on March 12, he did not simultaneously advise the Secretary General at New York of our intentions, instead of waiting to present indirect notice through our representative on the Security Council 16 days later. It might have allayed needless misunderstanding. Any such misunderstanding is needless because the President himself clearly indicates that he is wedded to the United Nations. Nothing could be clearer than our message delivered to the Security Council by Ambassador Austin on March 28:

The program of economic assistance contemplated by the United States is of an emergency and temporary character. The United States believes that the United Nations and its related agencies should assume the principal responsibility, within their capabilities, for the long-range tasks of assistance required for the reconstruction of Greece. * * * The United States is giving momentum to the United Nations by its present policy. * * * We look forward to the time when such burdens may be carried through the United Nations.

If that is not clear and adequate, Mr. President, certainly nothing remains unsaid in the preamble and amendment which the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has added to the pending bill. Certainly I would be the last man in America to sanction any blow at the prestige and authority of the United Nations. But I also hope I would be the last man in America to drain off that prestige and authority by assigning them a total task which, in point of time and resources, would be foredoomed to sin-

ister failure. I am unable to understand how we could undermine an institution dedicated to human rights and fundamental freedom, to independent governments of free men in a free world, when we supplement these dedications with our own direct succor to those who are imminently threatened with their loss, and when we ask the United Nations to hold us to strict accountability for what we do. No, Mr. President, we are not bypassing the United Nations. We are sustaining them. We are serving peace—emphatically including peace for ourselves—when we strive, in prudent time, to arrest those frictions and disintegrations which otherwise could culminate in an atomic war which must never happen.

Mr. President, as I conclude, let me say that your Foreign Relations Committee unanimously recommends the passage of this amended measure. It is regrettable that policies of such magnitude could not have had more time for consideration. I knew nothing of the matter until we were called to the White House on February 27. I repeat, it is unfortunate when such important decisions have to be made on a crisis basis. But we confront a condition, and not a theory. We have made extraordinary efforts in the committee to let in the light. We held public hearings. We heard every citizen who asked to be heard. We resorted to the novel technique of inviting all Senators to contribute to a questionnaire; and we have made public the State Department's categorical replies. We are suggesting some amendments to the bill, aimed generally at tighter controls and specific liaison with the United Nations. But, sir, the truth of the matter is that, even though we had had months of study at our command, Congress does not have an unprejudiced chance to exercise truly independent and objective judgments in such circumstances as we here confront. This statement leads to the final consideration which no Senator can ignore in respect to his decision.

Congress does not enjoy original jurisdiction in foreign relations. That is the prerogative of the Chief Executive. We come in, usually, only at the eleventh hour, when our choice is the lesser of two evils—as in this instance, when we must decide which is the wiser "calculated risk" for us. To be or not to be? To do or not to do? As when we have been asked, upon other occasions, to declare war, the fact is that by the time these issues reach us for ultimate conclusions, we are heavily precommitted by the very fact of the Presidential request. I do not for an instant mean to say we cannot act on our own independent judgments. I do not mean to say that it is not still our solemn duty to act in keeping with our own estimate of the national welfare and security. I do not mean to say that we can either shift or dodge our share of responsibility, and I would not attempt to do so. But I do mean to say that among the paramount factors to which we dare not deny due weight is this: To repudiate the President of the United States at such an hour could display a divisive weakness which might involve far greater jeopardy

than a sturdy display of united strength. We are not free to ignore the price of noncompliance.

In my view, Mr. President, the price of noncompliance in the instant case—in addition to all other reasons for prompt passage of this bill—would be the forfeiture of all hope to effectively influence the attitude of other nations in our peaceful pursuit of international righteousness from now on. It would stunt our moral authority and mute our voice. It would encourage dangerous contempts. It would invite provocative misunderstandings of the tenacity with which we are prepared to defend our fundamental ideals. Mr. President, what would you think if you were a citizen of Athens? Where would you be forced to turn in your hopeless extremity? What would you think if you were a citizen of Ankara? What would you think if you were a citizen of any other of the weary, war-worn nations who are wondering this afternoon whether the torch still burns in the upraised hand of Liberty; whether it is hopeless to struggle on toward democratic freedom? And what would you think, Mr. President, if you were the Politburo in Moscow's Kremlin?

The Foreign Relations Committee, without political division, supports the President of the United States. It does so for the sake of the humanities. It does so for the sake of peace with justice. But above all else, it does so for the sake of the Stars and Stripes. [Applause.]

PURCHASE OF SURPLUS PROPERTY BY RECONSTRUCTION FINANCE CORPORATION

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, yesterday, during the call of the calendar, the Senate passed House bill 2535, to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act. I had been asked to object to the consideration of the bill when it was reached on the call of the calendar, but I was off the floor when it was reached, and I confess that I defaulted in the request that was made of me.

Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent for the reconsideration of the vote by which the Senate passed this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LANGER. What is the bill?

Mr. WHITE. It is House bill 2535, a bill to amend the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act. I had agreed, as I have said, that I would object to the consideration of the bill, but in the confusion of the day I was off the floor, and I missed the opportunity, and failed in the obligation to ask that the bill be passed over. I now ask unanimous consent for the reconsideration of the vote by which the bill was passed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maine? In the absence of objection, the request is granted, and the vote is reconsidered.

Mr. WHITE. I now ask that the bill be restored to the Senate Calendar.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the order is made.

FARM LABOR SUPPLY PROGRAM

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration Order of Business No. 49, House bill 2102, the so-called farm labor bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the bill by title for the information of the Senate.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Missouri.

Mr. KEM. I find it necessary to object to the motion of the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. AIKEN. It was not a motion, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk is about to state the bill by title for information only. The Senator's objection can be entered at a later time.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (H. R. 2102) to provide for a 6 months' extension and final liquidation of the farm-labor-supply program, and for other purposes.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I asked that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House bill 2102. However, if the Senator from Missouri objects to the unanimous-consent request, it will be necessary for me to move that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside and that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 49, House bill 2102. So long as objection has been raised, I do so move.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. KEM. Is the motion debatable?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion is debatable.

Mr. KEM. I should like to be heard on it.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I believe I have the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont has the floor.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, House bill 2102 is the so-called farm labor bill. It provides for an extension of the farm labor program for a period of 6 months after the 1st of July of this year. If this program is to be effective and do any good to the farmers this year, it is essential that the bill be acted upon at this time, because planting is already under way in many parts of the country.

Mr. President, in January 1943 the War Manpower Commission by directive transferred responsibility for farm labor placements from the United States Employment Service to the United States Department of Agriculture. Senate bill 724, which we are now considering really under the title of House bill 2102, would extend for 6 months the farm labor program which has been conducted by the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural extension services of the several States since 1943. The program has provided much-needed labor for the planting, the cultivating, the harvesting, and the processing of food crops vitally

needed for domestic consumption and for export.

According to the testimony adduced at the hearings on the bill, sufficient labor of the kind required by producers and processors of agricultural commodities is not available where needed at the present time. According to the recent surveys made by the Department of Agriculture and the State extension services, an adequate supply of farm labor will not be available during the remainder of this year unless the labor supply program is continued. The present program will continue until July 1 of this year, Mr. President, but, as I have said, planting is already under way, and the farmers do not feel free to go ahead with their full planting until they know whether the farm labor program is to be continued so that they will have labor available for harvesting next fall. It is obviously not to be expected of them that they will proceed to plant crops which they will be unable to harvest.

The need for farm labor is particularly acute in connection with the production of sugar beets, fruits, vegetables, and canning crops. The labor requirement in connection with the production of many of these crops is largely seasonal, but laborers are needed in particular areas for short periods only at this time.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. AIKEN. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Does this program cost the Government anything? Can the Senator tell us what the cost is to the Government?

Mr. AIKEN. Yes, indeed. The first such public law was approved April 29, 1943, and it provided \$26,100,000 for the 8 months remaining in that year. Under the next law, approved February 14, 1944, the cost was \$30,000,000. The next law was Public Law No. 529, approved December 22, 1944, which was presumably for the next year, and which carried an appropriation, representing the cost, of \$20,000,000 for the calendar year 1945. There was \$25,000,000 required for the calendar year 1946. The last law, which was approved July 23, 1946, carried an appropriation of \$12,000,000, extending until June 30, 1947.

Mr. BALDWIN. Is any of the money appropriated paid to the imported labor in the way of wages, or does it represent the cost of transportation and administration?

Mr. AIKEN. I understand—Senators who are present will correct me if I am wrong—that at times it has been necessary to pay some of the imported labor for days between jobs, when they were not assigned to employment. I assume that what was thus paid was a minimum amount.

Mr. BALDWIN. In other words, when an imported laborer is working on a farm, be it a tobacco, beet sugar, or any other kind of farm, he is paid by the man who employs him, and he receives a full day's pay, the full amount; is that correct?

Mr. AIKEN. The Senator is correct about that. The laborers have to be paid the prevailing wage for the com-

munity. I have a statement showing some of the prevailing wages, which I shall place in the RECORD a little later on. I should like at this time to show the dependency of such crops upon imported labor. I have before me a table setting forth the estimated farm and value, the percentage of the total value of the crops which are dependent on transported foreign workers for their harvesting. The table shows 34.2 percent of the sugar-beet crop dependent on such workers, 15.8 of the sugarcane crop, 31.3 percent of the sweet-potato crop, 16 percent of the snap-bean crop, 21 percent of the asparagus crop, 56.5 percent of the green-peas crop, and so on. I ask, Mr. President, that this table No. 5, giving the estimated farm value of crops for States employing transported foreign workers in harvest operations, and estimated percentage and value harvested by transported foreign workers for the calendar year 1946 be inserted in the RECORD at this point, because it gives the percentage of all that was harvested by foreign workers, including tomatoes, onions, celery, and citrus fruits. Thirty-one percent of the citrus crop has depended upon foreign workers for harvesting.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Estimated farm value of crops for States employing transported foreign workers in harvest operations, and estimated percentage and value harvested by transported foreign workers, calendar year 1946

Crops	Estimated total farm value for States employing transported foreign workers in harvest of crops indicated (1)	Estimated total farm value of crops harvested by transported foreign workers (2)	Estimated value of crops harvested by transported foreign workers as percentage of total farm value ¹ (3)
Field crops:	Thous. of dol.	Thous. of dol.	Percent
Cotton.....	85, 200	2, 366	2.8
Corn, field.....	350, 616	1, 443	.4
Corn for seed (hybrid).....	26, 235	787	3.0
Hay, alfalfa.....	112, 876	5, 471	4.8
Hay, other.....	145, 796	2, 950	2.0
Tobacco.....	485, 433	5, 585	1.1
Wheat and small grains.....	287, 552	3, 967	1.3
Miscellaneous ²	171, 342	2, 722	1.6
Total.....	1, 665, 050	25, 291	1.5
Sugar crops:			
Sugar beets.....	145, 361	49, 677	34.2
Sugarcane.....	45, 968	7, 271	15.8
Total.....	191, 329	56, 948	29.7
Vegetables:			
Potatoes, Irish.....	539, 646	44, 826	8.3
Potatoes, sweet.....	9, 080	2, 850	31.3
Snap beans.....	63, 074	10, 151	16.0
Asparagus.....	30, 817	6, 481	21.0
Green peas.....	42, 622	24, 105	56.5
Sweet corn.....	137, 322	14, 261	10.4
Tomatoes.....	127, 051	31, 390	24.7
Onions.....	12, 253	2, 760	22.6
Carrots.....	3, 084	425	13.8
Celery.....	16, 001	4, 206	26.3
Lettuce.....	1, 236	194	15.7
Miscellaneous ²	537, 526	120, 634	22.4
Total.....	1, 519, 712	262, 289	17.3

Footnotes at end of table.

As a result of the last 5 or 6 years of importations of foreign labor from the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, it will be found more and more troublesome for those who produce sugar beets in the Western States and those who produce other and different perishable crops in this country, to get the average American agricultural worker to go into the fields and do the stoop labor.

I hope that those who are responsible for the production of these perishable crops and who are compelled to employ this kind and type of labor will begin now to adjust themselves to the time when sooner or later this kind of an appropriation must by necessity be denied. In my judgment now is the time for those people to begin to set their house in order, for sooner or later the Government of the United States must cease to appropriate millions of dollars each year to bring to this country these migratory workers. That is especially true if we have heavy unemployment in this country.

I merely mention this in passing because as I said before I am going to support the bill. While this may be in vain, I do hope that at the end of 6 months we will not be faced again with a similar measure for a continuance of the importation of labor of the kind we have been discussing, necessitating an appropriation out of the Federal Treasury of some fifteen or sixteen million dollars.

I appreciate that this is still a part of the war program and in this reconstruction era I am willing to go as far as any one in appropriating the necessary funds to produce sugar and the other perishable crops which are vital to our economy and to our way of life. But I repeat what I said before, those who are engaged in this great industry throughout the United States should begin to find ways and means of finding their own labor in the shortest period of time, because this cannot go on indefinitely.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the committee, as amended.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question now is, Shall the bill pass?

The bill (H. R. 2102) was passed.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist upon its amendment, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the President pro tempore appointed Mr. AIKEN, Mr. BUSHFIELD, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. THOMAS of Oklahoma, and Mr. ELLENDER conferees on the part of the Senate.

INVESTIGATION OF POSTMASTER APPOINTMENTS

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Order No. 78, Senate Resolution 81, authorizing the Committee on

Civil Service to investigate the appointment of first-, second-, or third-class postmasters.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the first amendment of the committee.

The first amendment of the committee was, on page 2, line 5, after the word "investigation", to strike out "as to why few if any Republicans have been appointed to the offices of first-, second-, or third-class postmasters for the last 14 years, how many Republicans have been removed" and to insert "as to political activities in the civil service in the appointment of first-, second-, and third-class postmasters."

Mr. LUCAS. A parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LUCAS. Is the Senate in executive session?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate is in legislative session.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I should like to propound a question to the chairman of the committee before we vote on the amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from North Dakota has the floor. Does he yield?

Mr. LANGER. I yield.

Mr. HAYDEN. I should like to make inquiry with respect to the budget the Senator has submitted. Through inadvertence, the budget was not printed in the report. I am sure that was unintentional on the part of the Committee on Rules and Administration, because my understanding is that when an investigating committee asks for money from the contingent fund a budget must be submitted and the budget is to be included in the report of the Committee on Rules and Administration. That was done in the case of the resolution submitted by the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER], and it has been done a number of times. Through inadvertence, the budget was not included in the report on the pending resolution, and therefore the Senate has no knowledge as to that.

I am not blaming anyone. The budget provides for an expenditure of \$35,000.

Mr. LANGER. That is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. A chief counsel at the rate of \$10,000 a year, a chief investigator at \$7,628, three investigators at \$5,695, four assistant investigators at \$5,116. I should like to inquire of the Senator, because I have made some inquiries in the committee, whether this budget was considered by the Committee on Civil Service and approved by it.

Mr. LANGER. No; they simply told us to go ahead and prepare it and submit it to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. HAYDEN. Then I make a point of order, Mr. President. I call the attention of the Chair to Senate Resolution 77, submitted by the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY] on February 15, 1945, and reported by the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS], without amendment, considered, and agreed to, on June

28, 1945. It is now a standing rule of the Senate. It reads:

Resolved, That the Senate shall not (1) authorize the payment from the contingent fund of the Senate of the expenses, in excess of \$5,000, of any inquiry or investigation hereafter authorized, or (2) increase the amount heretofore authorized to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate in connection with any inquiry or investigation, unless, prior to adoption of the resolution authorizing such payment or providing for such increase, the committee or subcommittee thereof authorized to conduct such inquiry or investigation shall have submitted to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate—

Under the Reorganization Act that jurisdiction is transferred to the Committee on Rules and Administration—a budget, in such form as the committee may require—

There is no question as to the form—setting forth its estimates of expenses proposed to be incurred for personal services, hearings, and travel, and such other information as the committee may require.

So it is provided that the Senate shall not consider a measure appropriating money from the contingent fund of the Senate unless in conformity with the rule prescribed. My contention is that the Senate is prohibited unless the Committee on Civil Service has approved this budget; and the Committee on Civil Service has not approved the budget.

Mr. LANGER. The subcommittee has.

Mr. HAYDEN. I inquired of every member of the committee I could reach, and none of them said he had even seen the budget.

Mr. LANGER. The subcommittee consisted of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK] and myself, and at the time the matter was agreed on it was said we could go ahead and submit whatever the budget was to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY], of the Committee on Rules and Administration, of which the Senator from Arizona is a member, and we took the matter up.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is true, and I assumed the necessary action had been taken, but actually the budget was never submitted to the Committee on Civil Service.

Mr. LANGER. That is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. None of the members of the committee ever saw it—

Mr. LANGER. That is correct.

Mr. HAYDEN. Prior to the time the Senator took it to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. LANGER. The subcommittee saw it.

Mr. HAYDEN. I make the point of order that until the committee meets and approves this budget the Senate cannot appropriate any money under the pending resolution.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair's ruling turns, of course, on the question of fact. Is the Chair correct in his understanding that the Senators agree on the facts?

Mr. LANGER. We agree on the facts.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the circumstances, the point of order is sustained.

Mr. TAFT. What is this rule of the Senate? Is it a rule of the Senate today?

Mr. HAYDEN. Oh, yes.

Mr. TAFT. Was it not superseded by the La Follette-Monroney Act, section 134 (b)?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is the understanding of the Chair that the resolution is still in force.

Mr. LANGER. I shall bring the matter before the Committee on Civil Service tomorrow.

Mr. HAYDEN. That was the next point I wanted to make—

Mr. LANGER. So long as the point of order has been raised, I think that is right.

Mr. HAYDEN. I desire to suggest that the budget be reexamined. In my opinion \$35,000 is not needed to get the answer as to why so few Republicans have been appointed postmasters in the past 14 years. It is for the same reason that so few Democrats were appointed postmasters from 1921 to 1933. There were Republican administrations in those years. There have been Democratic administrations from 1933 to this time, and naturally, of course, a majority of the appointments have been Democratic.

I suggest further to the Senator that there are now pending before his committee some 639 postmaster nominations. I am sure that there would be no occasion whatever to investigate the great majority of them. By mere inquiry of the Civil Service Commission it can be ascertained in how many instances there was but one examination, and in what cases the high man was appointed.

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. KNOWLAND. I should like to ask, for the record, at what time were postmasters put under civil service?

Mr. HAYDEN. The history of that action very briefly is this: They were first put under civil service by Executive order issued by President Wilson in 1917. Prior to that time, in the McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft administrations, and in the first 4 years of the Wilson administration, they were considered political patronage. I know that, because I was in the House of Representatives and I appointed about 300 of them. I picked out friends of mine in the various towns and appointed them. But Mr. Wilson grew tired of the postmaster controversy. After his reelection he issued an Executive order providing that thereafter all postmasters should be appointed as the result of a civil-service examination, and that the high man should be appointed. During the last 4 years of his administration that is exactly the way it was done. No Representative was consulted. No Senator was consulted. No Democratic national committeeman was consulted.

When Mr. Harding became President he issued an Executive order changing it, retaining the civil-service examination, but providing that, as in all other instances, any one of the three highest per-

sons certified as qualified might be appointed. The effect of that worried the Civil Service Reform League greatly. They pointed out in a report that, under 4 years of the Wilson administration, in the 2,000 post offices they had checked over in the Northern States, 800 Republicans had been appointed, whereas only 600 Democrats had retained office. That was in the section where the Republicans predominated. It really was done on the square, but they greatly feared that this method of allowing the choice of any one of the three highest on the list would result in politics entering into the selection of postmasters. A few years later their fears were realized, according to a subsequent report, which shows that the Post Office Department, when the three names came over from the Civil Service Commission, immediately notified the Republican Representative, or, if there was no Republican Representative from the district, the Senator; if not, the national committeeman; and he made a recommendation as to which of the three should be selected.

That was carried on through the Harding administration; the Executive orders issued by Coolidge carried on the same plan; and Hoover carried it also. When Franklin Roosevelt became President, he issued an order of the same kind, which was in effect until 1936, at which time he reverted to the original Wilson idea and provided that there should be a civil-service examination, the high man to be selected.

That did not suit the House of Representatives, and a bill was immediately introduced to provide the present way of handling it. That bill was passed by the Senate and became a law, I think, sometime in 1938. Since that time postmaster appointments have been handled just the same as any other civil-service appointments; that is, one of the three highest names is selected.

Of course, in the meantime, an Executive order has been issued giving preference to veterans. That preference is now conferred by law, and in the case of the 639 nominations now pending, about 250 of them are veterans. That is why I want the Civil Service Committee to look into this matter very carefully. I am sure if they will go through the 639 names they will find comparatively few that are questioned. I doubt very much whether it will require \$35,000 to ascertain in those few cases what ought to be done. Of course, it is a matter for the committee and for the Senate to decide. That is my judgment about it.

CONTINUANCE OF COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION UNTIL JUNE 30, 1948

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 350.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the motion of the Senator from South Dakota.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 350) to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States until June 30, 1949, which had been reported from the Committee

on Agriculture and Forestry with an amendment, on page 1, line 6, after "June 30", to strike out "1949" and insert "1948", so as to make the bill read:

Be it enacted, etc., That the first sentence of subsection (a) of section 7 of the act approved January 31, 1935 (49 Stat. 4), as amended, is amended by striking out "June 30, 1947" and inserting in lieu thereof "June 30, 1948."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended so as to read: "A bill to continue the Commodity Credit Corporation as an agency of the United States until June 30, 1948."

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I know of no other legislative business to come before the Senate at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair suggests to the Senator that the Senate recur to the unfinished business, which was displaced temporarily so that other matters could be considered.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I was about to follow with that suggestion. I know of no further legislative business to be taken up at this time. I was about to move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Senate bill 938 was temporarily displaced.

Mr. WHITE. The Chair is quite correct. I move that the Senate resume consideration of Senate bill 938.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maine.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Megill, one of its clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

H.R. 1327. An act to amend existing law to provide privilege of renewing expiring 5-year level-premium-term policies for another 5-year period;

H.R. 1621. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to lend War Department equipment and provide services to the Boy Scouts of America in connection with the World Jamboree of Boy Scouts to be held in France, 1947; and to authorize the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to provide exemption from transportation tax; and further to authorize the Secretary of State to issue passports to bona fide Scouts and Scouters without fee for the application or the issuance of said passports;

H.R. 1713. An act to provide for the promotion of substitute employees in the postal service, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 1943. An act to establish a permanent Nurse Corps of the Army and the Navy and to establish a Women's Medical Specialist Corps in the Army.



CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued: April 10, 1947

For actions of: April 9, 1947

80th-1st, No. 66

CONTENTS

Atomic energy.....	2	Lands.....	10,15	Small business.....	7
Education.....	20	Livestock and meat.....	11	Social security.....	14
Expenditures.....	22,24	Minerals.....	15	Soil conservation.....	18
Fisheries.....	12	Nominations.....	2	Tobacco.....	8
Food survey.....	3	Personnel.....	13	Trademarks.....	16
Foreign affairs, 1,3,5,6,21,23		Prices, farm.....	5	Trade, foreign.....	4
Forests and forestry.....	17	Quarantine, animal.....	11	Un-American activities.....	19
Labor, farm.....	14	Records, disposition of...9		Wool.....	4

HIGHLIGHTS; Senate debated Greek-Turkish aid bill. Senate confirmed Lilienthal nomination to Atomic Energy Commission. Reps. Rich and Barrett spoke against tariff reduction on wool. Rep. Vursell criticized CCC's purchases as contributing to high prices. Rep. Gross blamed "Government interference" for high food prices.

SENATE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3323-8, 3338-41).
2. NOMINATION. Confirmed the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission (pp. 3328-30, 3342-3).
3. FOOD SURVEY. Sen. Smith, N.J., inserted letter signed by numerous persons commending Herbert Hoover's work in the survey of food conditions in Germany (pp. 3322-3).

HOUSE

4. WOOL; FOREIGN TRADE. Reps. Rich (Pa.) and Barrett (Wyo.) urged that the tariff on wool not be reduced (pp. 3350, 3352).
Rep. Eberharter, Pa., spoke in favor of reciprocal trade agreements (p. 3350) and Reps. Gavin (Pa.) and Bates (Mass.) stated that Congress should have the final say on reciprocal trade agreements (p. 3351).
5. FOOD PRICES. Rep. Gross, Pa., blamed "Government interference" for high food prices (p. 3348).
Rep. Vursell, Ill., criticized CCC's food purchases for foreign shipment as contributing to the high cost of living (p. 3350).
Rep. Holifield, Calif., blamed the removal of price controls as the chief cause of high prices in foodstuffs (pp. 3351-2).
6. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported without amendment H.J. Res. 153, providing relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by the war (H.Rept. 239) (p. 3372).
Rep. Mathews, N.J., stated that farmers are the strongest thread in our economy but that, although they were willing to feed the hungry people of Greece and Turkey, they were against military assistance (p. 3347).
Rep. Taber, N.Y., spoke opposing food relief to Russia in view of that

country's involvement in the present Greek situation (p. 3369).

7. SMALL BUSINESS. Rep. Hill, Colo., inserted George Reedy's recent radio comments on small business (pp. 3347-8).
8. TOBACCO QUOTAS. Passed over on objection H.J.Res. 152, to authorize national marketing quotas for Virginia sun-cured tobacco when fire-cured tobacco quotas are in effect (p. 3366).
9. DISPOSITION OF RECORDS. Passed without amendment H.R. 1350, to amend the National Archives Act so as to permit heads of departments and agencies to specify restrictions on the use or examination of records being, or which have been, transferred from their custody to that of the Archivist (pp. 3352-3).
10. PUBLIC LANDS. Passed as reported H.R. 603, relating to credit for military or naval service in connection with certain homestead entries (p. 3365).
11. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial urging cooperation with Mexico in the suppression of this disease (p. 3373).
12. FISHERIES. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial favoring legislation to restrict the importation of crab meat produced in foreign waters or distributed by foreign nationals outside the U.S. (p. 3373).

BILLS INTRODUCED

13. PERSONNEL. S. 1073, by Sen. Millikin, Colo., to extend until June 30, 1949, the period of time during which persons may serve in certain executive departments and agencies without being prohibited from acting as counsel, agent, or attorney for prosecuting claims against the U.S. by reason of having so served. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3320.)
14. SOCIAL SECURITY; FARM LABOR. S. 1072, by Sen. Millikin, Colo., to extend until July 1, 1949, the period during which income from agricultural labor and nursing services may be disregarded by the States in making old-age assistance payments without prejudicing their rights to grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act. To Finance Committee. (p. 3320.)
15. MINERALS; LANDS. S. 1081, by Sen. Robertson, Wyo., to promote the mining of coal, phosphate, sodium, potassium, oil, oil shale, gas, and sulfur on lands acquired by the U.S. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3320.)
H.R. 2994, by Rep. Landis, Ind., to permit the Secretary of Agriculture to execute and deliver to present owners of real property quitclaim deeds to the minerals in or under such property reserved by the U.S. pursuant to the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 3372.)
16. TRADEMARKS. H.R. 2988, by Rep. Gossett, Tex., to amend an act to provide for the protection and registration of trade-marks used in commerce, and to carry out the provisions of international conventions. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3372.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

17. FOREST AND FORESTRY. Rep. Trimble, Ark., inserted Paul H. Gerrard's (forest supervisor, Ozark National Forest, Ark.) letter regarding the work of the Forest Service in that area (pp. A1667-8).
18. SOIL CONSERVATION. Rep. Smith, Maine, inserted Obed Millett's (Chairman, Agri-

cerest gratitude for the enlightened service with which you are rounding out your years of patriotic devotion, and to assure you that it will never be forgotten.

Sincerely and cordially yours,

Charles C. Burlingham, Peter Grimm, George McAneny, Eugene Meyer, Oswald Garrison Villard, Dorothy Thompson, Henry R. Luce, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Philip D. Reed, Winthrop W. Aldrich, Anne O'Hare McCormick, Lucius M. Boomer, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., John Haynes Holmes, Shepard Morgan, Frank D. Fackenthal, James T. Shotwell, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Nicholas Murray Butler, Roger N. Baldwin, Harry Woodburn Chase, Walter Damrosch, Norman Thomas, George N. Shuster, Ray Morris, Felix Morley, Walter Rosen, Christopher Emmet, Jr., George J. Gillespie, James Marshall, Charles F. Darlington, George A. Buttrick, Oswald W. Knauth, Allen Dulles, Clare Boothe Luce, George Roosevelt, Eustace Seligman, Arthur Dean, Francis T. P. Plimpton, Jeremiah Milbank, William M. Chadbourne, Adriaan J. Barnouw, Carl Ackerman, Frederick G. Clark, William J. Donovan, Horace M. Albright, Vincent Sheean, Thomas J. Watson.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION—ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "Federal Aid for Education," delivered by him at Teachers College, Columbia University, April 7, 1947, under sponsorship of Phi Delta Kappa, which appears in the Appendix.]

ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION FOR DESIGN FOR FEDERAL MEMORIAL TO THOMAS JEFFERSON—ARTICLE FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article from the New York Times of March 30, 1947, announcing an architectural competition for a design for a Federal memorial to Thomas Jefferson, which appears in the Appendix.]

NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL TO BE CHAIRMAN OF THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement prepared by him on the subject of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, which appears in the Appendix.]

WE MUST CONQUER FEAR—STATEMENT BY SENATOR HOEY

[Mr. HOEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement entitled "We Must Conquer Fear," recently issued by him to the press, which appears in the Appendix.]

ROBERT E. LEE, THE AMERICAN—ADDRESS BY FRED P. MYERS

[Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "Robert E. Lee, the American," delivered by Fred P. Myers, commander in chief of the Sons of Confederate Veterans, in Statuary Hall, United States Capitol, on the occasion of the celebration of the one hundred and fortieth anniversary of the birth of Robert E. Lee, which appears in the Appendix.]

POPULAR ELECTION OF PRESIDENT—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD two editorials on

the subject of popular election of President, one from the Herald-News of Fall River, Mass., and the other from the Gazette, Haverhill, Mass., which appear in the Appendix.]

WAR OR PEACE—EDITORIAL FROM CAMDEN (N. J.) NEWS

[Mr. McCLELLAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Will It Be War or Peace?" published in the Camden (N. J.) News of March 13, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

BACK TO THE UNITED NATIONS—ADDRESS BY HENRY A. WALLACE

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "Back to the United Nations," delivered by Hon. Henry A. Wallace, editor of the New Republic, at Madison Square Garden, New York City, March 31, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

WORLD FEDERATION—ADDRESS BY DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on federal world government by Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, in Asheville, N. C., February 21, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY—EDITORIAL FROM THE LEWISTON (IDAHO) MORNING TRIBUNE

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial relating to proposed assistance to Greece and Turkey, from the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune of March 16, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

IMPLICATIONS OF GRECIAN-TURKISH LOAN PROPOSAL—EDITORIAL FROM STATEWIDE

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Peace—It's Monotonous," from Statewide, of Boise, Idaho, which appears in the Appendix.]

CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hill	O'Daniel
Ball	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Bricker	Holland	Pepper
Bridges	Ives	Reed
Brooks	Jenner	Revercomb
Buck	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Va.
Bushfield	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson, Wyo.
Butler	Kem	Saltonstall
Byrd	Kilgore	Smith
Cain	Knowland	Sparkman
Capehart	Langer	Stewart
Capper	Lodge	Taft
Chavez	Lucas	Taylor
Connally	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Cooper	McCarthy	Thomas, Utah
Cordon	McClellan	Thye
Donnell	McFarland	Tobey
Downey	McGrath	Tydings
Dworshak	McKellar	Umstead
Eastland	McMahon	Vandenberg
Eaton	Malone	Watkins
Flanders	Martin	Wherry
Fulbright	Maybank	White
George	Millikin	Wiley
Green	Moore	Williams
Gurney	Morse	Wilson
Hawkes	Murray	Young
Hayden	Myers	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] are absent by leave of the

Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-six Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the first committee amendment, which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 3, line 18, it is proposed to insert "and (5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this act."

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, the President has submitted his message to the joint session of Congress requesting a loan or a gift of \$400,000,000 for the use of Greece and Turkey, to be divided \$250,000,000 for Greece and \$150,000,000 for Turkey. The President based his request upon the statement that this money was needed to combat spreading communism in the Eastern Hemisphere. The UN, or United Nations, was not mentioned in the message nor has any request been made to the United Nations to take part in this problem. Hon. Warren Austin, United States delegate to the United Nations, has just stated that it is the purpose of the administration to notify the United Nations that we expect their assistance if and when we request it. Only now, weeks after the President delivered his message, has any official statement been made to place the United States in the United Nations set-up. It seems to me that the United States should have first applied to the United Nations before embarking upon this unilateral project. It has been said that the United Nations has neither the power nor the available money to act positively. Nevertheless, the United Nations was set up for this particular purpose, and apparently the administration is bypassing the United Nations in this unilateral proposal by the President. It would have created a better feeling both in this country and in the United Nations had the President applied to them to take part in this action.

Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, testifying before a congressional committee, recently asserted:

I wish to reiterate that the United States in undertaking aid to Greece and Turkey is

not assuming British obligations or underwriting British policy there or elsewhere.

In spite of Dean Acheson's statement that the United States is not undertaking aid to Greece and Turkey and is not assuming British obligations, we have the President's own statement:

No other nation except the United States is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government.

The British Government which has been helping Greece can give no financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing and liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece. The British Government has informed us that owing to its own difficulties it can no longer give financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it.

The American people do not object to aiding starving people either in Greece or Turkey, if they are starving, but the President's message goes far beyond that. Does he not, in effect, place us in the position of inviting every country in the world to make a like request for money from the United States?

It was stated by the Christian Science Monitor on March 20:

Current estimates assume that Congress will disgorge the \$400,000,000 requested for Greece and Turkey, but this will only start the operations on one small sector of the front. It is believed from preliminary estimates that the total cost of waging a counteroffensive against Russian influence by means short of war, would run to about \$5,000,000,000 a year.

Obviously we will not be confined to this single request for Greece and Turkey, but will have to underwrite all the European and Asiatic countries, and I doubt if the United States is either able or willing to engage in that sort of program. I fear that our attempt to enter the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey inevitably means another war. Oh, I know there is tremendous pressure being exerted now upon the Congress to approve this move by the President. Our top-flight statesmen have been repeatedly telling us that we must approve. Still if it is the duty of the Senate either to approve or reject this proposal, we must not be rushed into something in which we do not believe. We must not accept the statements of our eminent statesmen simply because they say we must do so.

The President says in his message that we will be obligated to provide the personnel for these two countries. Does not personnel mean soldiers and armament? No other construction can be placed upon his words. No other construction can be placed upon his intent. Undoubtedly the United States is heading once more for a world war, regardless of the protestations of the statesmen who urge us to do what the President requests.

What difference is there in the pattern of this request than the pattern of former President Roosevelt in World War II? Were we not assured over and over again by him that our boys would not be required to take part in another war? The record is full of such protestations and yet in the end we entered the most terrible war in history. Is that to be the

outcome of this move into the Mediterranean area? Apparently this has the same pattern as that of World War II.

Our distinguished leader has told us that it is the duty of each individual Senator to examine the facts for himself and then make up his own mind as to what judgment should prevail. I have done exactly that. I have taken the facts as they have been discussed in the hearings and I can arrive at no other conclusion than that it is a serious mistake for the United States to enter this movement into the eastern European area. After examining those facts it appears to me that only one conclusion can be arrived at by a conscientious Member of Congress, and that is that we should deny the President's request.

If this proposal of the President's is made for the purpose of stopping communism from spreading in Europe, what about communism in the United States? J. Edgar Hoover and other able men have stated publicly that communism has become infiltrated into many walks of life in the United States. On every hand we hear of Communists here at home gradually, but certainly, working into our Government and our industries.

We have been told repeatedly that the President's hands must be upheld for the purpose of helping free people everywhere. Let me remind the President that the Greeks are not a free people; Greece is a monarchy. Nor are the people of Turkey free after the pattern of the United States.

Many have forgotten that the famous Monroe Doctrine, which has become a settled policy of the United States, is a two-way highway applying equally to Europe as to the Western Hemisphere. Europe is notified by that doctrine to keep out of South America. By the same policy the same doctrine applies to Europe. It is a two-way highway, and if we are to insist that Russia and other European countries keep out of South America, it is equally true that we should keep out of Europe. But those who are insisting that the Monroe Doctrine only applies to the Western Hemisphere have apparently forgotten that it applies equally to Europe and Asia.

It is difficult for Senators to understand the necessity for this sudden action on the part of the President. True, we are now told that most of the spade work of drafting the Truman message was done by the State Department financial and economic and political experts, under the chairmanship of Loy O. Henderson, Director of Near Eastern and African Affairs, but is that the real reason for this sudden activity on the part of the administration? One has a right to wonder.

As Frank Waldrop says in the Times-Herald on March 16:

Mr. Truman has discovered all of a sudden that the Communists of the world are dangerous people, and so they are.

But why is it the Communists are more dangerous in Greece and Turkey than they are in Washington, D. C.?

Here he comes to Congress and asks approximately half a billion dollars to start an anti-Communist program abroad that says to Russia plain as day, "If you want a war, we're ready."

Yet, right now, today, there are on the pay roll of the taxpayers of the United States Communists who are for Russia first, and have been ever since Mr. Truman came to Washington, a freshman Senator from Missouri.

In fact, they were in Washington long before him. They came here with his predecessor in the Presidency and laughed at Roosevelt as "the Kerensky of our revolution."

They demonstrated their power in the Roosevelt administration right at the start. Who remembers the late Dr. William Wirt, of Gary, Ind.? Dr. Wirt was a distinguished and liberal educator of world renown.

He came to Washington to see what the brand-new deal was like. He didn't come as a pay-roll patriot, but as a plain patriot, wanting to find out what kind of people had risen to power.

What he found out was that the Communists and their fellow travelers had at last, with Roosevelt, got themselves into places of power and importance in our Government. So he gave warning.

Did the newspaper editors and college presidents and Members of Congress and other such opinion makers take him seriously? Well does this writer remember how, for instance, the distinguished Baltimore Sun and New York Times gave out gentlemanly haw-haws at Dr. Wirt and how college presidents the country over followed up the cue. As for Congress, it was just as guilty as Roosevelt in those days, and it deliberately made Dr. Wirt a laughing stock.

He went to his grave a bitter and frustrated man, while the editors of the Baltimore Sun and the New York Times and all such noble-minded heavy thinkers continued to say that we must worry about fascism and nazism abroad, but, as for communism, why, it is not a problem and, besides, to criticize the Communists would be Red-baiting, and who wants to be a Red-baiter?

This proposed aid for Greece and Turkey is a complete change of policy from anything that the United States has ever engaged in. I want to say now categorically that I am opposed to this loan, or gift, by whatever name it is called, and urge Senators to join me in voting against it.

I am not an internationalist, nor am I an isolationist. The Republican Party now believes, and always has believed, in refraining from meddling in the affairs of other countries. I am an American, first, last, and all the time, believing in our form of government and the welfare of America before that of any other people.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, within the next few days the Senate will pass upon the proposed loan or grant to the Greek and Turkish Governments. This will be a critical hour. America will then take a new course.

The world is truly at the crossroads. There is hunger, cold, and sickness in practically every part of the world. The aftermath of war, the most destructive war of all time, and the thought that we may have another war are causes of unrest, uncertainty, and confusion. Unfortunately this applies even to the United States.

For the first time in civilization's history the world is looking to the Western Hemisphere for hope, guidance, and peace.

As a newcomer to the Senate I had fully intended to remain silent during these deliberations. But world conditions and what I have observed on the

home front compel me at this time to offer some observations for the consideration of Senators in connection with the discussion of the Greek-Turkish loan.

When the President recently called upon Congress to spend \$400,000,000 to prop up the existing regimes of Greece and Turkey he turned a new page in history for the United States.

It seems to me that in our study and discussion of this proposed loan—or shall I say grant or gift—to Greece and Turkey, we should consider it not as an isolated plan but as a tile in a large mosaic. If the United States proceeds to take the step requested, it should not do so with blinders on. The Nation should act only after a careful look around the barrel. Before we sign on the dotted line we should lay down firmly and understand clearly the terms and conditions upon which we embrace this new policy. The searchlight of truth should be turned on in full force for the benefit of the American people.

Through much of its history, the United States has been the victim of fuzzy diplomacy. We have never lost a shooting war, but we have won few diplomatic battles. Invariably this has left us out on the end of a limb when we should have been resting comfortably in the shade at the foot of the tree.

If we had been more practical and hard-boiled in demanding adherence to the ideals of our people in 1917, our allies would then have committed themselves for the postwar period. But we waited until the shooting was over. Then they did not need us any more. They were not interested in our wishes, and as a result we found ourselves in the unholy mess of the Versailles Peace Conference.

If during World War II we had been tough-minded enough to lay down conditions for our help and lend-lease, we would not find ourselves in the unholy mess of today at Moscow and generally about the world. We would not have secret conditions, spawned in secret conferences, bobbing up to haunt us. We would not be discovering belatedly that we were promising and giving away everything without proper regard for our own national safety and the peace of the world.

In 1942 and 1943, for instance, we might have settled with the British the troubled and important Palestine issue in which real red-blooded Americans are greatly interested.

Today we face a new situation in which British interests are prime. Are we to jump into this thing blindly as though it had no connection with anything else in the world? Or are we going to consider the collateral aspects before it is too late? I think there is similarity between the troubles faced by the British in Greece and their problems in Palestine. So far as I am concerned, there is no time like the present for being hard-boiled and for having a clear understanding. If we are going to be soft-brained and merely let ourselves be swept along, we are due for another round of regrets and recriminations. I hope we have learned our lesson.

This is a good time for the British to make clear once and for all their atti-

tude on Palestine. It is a good time to let them know that America expects them to comply with their solemn obligations as set forth in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924. In bringing these matters to the attention of the Senate, I am not unmindful of the fact that the problem has been submitted to the United Nations.

Mr. President, recently I issued a statement on the Palestine situation. I now ask unanimous consent that this statement be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT ON PALESTINE ISSUED BY SENATOR EDWARD MARTIN, OF PENNSYLVANIA

Consideration of the British proposal with respect to economic and military aid for Greece inevitably centers attention upon the course they have taken in other lands where downtrodden and oppressed people placed their trust, confidence, and their hope of survival in the pledged word of the British Government.

In view of Great Britain's appeal that the United States assume her commitments in Greece, I cannot resist the opportunity of discussing her policy toward Palestine.

Such discussion does not, in any way, reflect on the merits of the request for our Government's assistance in Greece and Turkey.

I have long been interested in the matter of helping the unfortunate children of Israel who need help so desperately.

During my term as Governor of Pennsylvania I urged that the President and the Secretary of State take a very firm position with our friend, Great Britain, in order to relieve and correct the horrible plight of the persecuted Jews of Europe.

In fact, before the British Foreign Secretary's attack upon our President, I wrote to both President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall urging a firm stand by our Government toward the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in displaced persons camps of Europe.

To desire for these homeless Jews a peaceful haven in the Holy Land is not partisan; it is not political—it is humane, it is a legal and spiritual obligation of both America and Great Britain.

Both the Republican and Democratic Parties made a solemn pledge in their 1944 party platforms.

The Republicans spoke in these words: "In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women, and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth." The Democratic platform used the following language: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

The time has come to stop giving these unfortunate men, women, and children mere lip service. The time has come to stop sending greetings on the occasions of their high holidays, but rather to supplant them with such action that may prove more beneficial.

The time has come for our Government to treat the British attitude toward Palestine not only as a diplomatic and humanitarian matter, but also as a legal matter. Under

the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924 and subsequent arrangements, the United States has a right and a duty to insist that the international obligations assumed by Great Britain be no longer disregarded by the British Government.

Our general friendliness with Great Britain should not deter us from protesting illegal conduct by our friends across the ocean. We certainly have had no hesitancy in protesting against other nations. Injustice is injustice by whomever committed and nothing but good can result in the long run if our Government takes a firm stand.

In Europe today, in camps for displaced persons, and wandering the highways of a torn continent are a few hundred thousand homeless Jews—all that are left after the awful sin against their people by Hitler and his Nazi hordes.

For them, in a very real and not merely in a symbolic sense, Palestine is the end of the road for the wandering Jew. It is a place they can call home. It is their last hope on earth.

Yet—and this is such a bitter mockery—Britain permits only a trickle of immigration into the Holy Land.

Under the mandate, Britain must facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement. If Britain desires to ask the United Nations to change the terms of the trust which she is supposed to execute, well and good; but until this has been done, Britain has a legal obligation to continue fulfilling that trust.

The immigration of 1500 persons a month is not fulfillment. It is one more brutal jest against a people whose sufferings in the past decade have been without parallel in modern history.

There is a doctrine of law common to England and to this country—that anyone who seeks equitable relief from a burden alleged to be too heavy, must come into court with clean hands. I think we have a right to expect clean hands from Britain before she submits her request regarding Palestine to the United Nations. We have a right to expect this—not coarse attacks by the British Foreign Secretary.

It is intolerable that the immediate movement into Palestine of the first 100,000 Jewish refugees at a speedy rate—should be dangled as bait and made conditional upon everybody else accepting British ideas of future policy. After all, a mandate over a country is not a fee simple title to that land and its people.

This movement of the 100,000 should start at once. Neither the Government of the United States nor the United Nations as a whole, should agree to entertain the British request to study the long-range Palestine problem until the United Kingdom has shown that much evidence of good faith.

In view of Mr. Bevin's statement, I feel that Congress has a definite right and duty to demand that provisions of the mandate be taken from the shelf and brought to life. We have a right and duty to demand also application of the portions of the mandate which deal with equal rights for inhabitants of Palestine.

The mandate and the Anglo-American Treaty direct the British government to facilitate Jewish settlement on the land in Palestine. They provide also, that no discrimination should be shown among the inhabitants of the country by reason of race or religion. Actually, however, Jews are being prohibited by regulation from settling and acquiring land in most of Palestine.

In this respect, Britain brazenly violates the elementary civil rights of the Jewish population of Palestine.

This is being done in a country upon which the Jews have special claims—only one of which is international law. It is being done by a socialistic government supposed to be particularly sensitive to human rights.

Aside from every other reason which has been mentioned, I insist there is a special

reason why all Christian people should extend a helping hand to the unfortunate Jews of Europe.

It is from the loins of that ancient race that our own faith has sprung. They are a part of the basic history of Christianity and, indeed, have become our historic responsibility.

We owe it to ourselves as well as to them to meet this responsibility by firmly and fearlessly declaring to the British Government that America expects the fulfillment of this legal and moral obligation.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, the Palestine issue illustrates one of the two points I wish to make—that this country's policy makers have a habit of swan-diving into the pool without first looking to see whether there is any water there. This is an important collateral issue. It is likewise an issue on which we have long had Britain's promise, but never Britain's fulfillment.

The second point is that the policy makers take the American people with them blindfolded. Our leaders fail to disclose all the facts.

The proposed \$400,000,000 expenditure has been frankly described as a barrier of gold to keep communism out and to permit free governments an honest opportunity to grow and spread.

I am not opposing this loan—or gift—to Greece and Turkey. I, too, have a desire to keep communism out and to water the roots of free government abroad, because that helps free government at home. But, I would like to know that it is free government that we are helping, government which respects the dignity of the individual man and which does not seek to subjugate him under an autocratic state. To bolster and prop up tottering governments which oppress the great masses of their people and deny minorities their rights is not in keeping with American ideals. This is something we should settle now—not later, when they do not need us any more.

But, Mr. President, it will take a vast amount of gold to build that high wall against communism. I wonder if any Member of the United States Senate, or anyone in President Truman's administration, can say how high and how long the wall must be. From such information as I have been able to gather, the \$400,000,000 is only the beginning. Shortly after the President's address to Congress, the Acting Secretary of State announced that an additional \$600,000,000 would be required for Korea.

If those were the only requests to be made, perhaps I would not be so deeply concerned, but only recently I was advised by a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the over-all program for aid and development of foreign nations will represent an investment of \$31,885,000,000 of the taxpayers' money. This statement, while shocking to me, was reiterated at great length and in detail in the March 21 issue of the United States News. Yet back of all that, in the shadows, are the yet unvoiced requests for more and more for this place and that place all over the globe.

Mr. President, as I said, I am not opposing the \$400,000,000 expenditure. But first I should like to have some idea of how much we may be called upon to

vote during the next 2 or the next 4 years. I do not want to be told 6 months from now, "You helped get us into this thing with your vote for the \$400,000,000. We are now in it up to our necks and it is up to you to sign a blank check for funds to finish the job." It seems to me that we should not be called upon to legislate on any such basis.

Not only the Senate of the United States but, even more important, all the people of the United States have a right to all available information on this matter. Our folks back home are the ones who must carry the new burden on their backs, loaded atop the present \$258,000,000,000 national debt. They have a right to know what is at the end of the road for them if they say "No." They also have a right to know what is at the end of the road if they provide the \$400,000,000 and then stop. Finally, they have a right to know what awaits them if they give the green light for full speed ahead.

I admit that all the answers are not known, but the best available information should be given.

We all have a right to know just how much burden the United States as a whole can bear.

Before we can answer this question we must make a survey and inventory of our financial condition, and we must determine whether we are willing to make the necessary sacrifices.

It is a time when the global picture should be revealed.

Let us know of all our commitments, wherever made.

What financial commitments have been made in Europe and the Far East?

What expenditures are already made, and what additional commitments are contemplated?

How long shall we continue relief in Greece, Turkey, and the other countries of Europe and the Far East?

What personnel, civilian, and military, is contemplated to administer and carry out the policies adopted or to be adopted?

What estimate has been made of the cost of rehabilitation of Germany and Japan?

We must know all these things, because governments can go broke the same as can individuals.

In very recent days we have had a grim graphic demonstration that there is a bottom to the pocketbook of even the richest nations. We have learned that wealthy world empires can suddenly find themselves poor.

During the lifetime of all of us it was the proud boast of a great people that the sun never set on the British flag. Britain was the great world empire. It was the balance of power. From the ends of the earth—from the Tropics, from the temperate zones, and from the frozen polar areas—wealth funneled to Britain. In exchange this empire worked and spent ceaselessly to maintain stability and balance around the globe. Many figured all this would last forever.

But in the month of March 1947—last month—Britain sighed and laid down her burden, announcing to the world, "It is too heavy; we cannot go on."

Mr. President, Britain which during our lifetime was the richest and most

powerful country on earth, had filed what amounted to a voluntary petition in bankruptcy.

As I see it, from their experience should come the warning and the proof that it can happen here, as well.

The people of the United States and the Congress of the United States should be told the facts. They should be advised that they cannot burn the candle at both ends, or we shall find ourselves tomorrow where Britain finds itself today.

Our people must learn that there is a bottom even to the American pocket. I hope we shall not have to learn it the hard way, as the British did.

Our people must be told without equivocation and without deceit that if they spend abroad, they must pinch at home. I understand I am saying things that many people do not like to hear. Perhaps many will resent my saying these things. However, I am not engaged in a popularity contest. I am after facts. I am gravely concerned, just as all other Senators are, about the future of America.

Our people must be made to understand that if we build that barrier of gold in Greece and Turkey and Korea and elsewhere, we cannot spend the same money twice; we cannot use it to buy comforts and luxuries for our homes.

Our people must realize that they cannot expect new and expanded services from Washington.

Our people must be made to understand that it will be necessary to cut, and cut sharply, into Federal services which have been built up in the past 15 years. They must be told now that sacrifices will be in order on the home front.

They must learn that local communities, counties, and State governments must assume a greater share of the responsibilities, and that many of the services which they expect from Uncle Sam must be furnished at the local levels.

Let me point out that it makes no difference how strong financially each of the 48 States remains; if we undermine and destroy the financial structure of the Federal Government, each and every one of them will be caught in the backwash and will be destroyed.

I notice with surprise that many of the same persons who are foremost in the fight to save Greece and the other countries from communistic domination are also foremost in calling for maintenance of all existing Federal services and for the adoption of new ones. That is the kind of thing which will pitch our ship of state high on the jagged rocks of financial disaster.

This statement would seem to be a direct thrust at the present Democratic administration, for certainly the shoe fits there, and fits perfectly. But I do not mean it as such. I have no intention of belaboring the obvious. I am speaking of people outside of government and outside of Washington—the folks back home in the districts.

Some of them, for instance, are placing considerable pressure upon Congress for elaborate new educational assistance for the States. We are being asked for a new appropriation for this purpose. But that is only a starter. I have been ad-

vised it is merely the first step, the first request. I have been told that after this beachhead is established an even larger sum will be asked next year, and the year after, and so on.

I say that our people should be informed honestly and completely that if we give or lend this \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey—which apparently will commit us to greater sums as required—they cannot expect additional educational benefits from the Federal Government, because the cupboard may be bare.

It has been estimated that the GI bill of rights and other benefits already voted for our veterans will eventually cost the country \$30,000,000,000 or more. But if we check on the bills already introduced this session to help veterans—and there are plenty more to come—we find that additional billions would be required. America cannot do too much for its disabled veterans and the dependents of those who made the supreme sacrifice, but our veterans and taxpayers should be given a very clear picture of what this contemplated new plunge will mean to them.

And so it goes, down the list for the various requests that have been made.

During the New Deal era, our Government blossomed out on all sides with new tinsel and services. They have appeared in every department. Entirely new agencies have sprung up. Each of them cost money. In the aggregate they cost billions.

Somebody has got to step up and say to our people: "If we go into this thing, you will get no new services or new benefits from the Government. In fact, if we go into this, we will be compelled to cut out some of the things to which you have already become accustomed."

Otherwise we will head down the road taken by Britain. We will spend more than we can afford. We will seek to keep alive and vigorous by drinking our own blood for nourishment. For us, the question will cease to be: "Will excessive Federal spending break us?" Instead, it will become, merely, "How soon?"

Mr. President, I said a few moments ago that there may be much merit in propping up Greece and Turkey at this time. That is not the question on which we seek the pros and cons. What we want all the facts about—for and against—are these questions:

What is the bill going to involve—not merely for the first treatment, but for the entire course of treatments?

How much of our household budget money must we sacrifice for this course of treatments?

And what is the alternative if we do not sign up for the course?

Even if no one has all the answers, I call for a public airing of those which are available. We should have answers, not only from Members of the Senate, but also from the persons in the administration who know the most about the situation.

If we are to be an influence for good in the world, we must remain strong. We cannot help others if we destroy ourselves.

Mr. President, I do not favor isolationism and I am not opposing the proposed

expenditures, but I make these observations because I do know there must be a strong, solvent, dynamic America if we are to bring happiness to the peoples of the world, as well as to our own folks at home.

Mr. President, I know that all the Members of this body, as well as all the people of America, were greatly impressed by the magnificent address which you, as the head of the great Foreign Relations Committee, delivered in the Senate yesterday. But what I am now urging is that all people in America shall understand the situation which now confronts us. We cannot spend the money for two different things, one for foreign aid and the other for domestic improvements. We must keep America dynamic and solvent. We must get back to the old ideals of thrift, prudence, hard work, and love of God, which made this the greatest Nation on the earth. It is the only beacon of hope in the whole world, it is the only instrumentality which can protect us and the rest of the world from chaos, disorder, and probably disaster.

Again I say, Mr. President, that I am not opposing this loan, but I am hoping and praying that this body, the House of Representatives, the members of the executive departments, and all the people of the United States may seriously consider the situation now approaching in America from a financial standpoint.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. MARTIN. I yield.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator in his address, which is most thought provoking, and manifests great sincerity, brought out one point which I should like to emphasize. As he presented the subject, he spoke of the need for thrift, prudence, and economy, stated that our national economy is threatened, and adverted to the large sums being paid our veterans through legislation enacted by the Congress in the aftermath of the war. That was a part of the evidence he adduced.

I point out that the eminent statesman Briand, of France, made a trenchant statement some years ago to the effect that in modern warfare no nation wins. During the recent war the United States was spending \$8,000,000,000-plus every 30 days to carry on the war, and \$100,000,000,000-plus every year. All that money is destroyed capital, destroyed forever. Our boys went overseas and won the war, if any nation ever can be said to win a war. Now they are back in the United States. Certainly I do not think for a moment the Senator from Pennsylvania wishes his speech to be construed as meaning that there is any lack of understanding on our part as citizens and Members of Congress that whatever is required to rehabilitate shattered lives and to reinstall the servicemen in civilian life should be provided, insofar as the Members of Congress can see that it is provided. Does not the Senator from Pennsylvania agree?

Mr. MARTIN. Absolutely.

Mr. TOBEY. Perhaps I got the wrong impression, but in calling the roll of the items the Senator brought in the veter-

ans' matter, and I did not want to let that go unchallenged, because I did not think for a moment the distinguished Senator had any lack of sympathy for the veterans. Merely to clarify the RECORD, I mention the point.

Mr. MARTIN. I thank the Senator very much. There is no Member of the Senate who is more enthusiastic about making contributions for the benefit of the disabled veteran, or taking care of the dependents of those who made the supreme sacrifice, than am I, and I thank the Senator very much.

Mr. TOBEY. The Senator and I both appreciate, as I am sure our colleagues do, that the cataclysmic effect of the hell we call war is now coming home to us as never before. We realize that when we go into war, when we open the door to war, God only knows what the end will be. The repercussions will continue from generation to generation. Yet, on the horizon still is the danger of a third world war. I agree with the Senator that God only knows what is ahead of us, so we must live day by day as best we can, and always with a sense of our responsibility to those who bore the heat of the battle.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the first amendment of the committee, which has been stated.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, is it the intention of the majority leader that the Senate proceed with the bill at this time?

Mr. WHITE. A number of Senators have indicated a desire to speak upon the bill, and, so far as I know, no one of them is prepared to go forward at this time. I think that means that we must either proceed to vote—and I take it there might be more or less serious objection to that—or to stand in recess until 5 o'clock.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I suggest to the able majority leader that we might continue with the committee amendments, and adopt them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CAIN in the chair). Does the Senator from Nebraska yield to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I see no reason why we should not complete at least the committee amendments today. I have no disposition to hurry any Senator into a premature decision in respect to the bill, but it is acknowledged that we are not entirely free agents in respect to the time we can spend on it. I know there are a number of speeches to be made which are not ready today, but I should hope we might complete the committee amendments, and I am wondering whether some of the individual amendments could not be presented today, such as those which may be submitted by my able friend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], who has just risen.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I am not quite ready to present my amendments. I have five of them, and they will be presented with a full explanation. Of course, I should be very glad to see the committee amendments out of the way, so that the track would be cleared for my amendments. However, if we are going to do any work on the committee amendments, or anything else, or take any action pertaining to this bill, I think we ought to have a quorum call, so that the Members may be advised that we were taking action.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator will yield further, of course, I have no objection to a quorum call, and I realize that Senators have not been on notice that we probably would be down to actual work on the bill today. If we can complete the committee amendments today, so far as I am concerned I should be willing that it go over until tomorrow, but I should certainly like to have it understood that commencing tomorrow we may devote continuous, full-time attention to the bill until it is out of the way. So, I suggest that we proceed with the committee amendments. I think there is no controversy respecting them, and I doubt whether even a quorum call is necessary for that purpose.

Mr. WHITE. I am in complete agreement with the Senator from Michigan. The amendments have all received full consideration at the hands of the committee. They come with the unanimous approval of the committee of which the distinguished Senator from Michigan is chairman. I think we might very appropriately proceed with the committee amendments, and that, at the conclusion, unless there are Members who desire to discuss the bill further, a recess be taken until, say, a quarter to 5.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, the only difficulty I see is that it seems to me the committee amendments raise some of the principal questions involved in the whole debate. I wonder whether if the debate were to be continued it ought not to be continued also at least on the two amendments on pages 7 and 8.

Mr. WHITE. Would it be agreeable to the chairman of the committee that we proceed with unobjected-to committee amendments?

Mr. TAFT. I have no objection to the amendments. It merely seemed to me they were such an intrinsic part of any further debate that it might be questionable to foreclose ideas that may arise as the debate goes on, as to possible modification of the amendments. If they are adopted now, they cannot be amended again; they could not be exchanged in any manner except by unanimous consent.

Mr. WHITE. They could be passed over now, if any Senator desired.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senate is going to pass over any of them, we might as well pass them all over and do nothing today, because there are only two or three amendments. It had not occurred to me that the amendments involve any points inherent in the amendments themselves upon which there can be any dissent. If the Senator from Ohio objects to proceeding, I certainly shall not

insist, but I shall have to submit to him with great candor that I am not impressed by the point he makes.

Mr. TAFT. I withdraw the objection, Mr. President. There are very few Senators present, and I would think the amendments involved rather important points.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have no disposition to press, Mr. President. May we do this? I should like to get the amendment on page 7 in the final form which the committee desires to place it. May we at least do that? That means the amendment which I have submitted to section 2 of the amendment, at the bottom of page 7. May I suggest that that be submitted to the Senate, so that then the bill is at least in the form which the Committee on Foreign Relations intended to have it presented. I ask that the amendment, which I have offered, at the bottom of page 7, be submitted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request made by the Senator from Michigan? Hearing none, the clerk will state the committee amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 7, after line 15, it is proposed to insert:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable; and

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. To the committee amendment the Senator from Michigan offers an amendment, which the clerk will state.

The CHIEF CLERK. In the committee amendment on page 7, line 21, it is proposed to strike out the words "the President is officially notified by the United Nations that"; and on page 7, line 24, to strike out the word "that", so that paragraph (2) of section 5 of the committee amendment will read: "If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable; and."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to the committee amendment, is agreed to.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, in view of the action taken on the amendment to the amendment and the statements that have been made by other Senators, I really do not see how we can proceed further this afternoon, although I deeply regret any delay in the consideration of the bill. I should like to say

again that I think we should be prepared to proceed from tomorrow noon with unbroken continuity until this matter is concluded.

NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I should like to take 5 minutes of the Senate's time. From all available evidence, this great legislative body is all set to act in a way which will reflect little credit on itself as a body or on its Members as individuals.

It has been agreed that at 5 o'clock the Senate shall vote on the nomination of David Lilienthal to the most important appointive office with which we have ever been concerned. The test vote of last week gives a definite indication that unless something extraordinary takes place, the nomination will be confirmed. Mr. President, I make an earnest plea for an extraordinary action between now and the time set for voting.

Let me again call the attention of my fellow Senators to the astonishing proposal which has been made to us. The committee to which this nomination was referred held hearings for many weeks. In the course of its hearings and at an early stage charges of dishonesty were made against the candidate. These charges were specific, not general. They were made by Dr. Arthur Morgan, a man of honor and of good repute. Yet these charges were never followed up by the committee. They were dismissed; they were dropped; they were ignored. I doubt if it would be possible to find a comparable situation in any committee in any recent Congress. One would expect that there would have been at least an endeavor to brush a thin coat of whitewash over the incident, but even this was not done.

What seems to have happened, Mr. President, is that the committee was hypnotized into a failure of performing its plain and obvious duty. It was hypnotized by great names in engineering, business, and science, a handful of whom had themselves been hypnotized by the undeniable abilities and the persuasive words of the candidate. These few and eminent men judged him, so far as his character is concerned, on casual acquaintance and on his words rather than his deeds. The opinions thus formed were transmitted to their peers in the fields of engineering, business, and science. The whole effective force of this authoritative opinion was focused on the committee. It deluded them. It blinded them. It persuaded them to neglect their duty to this body and to the Nation.

Mr. President, Dr. Morgan's specific charges of dishonesty against David Lilienthal are too serious to be treated this way. Let me earnestly entreat the members of the committee for their own sakes, for the sake of the faithful discharge of the duties committed to them, to ask that David Lilienthal's name be withdrawn from this action for confirmation and referred back to the committee to see whether it can be cleared of the serious charges against it before we are again asked to vote upon it in this place.

I do not see how the members of this committee, I do not see how the Members

We are very much interested in the development of your services in the field of workers' education and hope that you will keep us informed concerning them.

The University of Wyoming:

As you probably know, we are planning a program of labor education which includes extension courses in various centers and a labor college or workshop in our summer camp for 1 week this summer. We are, therefore, very much interested in materials which will help us in this enterprise.

Xavier Labor School, New York City:

These pamphlets (published by the Division of Labor Standards) have been of great assistance to us in this volunteer work of running schools to train union men in the tools of running their organizations. Here we have more than 200 men to whom we offer 19 courses. * * * We've found that the pamphlets dealing with the work of shop stewards and with grievance procedures have been extremely helpful. From my own knowledge I know what a change in relations has ensued in several shops, where the men of the school introduced orderly handling of beeves as your booklet outlines. These have been of great help.

Brooklyn College:

It has just come to my attention that the Division of Labor Standards is in a position to give assistance to groups planning classes in labor legislation and collective bargaining. Brooklyn College is initiating an extensive program of adult education in March 1947. We are intensely interested in any material you have which will be of help in this type of work.

Senators will notice that what these groups ask for most is advice and guidance in planning educational programs—and it can be seen from the hard-boiled union official I quoted that neither the advice nor the pamphlets will be useful if they are "high-falutin'." The kind of help they want is what the Division of Labor Standards is peculiarly equipped to give. I hope the Senate will examine the appropriation bill's proposed transfer of labor education to the Bureau of Labor Statistics with great care before committing itself to the change.

Finally I come to the last proposal of the House Appropriations Committee, which is not going to be understood or, I think, accepted by the women's organizations and other groups in the country dedicated to the control of child labor and the advancement of employment and educational opportunities for the Nation's youth.

As I mentioned previously, when the Children's Bureau was transferred last July to the Federal Security Agency under Reorganization Plan No. 2, the child-labor and youth-employment functions of the Bureau came to the Division of Labor Standards. The Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division administers the child-labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, does research on undesirable and hazardous employments for children and youth, and works with State labor departments and labor and community organizations in improving standards and promoting educational and employment opportunities for youth. The 1947 appropriations for this function totaled approximately \$300,000. The House Appropriations Committee proposes to halve this amount

and transfer the whole business to the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department.

I understand there is an inclination to increase the amount somewhat, the exact figure I do not know, but I am informed it still is a very slight sum.

Now let us examine to ascertain what this means. In the first place, these child-labor functions were originally set up in the Children's Bureau, which was created by a Republican Congress back in 1912 and approved by a Republican President. Thus a long and outstanding record of service to the Nation's youth has been built up. When the Fair Labor Standards Act was under consideration by Congress—I remember because I followed the deliberations very closely by reading—Congress had a series of proposals before it. It carefully considered whether to place administrative authority for the enforcement of the act's child-labor provisions in the Wage and Hour Division or in the Children's Bureau. In every proposal, as I recall it, the experience of the Children's Bureau was called in to some degree. The final proposal was to place full administrative authority in the Children's Bureau. That is the function now performed by the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch of the Division of Labor Standards. So what the Labor Department-Federal Security Agency bill proposes to do by appropriation is actually to contravene the considered judgment of Congress.

It even goes further. In addition to placing the difficult enforcement job that surrounds child labor in the hands of an agency which has carried the far simpler techniques of wage-hour enforcement, the bill proposes to place the research and youth-employment functions in the same agency. I do not know how many women's organizations and youth-serving agencies other Senators have heard from but I have already heard from a good many. The cry is essentially a simple one. They say, what do a bunch of inspectors—accountants, if you please—who are accustomed to checking pay rolls know about ferreting out dead-end jobs for kids, investigating hazardous jobs for youth, advising State labor officials and groups in developing child labor, labor standards, and educational opportunities. They say such servants know nothing about the basic problems. They say, the battle for the abolition of child labor has not been won entirely. As a result of war, there are some two and one-half times as many youngsters at work today as in 1940. A million less are in high school than in 1941. Experienced advice and guidance such as has long been developed in the Child Labor and Youth Employment Branch and the Division of Labor Standards is still very much needed, say these women's organizations. I believe they are entirely right about it. It is not economy to halve the appropriations for the protection of the country's most valuable asset—its future citizenry—and put administration in an agency that is not equipped to handle it.

I must say I agree basically with these protagonists of the Nation's youth. Of all the charges that we should scrupulously avoid having leveled at the Repub-

lican Party, the exploitation of children and the encouragement of sweatshops should be the first. I think as a party we should make doubly sure that we are seeing to it that adequate appropriations are granted by the Congress to maintain the vigilance necessary to prevent exploitation of the children of America. All one would have to do, to see what would happen without an alert and an experienced child-labor agency, is to look at certain maps that I have in front of me, but which, again, I shall not take time to describe in any particular detail, though I do want to point out an objective statistic or two shown by these maps.

Only 14 States today have a 16-year minimum age for the employment of youth in factories. Only 4 States have a 16-year minimum for all employment during school hours. A few others have such a standard during school hours but permit a number of exceptions.

As a people we are likely to sit back complacently and think we have the highest child-labor standards on earth. We have not, and the Republican Party cannot afford to be charged with deliberately lowering them by not providing at this session of Congress adequate funds to continue these child-labor services.

In summary, may I say that I hope the Senate Appropriations Committee and the Senate itself will carefully scrutinize both the functions of Government for which 1948 funds are requested and also the appropriations bill as approved by the House. We cannot afford to require the greatest sacrifices from one element of society, namely, the working people of America. Let us be realistic about it. We are not going to cripple seriously the agency that serves the Nation's businessmen, if we exercise good judgment. We should not hamstring the agency that serves the Nation's farmers. I am sure we will not. If 16,000 cattle were dying of hoof-and-mouth disease somewhere in the United States, we would leap to our feet on the floor of the Senate to urge a hasty appropriation to prevent such a plague from overtaking the livestock industry of the country. In fact, it was only a few weeks ago that some of us in the Chamber now, including myself, stood up on the floor of the Senate and pleaded for the quick passage of a bill to make available to the United States Department of Agriculture any sum of money necessary to protect us from a threatened hoof-and-mouth disease invasion from Mexico. We did not even stipulate how much, Mr. President; we were very careful not to stipulate how much; we simply said, no matter what the cost, we must give to the United States Department of Agriculture whatever it may need to stop the spread of hoof-and-mouth disease among the cattle of Mexico. I was for that because it is very important that the spread of hoof-and-mouth disease from Mexico into the livestock industry of America be prevented, because it would cost us a tremendous economic loss if we failed to prevent it. I pleaded for that bill. I am pleading now, Mr. President, also, for funds to help prevent the exploitation through child labor of American boys and girls. I think we must always be ready

to appropriate whatever funds are necessary to protect human values, as I said earlier in my remarks this afternoon.

Thus, I say I think we Republicans, who are a majority in the Congress, should not hesitate to do all we can to prevent 16,000,000 human beings from being killed and injured in American industry. We should appropriate adequate financial support to our industrial accident-safety program. The Bureau of Labor Standards is vital to such a program.

In closing, Mr. President, I want to say a word of appreciation to the members of the Appropriation Committees because I know how difficult is the job that confronts the members of the Appropriations Committees of both the House and the Senate. I know we have the responsibility bringing about economies in the cost of administering the Federal Government. As I said before, I shall favor economizing if the economy does not involve a "penny-wise and pound-foolish" policy. But as I have said previously of the great wealth-producing projects which are being slashed too drastically in the name of economy, I now say in regard to such services as I have pleaded for here this afternoon, we cheat the American people if we seek to give them the impression that by reducing or eliminating appropriations for those services we are saving them money.

We are not saving them money; we are costing them in my judgment many values which they are entitled to receive even from an economy-minded Republican Congress. But I want to say to my colleagues of the Senate Committee on Appropriations that they will have my cooperation in eliminating services which can in fact be dispensed with without costing great values. But the services of the Labor Department, particularly in this time of great industrial unrest in the country, we cannot afford to destroy. I have no doubt that some economy may be exacted in some of the labor services; but I am afraid that if we go forward with the appropriation bill which the House seems to approve in regard to the labor services, we will be guilty of causing labor unrest.

I have one more point on this subject, and then I am through.

The maintenance of industrial peace is going to cost money. We are now dealing with the problem of labor legislation. Still if the National Labor Relations Board is going to be enlarged, as is proposed in one bill, for example, so that it can exercise greater jurisdiction over certain types of disputes—and I certainly think it should, and that is why I have introduced the bill—we shall be obliged to give it more money so as to perform the duties called for by the bill. Yet it is another service which finds itself thus far at least in the appropriation hearings confronted with a drastic budget cut. I think that is another example of false economy.

I was told this morning as I was seeking additional data for my speech, that the National Labor Relations Board is now from 4 to 6 months behind in its simple election cases. What does that mean? Mr. President, imagine yourself for a moment a union organizer; you

have organized a plant and you know for an absolute certainty that, let us say, 70 or 80 percent of the workers in the plant wish to have your union be the certified collective bargaining agent for the workers in the plant. However, your employer refuses to accept your statement that you have the workers organized, and he says, "I will not bargain with you until you can obtain an election from the National Labor Relations Board." You check into the matter and are told by the National Labor Relations Board that because of the backlog of election cases already on the docket the Board cannot get to your case in from 4 to 6 months.

Mr. President, what do you think you would be tempted to do? I think you would be tempted to do what a great many labor leaders are doing. You would pull the plug, so to speak. You would "hit the bricks". You would say to that employer, "We are not going to wait 4 months or 6 months to be certified by the National Labor Relations Board in order to get a fair contract with you. We are going to get it from you by strike action right now."

That, Mr. President, is the relationship, and it shows the very direct relationship between appropriations and labor peace in this country. The Congress must assume its fair share of the responsibility for some of the strikes because to the extent that we do not appropriate the necessary funds for these labor agencies which are charged with the responsibility of administering the labor laws, we are responsible for some of the strikes.

My friends on the National Labor Relations Board tell me that there is an increase in the number of strikes against delays by the Board, because the Board cannot get to the cases fast enough to hold elections quickly enough. I do not condone that type of a strike any more than I condone the employer who uses the backlog of cases which confronts the National Labor Relations Board as a stall and a delay in entering into negotiations with a union which in many instances he well knows has the majority of his employees. But he has the right, under the law, to say "I do not have to bargain with you until you are certified by the National Labor Relations Board." I do not condone the conduct of either group any more than I condone the conduct of either group in the present telephone strike, about which I have spoken on the Senate floor heretofore. I digress only to repeat my statement to both groups, that I think neither group can justify its failure to agree to a reasonable arbitration agreement to be drafted by the Secretary of Labor. But that is another story.

I close on this point, Mr. President, by saying that we Members of Congress cannot shuffle off our responsibilities for labor unrest if we fail in the appropriation bill this year to appropriate the necessary funds so labor agencies created by law can dispose of their cases quickly, expeditiously, and in an efficient manner.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the RECORD as a part of my remarks an editorial appearing in the Washington Post of March

28, entitled "Penny Pinching." It summarizes very well the main thesis of my remarks this afternoon.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PENNY PINCHING

The saving of money is not necessarily economy. When it is accomplished at the expense of vital and valuable services, it may prove very uneconomical indeed. Need is a relative thing, of course, and the importance of desirable services must be weighed against the importance of tax reduction and budget balancing. We can call to mind at least two Federal undertakings now threatened with extinction in order to save money, the abandonment of which, in our judgment, would be plain penny-wise foolishness.

One of these is the school-lunch program. This involved, for the fiscal year 1946-47 less than one-fifth of 1 percent of the Federal Budget—actually about \$75,000,000. The program will come to an end on March 31 unless a deficiency appropriation is provided to carry it on. The money that will be saved by withholding an appropriation will be paid for in the health of some 5,000,000 school children now benefiting from nutritious lunches furnished at their schools through intelligent Federal-State-local cooperation. In a good many cases, these lunches have meant the difference between physical well-being and malnutrition. It would be an exceedingly myopic economy to cut off this sound investment in the health of the country's school children 3 months before the school year ends.

It seems to us that there is equally short-sighted penny pinching in the proposal to liquidate the Division of Labor Standards by excising from the Labor Department's appropriation the \$800,000 needed for the Division's work. Here is a modest Federal agency functioning in close cooperation with State agencies, helping them to develop sound administrative standards and to keep work places safe and healthy. Along with State labor departments, it works with management and labor to reduce industrial accidents, to minimize the evils of child labor, and to encourage peaceful and productive collective-bargaining procedures by training representatives of both sides. The cost of carrying on this Division is far less than the cost of industrial accidents and strikes which its activities prevent. Economizers would do well to remember the shoe that was lost for want of a nail, the horse that was lost for want of a shoe.

Mr. MORSE. I close by saying to my Republican colleagues in the Congress that I hope they will not be guilty of penny pinching in the name of economy.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, a little more than 2 years ago, on February 26, 1945, I addressed the Senate on the subject of our foreign policy. I quote a few words from that address. At that time I said:

A great portion of the membership of this body, and I believe an equally great portion of the American people, are viewing with increasing misgivings the foreign policy which is being followed by the American Government. Many of us suspect that the Government has no policy at all and is simply floundering in a gigantic maelstrom of events which is forcing our hand everywhere and making our policy for us.

It is my hope that this estimate is an incorrect one and that it will be proven, despite the disturbing circumstances with which we are now acquainted, that the Government of the United States does indeed have long-range goals and clearly defined views as to how these may be attained.

I then went on to make some comparisons between the actual results of our appeasement policies toward Russia contrasted with the sanctimonious words of our many official declarations of policy beginning with the Atlantic Charter.

It may be that the President's address of recent date and the measure now before us are in the nature of an answer to my call for a definite policy, with long-range goals and concrete measures to reach them. One paragraph from the President's speech of March 12 has been widely proclaimed as a new "Truman doctrine," which now at least provides us with a firm principle on which to stand. On that day the President said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

He then went on to say that our help should be extended through economic and financial means.

It is certainly worth our while to inquire carefully into the implications of this so-called Truman doctrine. It has been referred to as a new departure. What specifically are the new elements about it?

We have already committed ourselves, by joining the United Nations, to creating a system which would guarantee the security of all nations against "attempted subjugation," subject to our own use of the veto, of course. Adherence to that Charter was agreed to by an almost unanimous vote of this body. As practical men, I am sure we realized, at the time we accepted the UN Charter, that the United States would have to play the leading role since we are the strongest military power on earth.

I will assume that when we made that agreement we meant what we said. We pledged ourselves to support action in defense of sovereign nations threatened with aggression. In my speech of 2 years ago, to which I have referred, I also said:

I am satisfied that the world cannot safely return to the old business of power politics or to the old isolationism in any guise. There is, therefore, nothing new about our supporting free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation.

Those elements of the Truman doctrine which are new can be summed up in two sentences. First, we propose to bypass the United Nations, disown the cooperative organization through which we have been working to date, and accept for ourselves the entire burden for remaking the world. I shall have more to say about that in a moment. Second, the Truman doctrine proposes, for the first time, that we should adopt a permanent policy of spending hundreds of millions, perhaps billions, of dollars of American money in this world-wide crusade.

It has been said that the money involved in this bill is small compared with the costs of the war or the costs of our other activities in the international field. I am well aware of the fact that we have spent billions of dollars for lend-lease and billions of dollars for UNRRA and other forms of relief. I am also acutely aware of the fact that we have lent abroad billions of dollars through sale of surplus property and surplus ships, through the continuation of peacetime lend-lease, through the British loan, through the Export-Import Bank, and through other channels. I am aware that we have committed ourselves to the loan of billions more through operations of the International Bank and Fund. But all of these operations, Mr. President, were in fulfillment of either wartime necessities or urgent relief needs or else were supposed to be self-supporting, reimbursable propositions. They were supposed to be temporary. We had hoped that this spending—at least that part of it which is not to be repaid—would come to an end with the end of the war, or with the end of the need for relief. Now we find that the spending is to go on and on, as a permanent fixture on the American scene, without even any real hope of repayment. Let me point out that there is not one cent for relief in this bill.

This bill is a return to the basic philosophy of the New Deal—that the way to meet any problem is to spend Government money. A few years ago, it was first seriously proposed that America should undertake to raise the standard of living of the rest of the world up to our own level. The idea was laughed out of court at that time. "A quart of milk for every Hottentot" became a standing joke. It is now apparent that that idea has been revived in a serious way as a basic part of our national foreign policy, but with new arguments behind it. Immediately following the President's speech, the press of the Nation began to fill with new proposals for spending abroad. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations came through with an idea for building hydroelectric plants—little TVA's—all over Greece. A columnist pointed out the tremendous increase in the production of food which could be attained by investment of \$100,000,000 of American money in reclaiming the deserts of Iraq. A serious magazine article in a responsible periodical began to talk of the need for spending millions and billions of American dollars in such widely separated places as the Philippines and Italy. All this was to be done in the name of a crusade against communism.

On numerous occasions in the past I have spoken out in favor of a strong stand against further Communist expansion. I opposed the decision at Tehran, and I opposed the Yalta agreement. If our administration has really determined to stand firmly against further Communist aggression, I will gladly support it. But I am not yet completely convinced that the only way to fight communism is to pour more billions of American dollars out of our unbalanced budget.

I recall that only a few months ago the nation of Iran was in grave danger from Russia. Russian troops in large numbers were actually inside the country. I recall that we found it possible, working by diplomatic measures through the United Nations, to put a halt to that aggression. The Government of Iran was subsequently able to establish its sovereign authority firmly over every part of its own nation. If the United Nations was good enough to save Iran, why cannot it save Turkey? Is Turkey now in greater danger than Iran was at that time? Is Greece in greater danger? At that time subversive and foreign elements actually controlled a large part of the territory of Iran. Frankly, I do not believe we have fully explored the potentialities of the United Nations.

The State Department has made a case that the United Nations is not yet strong enough to guarantee the security of Greece. At the same time, they have given us no indication as to how soon the United Nations may be expected to acquire the necessary strength. We have been told that our foreign policy is based on adherence to the principles of the United Nations. If the United Nations is not strong enough to work, we had better change it to make it work.

We return to the fact that the proposal is a typical New Deal method of approaching any problem. In other words, it involves spending gigantic sums of money. It is not yet clear to me, however, whether we have arrived at the clear-cut definite foreign policy we need. Our measures of economic assistance to strengthen democracy in Greece and Turkey are still being balanced by measures of economic assistance to strengthen communism in Russia and her satellites. The same State Department which is sponsoring this program is simultaneously trying to extract \$25,000,000 from the Congress to settle up accounts on an old and rather shady deal with Russia involving final settlement of the lend-lease operation. We are still planning to send thousands of tons of potatoes as a gift to Stalin's leading puppet, Marshal Tito, in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, two other puppets, Poland and Czechoslovakia, are negotiating for loans of good American dollars from the World Bank, while Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, members of the International Monetary Fund, are no doubt preparing at the present moment to draw down their quotas of our money in that institution.

It may be that our new-style diplomats have become so lost in the jungle of their own financial creations that they have forgotten that all this money comes eventually from the American taxpayer.

The whole matter boils down to this: We are staging the world's biggest prize fight and financing both sides. This proposal is of the same pattern of financial irresponsibility with all the rest of the New Deal from beginning to end.

Mr. President, the American people have voted for an end to financial irresponsibility and for a reduction in taxes. They gave us a mandate to reject the

spending philosophy of the last 14 years. They did so, I believe, because they had come to realize fully that Government spending must come from taxes paid by the people—not merely a small proportion of the people, namely the rich, but by all the people. More than half our revenue from the individual income tax comes from persons making less than \$5,000 a year. At the present time we in the Finance Committee are studying various proposals for tax reduction, and trying to determine what tax relief we can grant to our people. It has been hoped that we could increase the individual exemption by \$500. Mr. President, we cannot afford to do that. Such an action would more than wipe out the entire surplus we hope to obtain. We must continue to tax not only the average man, but the poor man, to support this spending. We must continue to tax the married man making only \$25 a week. It is not the rich who will pay the cost of this enterprise; it is the poor.

Mr. President, I have hopes that before this measure is brought to a final vote it will be substantially amended on the floor of the Senate. The proposal may have within it at least the seeds of a sound foreign policy. In my judgment, however, much more is needed to construct that policy than the ideas that have been presented to us. I should like to mention a few of the elementary facts which have been almost ignored in this controversy.

First of all is the absolute necessity of maintaining unimpaired the financial strength of the United States. This world today would be a place of chaos if our Nation had suffered from the inflation, radicalism, and destruction that have beset almost every other nation in the world. The mere existence of the United States as a strong, solvent, going concern is the greatest element of stability left on this earth. If we sacrifice that stability in foolish, wasteful adventures abroad that bring us no return, we shall have done the world no service at all. Communism will be defeated if we keep faith in our own system. Let us not permit that system to be wrecked on what President Roosevelt once called "the rocks of a loose fiscal policy."

A mere glance at the problems of some other countries which may even now be lining up at the State Department to share in the American largess should make us consider carefully what we are doing. Take China, for example. Conditions in China, both economic and political, are probably even worse than in Greece. Inflation has run to an even greater extent. The Communists actually control a substantial part of China's territory. China's population is roughly 60 times that of Greece. Whether China would require financial assistance 60 times as great as is proposed for Greece would be hard to say, but certainly her needs are vastly greater. We are proposing to spend \$275,000,000 on Greece as a first installment. If China's per capita needs are as great, the cost there would run between fifteen and twenty billions.

Or take India, for example, which seems to be rapidly descending into

chaos. India's population is nearly as great as China's. Her standard of living is probably the lowest in the world. The tensions and antagonisms among her population appear to be as great as in any other country on earth. What would it cost to sustain democratic forces in India?

Mr. President, out in the West it used to be a common practice among ranchers and farmers to offer a bounty for the destruction of predatory animals, such as wolves and coyotes. The bounty would usually be paid upon presentation of the scalp or pelt, and the total cost depended on how many pelts were turned in. This scheme was moderately successful in some cases, but it ran into great difficulties with the perversities of human nature. Too many men figured that it would be most profitable to kill the wolf cubs for the bounty, but to leave the parent wolves alive, so that there would be more cubs and more bounties later.

I wonder if we may not have the same problem with the bounty we are offering on Communists. Communists can be found, to at least some slight extent, in practically every country in the world. In many devastated countries around the world raising a domestic Communist menace may become one of the most profitable enterprises that such countries could engage in, judging by the example of Greece. It will obviously be practical for each small country to preserve and protect its own small Communist group, not large enough to be a serious menace, but large enough to draw American dollars. I suspect that as soon as we have passed this bill, we shall suddenly find that communism is a tremendous danger in many other countries of the world. We shall have country after country trotting out its Communist menace for our inspection, and we shall be told that only American dollars can save democracy in each case. No doubt before we are through we shall be subsidizing Franco in Spain.

I suggest that we should not take this first step until we have some idea of the ultimate cost of the whole program and an opportunity to measure the effect of a continued tax load on the poor of our own United States. Remember that poor, ordinary, hard-working Americans are paying half the total tax collected here.

Mr. President, a few days ago the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] publicly urged that Mr. Bernard M. Baruch be appointed to conduct a survey of our national assets and obligations. More than a year ago an almost identical proposal was made in the Senate. At that time, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], in an address to the Senate, called for an official statement of all the relevant information regarding our financial transactions with other nations, together with a statement of our current financial situation, both internationally and internally, all the facts to be brought together into one convenient summary, so that they could be considered and studied together, and their significance and relationships clearly understood. At that time, on his own behalf and on behalf of a number of other Senators, he submitted Senate

Resolution 231 of the Seventy-ninth Congress, requesting such a study. That Senate resolution was referred to committee, where it slumbered peacefully until the end of the session. Long before that, similar information had been requested by such distinguished figures as Mr. Bernard Baruch, without any more success. We still do not have a picture of our over-all position, of our financial resources, and of our obligations. Until we have such a picture, I cannot see how we can intelligently embark on this vast new international spending program. At this time, therefore, I am resubmitting, for study by the Senate Finance Committee, Senate Resolution 231 of the last Congress, with certain minor changes made necessary by the passage of events.

I am impressed with the fact that every area of the world we touch suddenly becomes a major drain on the American taxpayer. Under Hitler, they were all at least self-supporting. For that matter, when the Russians move into a country, they do not find it necessary to lend it assistance—quite the contrary. Only Americans manage to discover that every country they enter is a liability and must be subsidized.

It may be that relief was and is an urgent necessity in certain countries, but there seems to be no time limit over which this assistance must be extended. We are now told that western Germany is in worse shape than when we first arrived, and that it will be several years before it can become self-supporting. Korea, Italy, Japan, and other countries still will be in desperate need of assistance during the third year of peace. There seems to be no end to the process.

If we are ever to get the world back on its feet, we must recognize that the only answer in these devastated areas is a new emphasis on production out of their own resources, slender though they may be. This may seem a harsh prescription. It is not more harsh than the facts justify. It is, in fact, the only path to salvation. American money cannot continue to flow forever. In fact, we already have proof that American money alone cannot do the job. It is time to quit relying primarily on American loans and gifts.

I would suggest therefore that our responsible officials start to make it clear that the salvation of Greece is largely in the hands of the Greeks, not in our hands. I have yet to see any coherent plan explaining concretely what contribution the Greeks expect to effect to their own reconstruction. Inflation in Greece has been raging for many months. Concretely, what internal measures does Greece expect to take to put an end to it? We are told that much of the revenues of the Greek Government goes into political graft for Greek officials or is dissipated in unnecessary expenditures among favored groups. What plans have been formulated to put a stop to that? We are told that Greek capital has fled the country or is in hiding. Has the present regime in Greece devised any plans for inducing this capital to invest in productive enterprise at home? Exports of Greek products, such as tobacco, are apparently held back by high prices

caused by inflation and other factors. Greece will never recover until she restores her exports to prewar levels. What plans have been made to facilitate the marketing of such products as Greece may have for sale?

These questions should be answered before we advance this money, not afterwards. We cannot afford to extend aid unless there is some evidence that the money will be used to bring about recovery. The situation in Greece will not be cured solely by American dollars. It can be cured only by restoring production in Greece of the items of commerce.

Mr. President, we have already poured out immense sums of money all through the world, through lend-lease, through UNRRA, through an extension of lend-lease into peacetime, through sale of our war surpluses, through sale of our surplus ships, through the British loan, through the International Bank, through the International Fund, through relief in the countries we have occupied, and through many other channels. The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] yesterday inserted in the RECORD some revealing figures showing the tremendous extent of the aid we have already given to the rest of the world. We are now told that these contributions are not enough. We are told that now almost 2 years after the end of the war in Europe, that we must embark on a new spending campaign to protect the world from communism. If this is to be our policy, I only ask that we keep two fundamental facts in mind: First, we must not destroy our own solvency; and second, we must insist that our money be put to better use than it has been in the past. Certainly the results we have obtained with the money we have spent to date have not been encouraging.

Mr. President, I do not wish to be understood as being unfriendly to the people of Greece or to the people of any other needy area. Where American aid can relieve a situation on the basis of relief, I, for one, am willing to give all that I personally can afford to give, just as most of the American people have done in the past. But I wish to have the giving done, not on a Government level, but voluntarily through organizations such as the American Red Cross which the American people have supported very well during years past, and will continue to support. The drive of the American Red Cross in the ordinary community in the United States is an annual event in which practically everyone in the community takes part.

All of us have faith in the statement that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." I was reminded very definitely of the truth of that statement during the trip around the world which I took last summer. We stopped in Shanghai, and were there several days. From a vantage viewpoint I looked out over the harbor filled with ships, one of them a magnificent American battleship. Most of the ships were UNRRA ships, supposedly still loaded with UNRRA material. The admiral in charge of the battleship told me that when the ships finally reached the docks to be unloaded it was discovered that a large portion of the material, if not all of it, had already been taken

from the ships. Where had it gone, Mr. President? I do not believe anyone knows officially as yet. At least there has been no public statement regarding it. Within 2 or 3 weeks of that time—in fact, I think it was a shorter period than that—relief material going to China by the UNRRA route was stopped because of poor administrative handling. I doubt that the flow of UNRRA material to China has even been started again. That is an indication of what giving does to a people when it is done on a government level. America has performed a wonderful service to the great nation of China through past decades, but that service has been rendered through organizations made up of individuals who gave because they wished to support a work of that kind. If today the American people are to be sold the idea of furnishing relief to Greece and to any other country which really needs aid—and I think undoubtedly the Greeks are in great need of aid of certain kinds—it should be aid properly given through individual channels, not on the government level. Such aid, properly distributed and properly administered over there, will do more to stop communism than anything we can do on a governmental level.

Mr. President, I now submit the resolution and request that it be appropriately referred.

There being no objection, the resolution (S. Res. 103) submitted by Mr. BUTLER was received and referred to the Committee on Finance, as follows:

Whereas the United States Government has already extended financial and economic aid to certain foreign countries and to international organizations to a total of billions of dollars; and

Whereas our Government is committed to additional aid on a large scale; and

Whereas additional commitments and requests for assistance are constantly rumored; and

Whereas Congress is lacking information as to the current and probable future total of such requests and commitments; and

Whereas the question has been raised as to the ability of the United States to meet all the demands arising from existing international commitments and from future requests from abroad for financial and economic assistance: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President be, and is hereby, respectfully requested to direct the Bureau of the Budget, as promptly as possible, to report in detail—

1. The grand total of indebtedness on loans, investments, commitments, or other obligations outstanding as of December 31, 1946, of all foreign governments, their agencies, and their private citizens to the United States Government, its agencies, and its private citizens; and the same shown separately for public indebtedness and for private indebtedness.

2. The total loans made by the United States Government to foreign governments and agencies thereof from 1914 to 1932, inclusive, and from 1933 to the date hereof; itemized for each country, with the repayment history of each.

3. Existing commitments of the United States Government or representatives thereof, including alleged moral commitments, to extend American financial and economic aid to foreign countries and international organizations.

4. The amounts of American portfolio and direct investments abroad, by country, as of the end of 1914, 1932, 1939, and 1946.

5. The amount of foreign portfolio and direct investments in the United States, by country, at the end of 1914, 1932, 1939, and 1946.

6. Gold reserves, dollar balances, and other hard-money assets, as of the end of 1946, of countries whose governments are now in debt to the United States Government or with whom loan and investment discussions have been held by any American official since 1939.

7. The legal and actual status of American direct investments under the laws and current practices of the respective foreign countries in which such investments have been made.

8. The value, classification, and location of United States Government-owned property in foreign countries to December 31, 1946, including installations and surplus property.

9. So far as possible, the total value of American goods exported and services performed for foreigners, excluding reexports and financial and security transfers, annually from 1914 to 1946; together with the corresponding items supplied by foreigners to the United States in the same period.

10. The effects of the war on the public debt of the United States.

11. The per capita tax burden of the people of the United States classified as (1) Federal, (2) State and local, and (3) total; and the total per capita tax burden of the people of each of the countries now in debt to the United States or with whom loan and investment discussions have been held by any American official since 1939.

12. The total per capita debt burden for each of the countries mentioned in item 11.

13. The latest reasonably reliable report on the national income, reduced to a per capita basis, for each of the countries mentioned in item 11.

14. The average interest rates for Government borrowing, according to the latest reasonably reliable report, in each of the countries mentioned in item 11.

15. An estimate year by year of the probable expenditures of foreign countries for American goods and services as a result of the loans, credits, grants, and other forms of financial aid, contracted with this country publicly or privately since VE-day.

16. Assuming the ultimate necessity of gold settlements under estimated total economic transactions (exclusive of extensions of American loans and credits) between foreign countries and the United States within the next 5 years, what gold is available for such settlements and how is it distributed so that nations likely to be liable for gold settlements to the United States will have the gold to make them?

17. What changes are necessary in this country's import tariffs to make possible the repayment of the loans and investment already made and contemplated by the United States and by private American interests; and be it further

Resolved, That immediately upon the receipt of the foregoing data and information from the Bureau of the Budget, the Secretary of the Senate shall cause the same to be printed and published as a Senate document in the number of 2,500 copies for the use of the Congress and the public.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 231. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of San Diego a right-of-way over land owned by the United States within the limits of Camp Gillespie, San Diego County, Calif.; and

S. 363. An act to amend section 3 of the act of July 24, 1946 (Public Law 534, 79th Cong.)

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate tomorrow, Friday, and Monday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, consent of the Senate is granted.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate, leaving here Friday evening and returning about 1 week later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, such consent is granted.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DONNELL in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting the nomination of John Price Gregg, of Oregon, to be a member of the United States Tariff Commission for the term expiring June 16, 1953, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. GURNEY, from the Committee on Armed Services, reported favorably the nomination of Col. Marshall Sylvester Carter (captain, Coast Artillery Corps), Army of the United States, to be brigadier general, for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States, under the provisions of law.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there are no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the Diplomatic and Foreign Service.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, let me inquire what happened to the nomination under the general title of "Tennessee Valley Authority" and the nominations under the title "Atomic Energy Commission"? Those nominations should go over for the time being.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the nominations for the Atomic Energy Commission are to be called for vote at 5 o'clock this afternoon.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the nomination under the heading "Tennessee Valley Authority" should likewise go over.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination under that heading will be passed over.

Mr. WHITE. I now ask unanimous consent that the nominations under the heading "Diplomatic and Foreign Service" be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Mr. WHITE. I also ask consent that the President be notified forthwith of the confirmation of the nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

RECESS

Mr. WHITE. I now move that the Senate stand in recess until 4:50 o'clock today.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 3 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until 4 o'clock and 50 minutes p. m.

On the expiration of the recess, the Senate reassembled, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. WHITE obtained the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to inquire of the able majority leader what the program for tomorrow will be.

Mr. WHITE. The program for tomorrow, Mr. President, as I understand it, will be the continued consideration of the Greek-Turkish loan bill. Let me express the hope that the consideration of that measure will be continuous until it is disposed of. I hope there will be no interruption of that program.

Mr. LUCAS. Can the majority leader advise me whether it is expected that the Senate will complete the consideration of that measure tomorrow, or whether it will take longer?

Mr. WHITE. It is hoped to complete consideration of that measure tomorrow, but it might take until Friday.

ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—NOMINATION OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

The Senate resumed the consideration of the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Hayden	Myers
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Ball	Hill	O'Daniel
Bricker	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Bridges	Holland	Pepper
Brooks	Ives	Reed
Buck	Jenner	Robertson, Va.
Bushfield	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Wyo.
Butler	Johnston, S. C.	Saltonstall
Byrd	Kem	Smith
Cain	Kilgore	Sparkman
Capehart	Knowland	Stewart
Capper	Langer	Taft
Chavez	Lodge	Taylor
Connally	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Cooper	McCarthy	Thomas, Utah
Cordon	McClellan	Thye
Donnell	McFarland	Tobey
Downey	McGrath	Tydings
Dworshak	McKellar	Umstead
Eastland	McMahon	Vandenberg
Eaton	Malone	Watkins
Flanders	Martin	Wherry
Fulbright	Maybank	White
George	Millikin	Wiley
Green	Moore	Williams
Gurney	Morse	Willson
Hawkes	Murray	Young

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-four Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the hour of 5 o'clock having ar-

rived, the question is, Will the Senate advise and consent to the nomination of David E. Lilienthal to be a member of the Atomic Energy Commission?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER, Mr. WHERRY, and other Senators requested the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MCCARTHY (when his name was called). I have a pair with the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON]. If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." If the Senator from Washington were present and voting, he would vote "yea."

Mr. TYDINGS (when Mr. OVERTON's name was called). On this vote I have a pair with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON]. If the Senator from Louisiana were present and voting, he would vote "nay." If I were permitted to vote, in the absence of this pair, I would vote "yea."

Mr. REED (when his name was called). I have a general pair with the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. If the Senator from New York were present, he would vote "yea." If I were permitted to vote, I would vote "nay." I withhold my vote.

The roll call was concluded.

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] is paired with the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH]. If present and voting, the Senator from Maine would vote "nay," and the Senator from New Mexico would vote "yea."

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] is paired with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY]. If present and voting, the Senator from Michigan would vote "nay," and the Senator from Kentucky would vote "yea."

The previously mentioned Senators are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] is paired with the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. If present and voting, the Senator from West Virginia would vote "nay" and the Senator from Louisiana would vote "yea." The Senator from West Virginia is necessarily absent.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] and the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN] is absent by leave of the Senate to attend the funeral of a close personal friend.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] is necessarily absent.

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 11, 1947
For actions of April 10, 1947
80th-1st, No. 67

CONTENTS

Adjourned.....5	Labor, farm.....1	Prices, farm.....2
Electrification, rural...10	Lands.....7	Relief, foreign.....6
Flood control.....12	Lands, grazing.....14	Roads.....9
Foreign affairs.....17	Livestock and meat.....16	Social security.....15
Housing.....3	Personnel.....11	Soil conservation.....14
Labor.....4	Prices.....13	Transportation.....8

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated Greek-Turkish aid bill. House sent to conference bill to continue farm-labor program for 6 months. Rep. Keating criticized Government spending and inserted a constituent's letter blaming the Secretary and USDA for high grain prices.

HOUSE

1. FARM LABOR. Disagreed to the Senate amendments to H. R. 2102, to continue the farm-labor supply program for 6 months and appointed the following conferees: Reps. Hope, Andresen, Johnson (Ill.), Flannagan, and Cooley (p. 3413). Senate conferees were appointed April 8.
2. FARM PRICES. Rep. Andersen, Minn., criticized "the sudden drive on the part of the eastern interests to bring down our raw materials price levels," and claimed that higher farm prices do not mean an increase in the cost of living (p. 3421).
3. HOUSING. Received a Milwaukee, Wis. petition urging passage of S. 866, the national housing bill (p. 3422).
4. LABOR. Majority Leader Halleck announced that the general labor bill was expected to be brought up on Tues., Apr. 15 (p. 3400).
5. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 14 (p. 3421).

SENATE

6. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3378-98).
7. LANDS. The Expenditures in Executive Departments Committee reported without recommendation S. 28, to supersede the provisions of Reorganization Plan 3 of 1946 by reestablishing the office of registers of land offices, and providing for appointment of the director and associate director of the Bureau of Land Management (S. Rept. 97) (p. 3377).

8. TRANSPORTATION. Received an Alaska Legislature memorial urging adjustments in transportation regulations and rates on shipments to Alaska (pp. 3376-7).

BILLS INTRODUCED

9. ROADS. S. 1084, by Sen. Hill, Ala. (for himself and Sen. Sparkman, Ala.), to amend the act entitled "An Act to provide that the U. S. shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," as amended and supplemented. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3377.)
10. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. S. 1087, by Sen. Stewart, Tenn. (for himself and Sen. Hill, Ala.), to amend the Department of Agriculture Organic Act of 1944 so as to authorize REA to refinance, out of its loan funds, obligations owed by certain municipalities to TVA, to the extent that such indebtedness was incurred with respect to electric transmission and distribution lines or systems or portions thereof serving persons in rural areas. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 3377.)
11. PERSONNEL. H. R. 3015, by Rep. Chelf, Ky., to revoke the naturalization of persons who have been discharged from the U. S. Government service in compliance with Executive Order No. 9835; to deport such persons; and to deport aliens concerning who the Attorney General knows or has reason to believe their presence in the U. S. may endanger the public safety or welfare of the country. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3422.) Remarks of author (p. 3410).
H. R. 3023, by Rep. Rees, Kans., providing for a Federal Employees' Loyalty Act of 1947. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 3422). Remarks of author (pp. 3409-10).
12. FLOOD CONTROL. H. R. 3019, by Rep. Ramey, Ohio, to amend the act of June 22, 1936, so as to permit the construction of public works on the Great Lakes for purposes of flood control. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3422.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. PRICES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Keating, N. Y., criticizing Government spending and including a constituent's letter blaming the Secretary and USDA for high grain prices (pp. A1695-6).
14. SOIL CONSERVATION; GRAZING. Rep. Dawson, Utah, inserted C. N. Woods' statement urging soil conservation practices and action to prevent over-grazing on Utah range lands (pp. A1705-6).
15. SOCIAL SECURITY. Extension of remarks of Rep. McDonough, Calif., favoring extension of social security benefits to include persons not now covered by the Act (p. A1700).
16. VETERINARY MEDICINE. Rep. Gillie, Ind., inserted Gen. R. A. Kelser's article on the contributions of veterinary medicine to the victory in War II (pp. A1706-8).
17. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on foreign policy and relief (pp. A1689-90, A1697-8, A1709).

COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 11: S. Appropriations, deficiency appropriation bill, Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill; H. Appropriations, USDA appropriation bill (ex.); S. Civil Service, civil service retirement bill (ex.); H. Agriculture, regulation of marketing of rodenticides, weed killers, pest-control devices, etc. (Harry Reed to testify); S. Expenditures, merger of quarantine services (Fladness, Rohwer, and Moseley to testify).

"Whereas freight rates under free competition would open up hauling of cargo from the eastern United States to the port of Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and thence in Canadian bottoms to Alaska coastal points at two-thirds of the existing rates from Seattle; and

"Whereas the Territory declines to be browbeaten, and does propose to fight increased freight rates with all weapons at its disposal, with the view that the problem should be solved on the national level with temporary relief forthcoming as a sensible, foresighted investment which would pay off manifold in the years to come, and as the only solution compatible with the national interest:

"Now, therefore, we, your memorialists, do respectfully pray that section 27 of the Jones Act be amended to remove the present discrimination therein contained against the Territory of Alaska.

"And your memorialists will ever pray."

By Mr. CAPPER:

A petition of 290 citizens of the city of Holton, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic-beverage advertising in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR PALESTINE

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a release by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, headed by a former distinguished Senator, Guy Gillette, of Iowa.

There being no objection, the release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HIGH LIGHTS OF THE PLAN FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

A plan for the immediate establishment of a provisional government of Palestine was submitted by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation to the General Secretary of the United Nations and to all the individual member governments of the United Nations.

The plan advocates the termination of the British mandate over Palestine and the establishment of the Hebrew national territory as a free democratic republic. It calls for the early convocation of a Hebrew representative assembly which, as the ad hoc representative body of the Hebrew nation, will proclaim to the world the reestablishment of the sovereign state of Palestine—as a free democratic republic with the fullest equality before the law of all citizens, irrespective of creed or national extraction."

It envisages the establishment of a United Nations supervisory board to advise and assist the provisional government in the transition from the mandatory regime to a constitutional republic.

An advisory national council and a temporary judiciary will assist the provisional government in the carrying out of its duties.

The plan stresses, amongst the principles which would constitute the policy of the provisional government, the separation of church and state and universal suffrage, regardless of sex, creed, or descent, to all literate citizens of Palestine; freedom of worship and equality before the law of all citizens, regardless of extraction and religion.

The plan thus envisages a Hebrew Palestinian republic free from either Jewish or Moslem religious domination.

It lists 13 tasks which would be amongst the first to be undertaken by the provisional government. These include the granting, upon application, of Palestinian passports to all Hebrew displaced persons in Europe and

the organization of their speedy repatriation to Palestine; the organization of a Palestine army to safeguard the security and tranquillity of the country, and the dispatch of diplomatic emissaries to the various capitals of the world as a preliminary to obtaining membership in the United Nations.

The plan offers a complete solution within a period of 2 years, during which all of the Hebrews in Europe would be repatriated to Palestine and become free and useful citizens of an independent republic. The Hebrew Committee points out that no other complete solution has been offered and that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry merely proposed a continuation of the present unbearable state of affairs.

It will require, the plan states, a smaller effort on the part of the United States Government to have this complete plan carried out than to carry out any one of the fragmentary proposals on which it now works and which leave the question unsolved.

Action on this plan is well under way, and it will be carried out irrespective of the anticipated rejection of the plan by the British Government which had entirely abandoned the mandate and had turned Palestine into an occupied territory ruthlessly subjugated by a military force. It must now be realized, the Hebrew Committee emphasizes, that the issue is a conflict between the oppressed Hebrew nation and the oppressor—the British Empire.

According to the plan, it would most probably become imperative to convene the Hebrew national assembly abroad and to establish a provisional government in exile with several members of the cabinet functioning underground in Palestine.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to which was referred the bill (S. 460) to amend section 327 (h) of the Nationality Act of 1940, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report (No. 96) thereon.

REGISTERS OF LAND OFFICES—REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

Mr. THYE, from the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, to which was referred the bill (S. 28) to supersede the provisions of Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1946 by reestablishing the offices of registers of land offices, and providing for appointment of the Director and Associate Director of the Bureau of Land Management, and for other purposes, reported it without recommendation, and submitted a report (No. 97) thereon.

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

As in executive session,

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. MILLIKIN, from the Committee on Finance:

James M. Alsup, of Honolulu, T. H., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Hawaii, to fill an existing vacancy.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. LANGER:

S. 1082. A bill to credit certain service performed by employees of the postal service who are transferred from one position to another within the service for purposes of determining eligibility for promotion; to the Committee on Civil Service.

(Mr. LANGER also introduced Senate bill 1083, for the relief of William Gerald Bishop, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. HILL (for himself and Mr. SPARKMAN):

S. 1084. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BALDWIN:

S. 1085. A bill to provide Federal aid to the States for the construction of armories and similar training facilities for the National Guard and Naval Militia; to the Committee on Armed Services.

S. 1086. A bill for the relief of Jon Ovezee; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEWART (for himself and Mr. HILL):

S. 1087. A bill to amend section 502 (a) of the Department of Agriculture Organic Act of 1944; to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

WILLIAM GERALD BISHOP

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce for appropriate reference a bill for the relief of William Gerald Bishop.

I wish to have it clearly understood that I do not know Mr. Bishop. However, I understand that if he is deported, it will be tantamount to a sentence of death. That is what his lawyer tells me. I believe that in this country every man is entitled to take advantage of every avenue available to him so that he may obtain justice. I am informed by his attorney, whom I have also never met before, that this man has not had justice. By introducing this bill and having the subject brought up before the Subcommittee on Immigration of the Committee on the Judiciary, that subcommittee will have charge of this matter and will have an opportunity to investigate it thoroughly. He is to be deported this evening, I understand, and therefore I am introducing this bill at this time.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1083) for the relief of William Gerald Bishop, introduced by Mr. LANGER, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CHANGE OF REFERENCE

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from the further consideration of the bill (S. 1073) to extend until June 30, 1949, the period of time during which persons may serve in certain executive departments and agencies without being prohibited from acting as counsel, agent, or attorney for prosecuting claims against the United States by reason of having so served, and that it be referred to the Committee on Finance. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary has agreed this action should be taken.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Committee on the Judiciary will be discharged from further consideration of the bill, and it will be referred to the Committee on Finance.

HOUSE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS
REFERRED

The following bills and joint resolutions were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 603. An act to amend an act of September 27, 1944, relating to credit for military or naval service in connection with certain homestead entries;

H. R. 1098. An act to authorize the segregation and expenditure of trust funds held in joint ownership by the Shoshone and Arapaho Tribes of the Wind River Reservation;

H. R. 1099. An act to declare that the United States holds certain lands in trust for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe;

H. R. 1584. An act authorizing the erection and operation of a memorial museum and shop on the Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho;

H. R. 2369. An act providing for the suspension of annual assessment work on mining claims held by location in the Territory of Alaska; to the Committee on Public Lands.

H. R. 1350. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to establish a National Archives of the United States Government, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Civil Service.

H. R. 1888. An act to incorporate the AMVETS, American Veterans of World War II; and

H. R. 2032. An act to preserve the continuity of residence in the United States for naturalization purposes in the cases of alien residents who departed for service in Allied armed forces during the Second World War; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1358. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the management and operation of naval plantations, outside the continental United States," approved June 28, 1944;

H. R. 1368. An act to include civilian officers and employees of the United States Naval Government of Guam among those persons who are entitled to the benefits of Public Law 490 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, approved March 7, 1942 (56 Stat. 143), as amended, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1369. An act to amend the act entitled "An act providing for the reorganization of the Navy Department, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1940, to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the President to appoint an Under Secretary of War during national emergencies, fixing the compensation of the Under Secretary of War, and authorizing the Secretary of War to prescribe duties," approved December 16, 1940, as amended, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1375. An act to further amend section 10 of the Pay Readjustment Act of 1942, so as to provide for the clothing allowance of enlisted men of the Marine Corps and Marine Corps Reserve;

H. R. 1605. An act to amend the act approved December 28, 1945 (59 Stat. 663), entitled "An act to provide for the appointment of additional commissioned officers in the Regular Army, and for other purposes," as amended by the act of August 8, 1946 (Public Law 670, 79th Cong.);

H. R. 1807. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the county of Pittsburg, Okla., a perpetual easement for the construction, maintenance, and operation of a public highway over a portion of the United States Naval Ammunition Depot, McAlester, Okla.;

H. R. 2183. An act providing for the conveyance to the city of Detroit, Mich., of that portion of the Fort Wayne Military Reservation determined to be surplus to the needs of the War Department;

H. R. 2339. An act to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the designation of Army mail clerks and assistant Army mail clerks," approved August 21, 1941 (55 Stat. 656), and for other purposes;

H. J. Res. 90. Joint resolution to correct an error in the act approved August 10, 1946 (Public Law 720, 79th Cong., 2d sess.), relating to the composition of the Naval Reserve; and

H. J. Res. 116. Joint resolution to correct technical errors in the act approved August 13, 1946 (Public Law 729, 79th Cong., 2d sess.); to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 2109. An act to amend section 1003 (b) of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, as amended;

H. R. 2336. An act to amend section 327 of the Communications Act of 1934 so as to permit, subject to certain conditions, the use of Coast Guard radio stations for the reception and transmission of commercial messages; and

H. R. 2753. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the administration of the Washington National Airport, and for other purposes," approved June 29, 1940; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

MEETING OF APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND FEDERAL SECURITY

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, on behalf of the Subcommittee on Labor and Federal Security of the Appropriations Committee, I ask unanimous consent that we be permitted to meet at 2:30 this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, consent is granted.

THE LILIENTHAL NOMINATION—EDITORIAL FROM THE PITTSBURGH PRESS

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Confirm Lilienthal," published in the Pittsburgh Press of April 4, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

REASON FOR AID TO GREECE—ARTICLE BY WILLIAM PHILIP SIMMS

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article on the subject of the proposed aid to Greece written by William Philip Simms and published in the Pittsburgh Press, which appears in the Appendix.]

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, we are considering the bill which is now before the Senate in response to President Truman's eloquent message of March 12 appealing to Congress for emergency aid to Greece and Turkey. Mr. President, I desire to express my satisfaction and sense of appreciation at the widespread support by Senators of the President's policy without regard to party affiliations. The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], in an able and comprehensive address has given wholehearted support to the President's policy. It is gratifying to know that on both sides of the aisle the plan is receiving the approval of the Members of this body. It is of the highest importance that the foreign relations of the United States be conducted without partisanship or political division. Our voice is more persuasive and our influence more compelling when a united Nation and a united people support and sustain them. Our policy is then an American policy without regard to party or faction. Having sat in a number of

international conferences, I know how imperative are national unity and cooperation when we face the other nations of the world. I am gratified beyond measure that our foreign relations are upon a nonpartisan basis and have the support of both Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. President, I wish to say at the beginning—and I hope the press will note this statement—that today I speak only for myself. My remarks have not been cleared by anyone save myself. I represent no one here today but myself and, I hope, the American people.

The purpose of the bill in the case of Greece is to extend aid in the amount of \$300,000,000 to the Greek Government for relief to its citizens until Greek economy can be rebuilt, and funds for the equipment of the Greek Army and for its training.

In the case of Turkey, the relief of \$100,000,000 is intended for assistance in Turkey's military program of modernizing its military equipment and in training the armed forces.

The economy of Greece is threatened with total collapse unless emergency aid is quickly granted. Her people suffered the rigors and misery of years of warfare. Attacked on her northern borders and invaded by Italy and Albania, her gallant soldiery fought valiantly and heroically in defending her soil. Finally overwhelmed by the Nazi invasion, her territory was devastated, her people stripped of their possessions, her transportation system and highways largely destroyed and her people plunged into the agonies and horrors of years of a cruel and hostile occupation. She now lies broken and bleeding with her people in dire need of the primary necessities of life. Her government's activity is helpless to restore normal conditions because of the lack of resources and facilities to meet the emergency that threatens her very existence—an emergency that unless aid is granted will submerge that ancient and unhappy land in chaos, confusion, and ruin. These are the fertile soils in which germinate and flourish communism and tragic dislocation of order, of law, and of government itself.

Mr. President, in this connection let us not forget what Greece during the course of her long and distinguished history has done for the world. We must not forget that the very term "democracy" itself comes from two Greek words. We cannot forget that in classic and ancient days Greece, with her literature, her oratory, her statesmanship, her public activities, her literature, her architecture, her sculpture, and her painting contributed mightily to the culture and advancement of civilization. Rome conquered her with armies, but Greece imposed upon Rome the dominion of the mind and spirit, enriching and ennobling the civilization of that era. Greece has been our friend throughout the years, notably since she gained her independence from Turkey in 1820. She is our friend, we have been her friend; we do not today desire to see her become the tragic victim of dark and cruel forces and conditions which would bring about her ruin.

It may be asked why should funds be extended to Greece and Turkey for their military establishments?

The answer is that in Greece armed bands of guerrillas operating chiefly in the north along the borders of Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria have been and are now making war on the Greek Government and people with the intent to overthrow it and to erect in its stead a communistic state.

There is ample evidence that these armed bands are being encouraged, stimulated, and motivated from the states of Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, all of which are under the domination of Russia and her communistic system.

Mr. President, I hold in my hand an article published in last night's Washington Star and written by Constantine Brown, whom many Senators know. The dispatch is from Athens, where Mr. Brown is on tour, surveying world conditions. I quote very briefly:

Estimates of the strength of the Communist military forces which are supporting the Greek guerrillas operating from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania vary from 100,000 to 250,000.

As to those figures, of course, I cannot give approval. I do not know the number. The number, however, is much larger than we had been led heretofore to believe. But here is the main point:

The general headquarters is located at Skoplje, Yugoslavia.

The Communist army, the Communist host that is attacking Greece and sowing disaster and disruption throughout Greece, has its headquarters in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia, as all Senators know, is a sycophant of Russia and her communistic system. Through UNRRA we gave Yugoslavia \$400,000,000, so the testimony of Mayor LaGuardia before the committee disclosed. Of that sum the United States paid 70 percent, or \$280,000,000. Today Yugoslavia denounces us and abuses us and challenges us. I shall not mention the incident of the shooting down of our aviators. But, Mr. President, that shows the attitude of Yugoslavia, and when it is known how subservient she is to Russia it is not a very radical conclusion that her conduct now in tolerating the headquarters of the Communist army opposing Greece shows her approval and commendation.

If Greece is to survive as a free nation, if her integrity is to be maintained, if her sovereignty is to be respected, she must have the military means to suppress these lawless bands and to maintain her government and the integrity of her territory and the safety of her people against these evil and insidious influences that seek by infiltration and absorption to pull down the Greek flag and to lift in its stead the banner of communism and chaos and confusion and misery.

Mr. President, by the enactment of this bill we do not send a single combat soldier to Greece. There has been complaint by Mr. Gromyko and others to the effect that we were proposing to send military aid to Greece. Not a single combat soldier will be sent; only a small

group of military men to assist in the training of the Greek Army and in teaching it how to utilize the weapons which it has in its hands. The naval forces we propose to send will also be very small; principally for the aid of Greece in mine-sweeping and activities of that kind, landing craft—all of a very minor character.

It would be futile indeed for economic relief to be extended which would serve the necessities for only a brief period and to permit the submergence of the people and Government to the waves of armed communism beating at their doors and ending in final triumph for these alien and evil influences. In other words, merely to extend small amounts of economic aid to supply her needs for a brief period would be of little avail if in the meantime her Government collapses and the forces of communism take over her Government. If Greece is to live, if there is to be a Greece, she must be given aid to maintain the essentials of law and order, to suppress outlaw bands making war upon her.

The United States is not seeking to intervene in Greece. Whatever we shall do in Greece will be done at the urgent request of the Greek people. We do not propose to dictate to Greece as to the form of government which she may have, or as to her institutions. We do mean to have control of the expenditure of these funds under American supervision in order that they may be utilized for the purposes intended. But the Greek people ought to remain entirely free without any political control or dominance by the United States.

In the case of Turkey, it is in the national interest of the United States that she be extended aid in the form of military equipment or supplies and the training of her armies in order to maintain her sovereignty, her territory, and her security. Turkey, since the beginning of World War II has maintained a large armed force. It has entailed a severe strain upon Turkey's economy. Her need for mobilizing and keeping under arms her military forces is imperative. It is well known that Turkey is under constant threat from abroad and that her security is endangered.

It is well known that Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria are completely under the domination and control of Soviet Russia. They have embraced, either willingly or under the threat of overwhelming armed forces, the doctrines and ideologies of Soviet Russia. They are the obsequious sycophants of Soviet Russia and her doctrine of infiltration and military and political pressure looking to the subjugation of its victims. They would needs but to look about at the unfortunate situation of Poland, of Czechoslovakia with a great and glorious history, and of Rumania, to know how the Russian system has engulfed these unfortunate lands and broken the spirit of their people. In the case of Poland a tremendous Russian army is on her eastern border. Other Russian occupation armies in Germany are on Poland's western border. She is within a vise and is absolutely compelled to respond to the wishes of the Soviets.

Even now in Moscow, Soviet Russia is delaying and blocking action on a peace treaty for Germany. She has an ambition to establish a dominant influence in Germany and to bring a large part of the territory of Germany within the Soviet system. We want to see Germany reestablished, but she must be stripped of her military power. We want to eradicate the war fever and her ambition for world mastery. We want Germany's economy lifted to a high level. Her continued existence is necessary to European economy.

Soviet Russia, however, wants to implant her ideology, her communistic system in that unhappy land and to bring her people within the Soviet orbit.

Soviet Russia, by her system of spreading creeping paralysis among smaller and weaker nations, hopes to bring about world dominion and to control the destiny of Europe. She hungers for "all the land that joins me." Those words are taken from the story of an old farmer who, upon inquiry, stated that all he wanted was "all the land that 'jines' me."

If Greece and Turkey should fall under the sway of Soviet Russia, Italy would be the next victim of this system of economic, military, and political aggression. "Aggression" is the word, and the correct word. Across the Adriatic from Italy lies Yugoslavia, subservient and obedient to the Soviets, with Marshal Tito, who thinks he is a great military figure, ready to leap at the throat of Italy instantly when the opportunity is presented. That was made clear at Paris, at the Foreign Ministers Council, which some of us attended. Yugoslavia has its hungry eyes set upon Italy. If Greece and Turkey fall, Italy will be the next victim. Should Italy fall, France would be the next objective. From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, communistic patrols and detachments would cover with their propaganda and their illusive promises that historic land. Austria would succumb to these enervating and weakening influences until her sovereignty was destroyed and her Government dissolved.

The United States wants Russia to have her own Government within her own borders, but no farther. Russia has a right to select her own system of government, but she has no right by political pressure, by the threat of armed force, to sap the strength of independent and sovereign peoples and to so enervate them and strip them of their strength as to be able to bring them under her dominion. Yes, we want Russia to have her own form of government. We want her to be secure within her own boundaries. We should give her assurance of that desire. No one wants to invade Russia, or hamper or interfere with her internal affairs.

During World War II, we sent, from March 1, 1941, to September 30, 1946, \$11,297,883,000 in lend-lease to help Russia maintain her integrity and preserve her Government and assure her security. Is there any hostility in that? We were ready to send lend-lease assistance to Russia in order that she might survive, in order that she might have her own Government, in order that she might

have her own institutions. We did not question her form of government or her institutions when we sent that aid. We did not equivocate. We did not hesitate. We did not inquire as to the form of her government or her institutions. Why does she now oppose our extending similar aid to Greece for the same purposes—for the purpose of maintaining her integrity, of giving security to her people, and of implementing her own institutions?

Russia was an ally during World War II. She was an ally when our country was under arms, fighting the common enemy. We have indulged the hope that in peace she might be our ally as well as in war. We had based our hopes on the thought that the unity of the great powers in the United Nations would preserve peace, would preserve the sanctity of sovereign nations and would guarantee their security and safety.

We want to be friends with Russia. If she wants United States friendship, let her (a) cease to infiltrate other countries; (b) cease to employ her armies as a threat to her neighbors; (c) respect the sovereignty and integrity of other nations; (d) perform her obligations to the United Nations to promote peace and peaceful settlements.

Mr. President, in World War II, we sent our armies and navies to many parts of the world. We poured out in treasure more than three hundred billion dollars. And why? We made these tremendous sacrifices to prevent conquest by arms. Why shall we not now send not armies, not soldiers, but dollars to Greece and Turkey to prevent conquest by all of the devices and methods employed to subjugate peaceful peoples by communistic ideologies? Why shall we not give aid to these countries to enable them in their own right, and in their own dignity and under their own sovereignty, to maintain their integrity and security against the vicious and destructive attacks that threaten them?

Mr. President, in all candor and frankness, one of the motives that prompts me to support this measure is resistance to the aggressive expansionist doctrines of Soviet Russia. Free and independent nations must not be destroyed. Her conquest of these keys to the Mediterranean, to the Middle East, and to the Far East in her mad march toward world dominion must be arrested.

Let me observe here that Greece and Turkey are almost indissolubly linked. If Greece should fall, with her chain of islands extending to the boundaries of Turkey, it would be only a little while until Turkey would be forced to succumb. Aggression feeds upon each success. It is urged on to other conquests, to greater dominion, to a more sweeping extermination of governments and systems, until an outraged world resists and overcomes and drives back its barbaric system.

Greece, unaided and alone, cannot successfully resist the tidal waves of communism nor the sweep of armies supporting it. Turkey, unaided, cannot arrest an attack by a great military power. The aid proposed by this bill must be granted, and granted speedily, if Greece and Turkey are to survive.

There is no conflict between what is proposed in this bill and the functions of the United Nations. The President in his address to the Congress pointed out that the United Nations was equipped with neither the facilities nor the funds with which to meet the emergent conditions in Greece and Turkey.

President Truman is not justly subject to criticism in this regard. He knows, as we know, and as the United Nations Organization and the Security Council know, that the United Nations is not equipped with either the funds or the facilities to render this aid. The United States, through former Senator Austin, its representative in the Security Council, officially advised the Council of the proposed action of the United States and gave assurances to the United Nations that there is involved no desire nor attempt to invade the jurisdiction or authority of the United Nations.

The bill provides, out of an abundance of caution, out of a desire to meet the criticisms, attacks, and suggestions that the problem should go to the United Nations, that whenever the United Nations, either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly, decides to act upon a proposal to extend aid of the kind proposed in the bill, the United States, through the President, will withdraw further aid.

Mr. President, we have gone to the extreme limit in our respect for the United Nations. No one wants to hamper the United Nations. The United Nations, within its particular sphere and within its appropriate jurisdiction, has the loyal support of the United States now, and has had it ever since it was founded at San Francisco. At an early period the United States was one of the leading nations to propose the formation of the United Nations, and we gave it our hearty support in the period of its formation. We have given it our hearty support ever since.

On Monday Mr. Gromyko, the representative to the Security Council from Soviet Russia, made an attack upon the United States because of the provisions of this bill. He asserted that the enactment of the bill would by-pass the United Nations and that any action taken should be by the United Nations. He charged that our aid would constitute intervention in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. Mr. Gromyko, of course, does not want Greece or Turkey to receive aid either from the United Nations or from the United States. That is my considered belief. If a proposal should be made to the United Nations Organization to supply the aid carried in this bill, Mr. Gromyko, as a representative of Soviet Russia, would according to my belief, promptly interpose a veto as he has done on a number of occasions heretofore. Ten times the Soviet has vetoed action by the Security Council. Mr. Gromyko knows that the United Nations does not possess the funds nor the facilities to grant the required aid. He knows it does not have a dime nor a single soldier to devote to such a cause. He wants to send Greece and Turkey for aid where he knows there is no aid. Mr. Gromyko's sally is a flank movement.

We made loans to Italy, to France, and to other countries, and every one of them was based upon the implication that by the extension of those loans the respective countries could stabilize their economy and prevent or override agitations of a communistic nature. Who complained that those loans ought to have been made through the United Nations? Where was the champion standing forth then to demand that the appeals of France, Italy, and Great Britain should go to the United Nations? The press carried reports that Russia had made loans to Poland. I never heard of their being submitted to the United Nations.

It is my view that the United States must be frank with Russia and that we must demand frankness of the Soviets. We must proclaim the truth. Let them know where we stand. There is no denial that one of the cardinal purposes of this bill is to enable Greece and Turkey to resist the encroachments of Soviet Russia and her satellite states. Russia is not unaware of this purpose. We should make that purpose clear. We should demand of Russia that she abandon the methods by which she subjugated the satellite states. We should make it plain that as a Nation and a people we shall resist this effort to destroy the independence or integrity of free peoples.

We are devoted to the cause of peace. We have pledged our support and our loyalty to the United Nations as an organization for the promotion of peace and for the support of free governments.

Read the Charter. Written into that document in the most solemn fashion is the statement that one of the obligations assumed by members of the United Nations is to protect and defend the sovereignty of free peoples and free nations. These are the great objectives of that organization. We shall continue in our devotion to it and its purposes.

We fought World War I and World War II to secure world peace. We came out of those wars without any added territory, without any bounties or reparations. We came out with nothing but enormous sacrifices of blood and treasure which we made toward the establishment of the principle of world peace and respect for nations and their territories and institutions. The aid proposed in this bill is in the interest of and will contribute to world peace. Without such aid war might ultimately develop in those areas. War anywhere on earth is a threat to our peace.

In World War I, by reason of an incident in an obscure town in Europe, we were drawn into that world conflict. In World War II, difficulties over the Polish Corridor, trivial in themselves, finally engulfed us in the most stupendous war in all the pages of history. If we can maintain peace in Greece and Turkey, we will have contributed to the peace of the world. In contributing to the peace of the world we will contribute to our own peace.

However, Mr. President, our own security and the integrity of our territory and our institutions call for our supreme sacrifice and constant concern. We want peace. We crave dominion over no

other land. We look with hungry eyes upon no foreign territory. We do not dream of tribute or bounties or subsidies from any other people. We want peace. But there is no absolute assurance of peace unless we in our own strength and resources possess the means of insuring peace. So long as there exists in the world the evil influence of national ambitions to conquer or subjugate other lands or nations, we must be alert to the dangers to our own security and to the peace of the world. In these troubled days, the United States must maintain its defenses and its armed services. It is the imperative duty of the United States to maintain an army adequate for our defense and capable of being expanded to meet our national requirements. We must maintain the greatest navy that floats upon the seven seas—not for offense, not for conquest; but for the defense of this land and the safety of our people. The United States must maintain the greatest and most efficient air force in the world. World War II has demonstrated the military power of the air services. It wrote a new and startling chapter in the history of warfare. It will grow and develop as a result of scientific invention and through and daring exploits of that arm of the service.

The highest and most compelling duty of the Congress of the United States is to provide for the protection and security of our beloved land and the people of these United States. We must not, we shall not neglect the imperative duty of adequate national defense. It will not alone give us security at home, but will invest our voice with a strength necessary to carry conviction to lands abroad that we are prepared to fulfill our commitments and obligations in the international field.

Mr. President, throughout the centuries run the dreams of would-be conquerors. Plans for conquest and dominion fill many pages of the solemn history of the world. These dreams were dissipated by outraged people who resisted and crushed them. Communism cannot conquer the world by the devices she now employs. The free peoples of the world are determined to remain free. They will not be deluded by the false and fatuous promises that communism offers. They will resist unto the death. They will determine their own destiny. They will not be coerced by any foreign power or influence.

Let Russia reflect that Mussolini had a dream to build an empire on the ruins of conquered lands. Mussolini's empire was shattered and broken; and Mussolini, its master and author, was interred amidst its ruins.

Let Russia reflect that Hitler, with tremendous resources and a superb army, sought to dominate the world with the sword. He drove his military minions into the heart of Russia itself. But Hitler's far-flung campaigns ended in disaster; and Hitler, the author, perished in the storm that wrecked and destroyed them.

Let not Russia blind her eyes to recent history, nor close them to the lessons of the past. World dominion by a single power will not be achieved as long as

freemen know how to resist tyranny, whether threatened by arms or by pressure, infiltration, or absorption. Russia should know that world empire is dead. It must remain dead.

Mr. President, we are standing on the world stage. Small nations and free peoples everywhere on the globe are looking to us with hope in their hearts and a prayer upon their lips. What we shall do will be recorded in the solemn annals of our time. The United States with a glorious tradition faces the judgment of history. The United States, the nursery of liberty since Jefferson flung his flaming declaration into the face of a British king; the United States, the strongest, the richest and the most powerful Nation on the globe, must answer the cry of impoverished and shattered Greece for aid to alleviate the sufferings and hunger of her unhappy people and to strengthen her armed forces, to suppress rebellion, and to preserve her life. We must answer the appeal of Turkey to strengthen and equip her armies, to preserve the integrity of her soil and her rights as a nation. Mr. President, as the greatest champion of democracy in all the centuries that have passed over the hoary head of mother earth, we cannot, we must not, say "No."

HENRY FORD

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, at 2:30 this afternoon the State of Michigan is standing by in a memorial moment of devoted tribute to Henry Ford. It is the hour of his funeral. I join in this memorial to a great American, with this brief benediction, though words would be inadequate, even if multiplied ten thousand times:

Mr. Henry Ford's death ends one of the greatest and most thrilling careers in the life of this country. It is the vivid epitome of what one man can do for himself and for his fellow men under our system of American freedoms. Through his own irresistible genius and courage he not only rose from humble obscurity to fame and fortune, but he also founded a new national economy of mass production which blessed his hundreds of thousands of employees with high wages and his millions of customers with low prices. He has probably had as great an impact on his times as if he had been a President of the United States. With it all, he continued always to be a modest, kindly, gentle friend with constant interest in the welfare of his country and of his fellow men. He was a giant in a day of giants. He will never be forgotten.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to recur to the amendment submitted by the committee on page 7, which I perfected yesterday in one instance. I am desperately anxious to be very sure that the words are utterly beyond any possibility of misunderstanding as to their meaning; namely, that the attitude of the United States is to recognize any action taken by the Security Council with respect to this problem, without counting vetoes.

After a further conference with the Acting Secretary of State this morning, I am going to change one more word in the amendment on page 7, in line 24, so that there can be no possibility of doubt as to its meaning.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to make such a motion at the present time, so that we can perfect this document before the general debate begins. I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to submit to the committee amendment an amendment changing the first word "the", in line 24, to the word "any."

Mr. PEPPER. Let me inquire what the page is, Mr. President.

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is on page 7.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I do not quite understand the point. Is the word "the" to which the Senator refers, the one appearing in the phrase "exercise of the veto"; and would the change suggested by the Senator from Michigan make those words read "exercise of any veto"?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator restate that? I did not quite understand.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The words in parentheses at the bottom of page 7 will then read as follows:

(with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto.)

That change would be made so that there can be no question of the fact that we are not hiding behind someone else's veto when the time comes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BALDWIN in the chair). Does the Senator from Michigan yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I wish to say in this connection that I shall not object, but I think I approach this matter from a standpoint somewhat different from that of the Senator from Michigan. I do not agree that the Congress can by its enactment waive or in anywise infringe upon the action of the Security Council. Under the Charter, if a nation votes "no"—I refer to any one of the five permanent members—that is a veto. But I agree to the proposition that we can condition our own action with any future event, just so it is an event.

So it is in that spirit that I go along with the Senator, but not with the idea that we can in any wise prescribe how the Security Council shall act or shall function or how it shall count vetoes or not count vetoes.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I totally agree with the analysis made by the Senator from Texas. There is no suggestion here of any attempt to invade the authority of the Security Council to write its own rules. The sole attempt is to set up a rule of conduct by which we shall interpret a vote that is taken in the Security Council under the circumstances indicated. The purpose is that we shall count it as a straight vote, regardless of anyone's right to have his

vote counted as a veto within the operations of the Security Council itself.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator mean to say, then, that his construction of this provision is that, notwithstanding the fact that any other nation, which we could not, of course, affect, should exercise the veto, we would not regard that as anything except a negative vote?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

Mr. PEPPER. The question has occurred to me, and no doubt it occurred to the able Senator in charge of the bill, that this declaration is on the part of Congress. Of course, this is a bill, and therefore it would require the signature of the President. I have no positive views about the subject, but it raises an interesting constitutional question as to whether our veto in due course should be waived by the President of the United States giving direction of our representatives on the UN, or whether the Congress by the enactment of legislation could waive the veto of the United States. I should like to have the views of the able Senator from Michigan upon that point, if it was within the mind of the committee.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am not prepared to debate any constitutional question with the able Senator from Florida, because I fully realize that I would have two strikes on me before I started.

I do not think the situation we are considering involves any necessity for that sort of what might be called microscopic examination, because I think this is fundamentally and essentially an assertion of an attitude of good faith. We would say by an act of Congress, signed by the President of the United States, that if "the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto), or the General Assembly finds that action taken, or assistance furnished, by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable," then "the President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein."

Mr. President, I think that is the definition of an attitude. I am perfectly sure that so far as the authors of the bill are concerned it is an attitude which is assumed in 1,000-percent good faith. I am sure it will be accepted on that basis and interpreted upon that basis if any occasion ever arises to challenge it.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one remark?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. I myself do not think there is a constitutional question in this declaration at all. All that the Congress is doing is laying down a policy. It is constitutional to the extent that Congress, of course, has the right to authorize the President to act, it has the right to direct the President to act. Those things are constitutional. So that the writing of the provision itself is, of course, in keeping with constitutional practices. But the declaration is merely a declaration of policy which implies a consent to a theory. That is as far as this goes. To assume that it takes away

the discretion of the President, to assume that he cannot act within his field, a field which is his under the Constitution, that we are trying to limit that, would be entirely wrong. It is a declaration of the good intent of Congress to live in harmony with past declarations which the Congress has made in adhering to the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I thank the Senator. I agree with his analysis, and I am sure the Senator from Florida will agree.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan to the amendment reported by the committee.

The amendment to the amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment on page 4, which the clerk will state.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 4, line 1, after the word "act", it is proposed to strike out the comma and the words "and any necessary expenses related thereto" and the comma.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, we face the usual embarrassment and dilemma which usually at about this hour of the day confront a Senator presumptuous enough to think that anything he can say will satisfy Senators as well as the good things they can eat at their lunch period.

I wish to address myself generally to the pending proposal, and I am prepared to do it now; I suppose it will be necessary to do it now, although it is a very unhappy time.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hawkes	O'Mahoney
Baldwin	Hayden	Pepper
Ball	Hickenlooper	Reed
Bricker	Hill	Robertson, Va.
Bridges	Hoey	Robertson, Wyo.
Brooks	Holland	Saltonstall
Buck	Ives	Smith
Bushfield	Jenner	Sparkman
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Stewart
Byrd	Kem	Taft
Cain	Knowland	Taylor
Capehart	Langer	Thomas, Okla.
Capper	Lodge	Thomas, Utah
Chavez	Lucas	Thye
Connally	McCarthy	Tobey
Cooper	McClellan	Tydings
Cordon	McFarland	Umstead
Donnell	McKellar	Vandenberg
Downey	Malone	Watkins
Dworshak	Martin	Wherry
Eastland	Maybank	Whlte
Eaton	Millikin	Wiley
Flanders	Moore	Williams
Fulbright	Murray	Wilson
George	Myers	Young
Green	O'Connor	
Gurney	O'Daniel	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy-nine Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, for a few moments I shall address myself in general terms to the proposal which is

now before the Senate, and thereafter I shall address myself to the specific amendments, or substitutes, as they may come severally to the attention of the Senate.

Like millions of other Americans and millions of nationals of other nations over the world, I keep asking myself what President Roosevelt, as the one principally responsible for the United Nations, would have done, faced with the same situation which faces our Government now in Greece and Turkey. And the reply which keeps coming back to me is the statement of the Manchester Guardian, a world-honored English newspaper, which said, as quoted on March 21 by the New York Herald Tribune:

One feels that, faced with the same situation, President Roosevelt would first have tried to do the same things through the United Nations by enlisting the support of other nations, including Russia if possible. Peace, the status quo, the integrity of nations—these are not exclusively American interests, but the interest of us all.

What is this proposal we now have to approve or reject? It is not a relief bill—because no relief is asked for Turkey, and half of what is asked for Greece is for equipping, training and maintaining a Greek army of 125,000.

Some say it is a momentous new doctrine and they compare it to the Monroe Doctrine except that it extends to the whole world and not merely to the Western Hemisphere. Some say it is a showdown with Russia and that we have determined to join issue with the Russians at every point of their circumference.

Others say that we have determined to stop communism and now accept its challenge in every continent and country and clime.

Others say it divides the world into two spheres, the East and the West. For example, the Stockholm Expressen says:

In the long run, the speech—

Referring to the President's address—has merely increased the difficulties and deepened the disagreements between the East and the West, which are shaking the postwar world.

From many parts of the world come the rising murmurs that it is the expression of a new and expanding American imperialism, while a French newspaper adds that the President's—concern is not for democracy but for the interest of American big businessmen who are in full action in the Near East.

Mr. President, I have before me a publication entitled "The Value Line—Investment Survey"; it is further entitled "Fortnightly Commentary." It states itself to be published in New York, and purports to be an expression of the business point of view. I read the first paragraph—"Intervention in Greece" is the heading:

After this letter goes to press, President Truman will address Congress on the subject of American intervention in Greece. We are of the opinion that even if the United States should establish an anti-Communist regime on the Greek flank of the Dardanelles, Russia would not immediately go to war. But American commitments in Greece, if they are to

achieve their purpose, would have to be followed by commitments in other parts of the world, and such extensive undertaking would weaken capitalism in the American sphere. In so doing they would prove to be self-defeating.

I shall read another paragraph in this periodical. The heading is "The Shift of British Power":

The No. 1 fact of life to hold onto in this maelstrom of postwar political readjustments is that the British are shifting their empire. They are moving out of Asia and east Europe to consolidate in Africa and the Near East. Their great adventure is the chance of developing an Arab world and exploiting Africa. From a speculative standpoint, it seems to be good strategy. Britain has neither the economic sinews nor the fire power to hold India and the Far East or to defend Australia and New Zealand. Her land-based planes probably could hold Africa. There she could obtain raw materials produced with cheap labor, to be processed in England for export at a profit to Britain. By agreement with either the United States or Russia she might be able to share the rich oil fields of the Near East, whence would come the oil to power the air force and fleet that would defend the African empire. The Arabs offer a brilliant opportunity, for they are a people of great ability and no organization. Their political life is a jigsaw of feudal rivalries. Their economy is totally undeveloped.

The letter goes on to infer, Mr. President, that Britain is constantly changing and shifting the point of her emphasis geographically in that remote part of the world.

I read another paragraph:

How then will the Russians react if the United States should formulate a foreign policy that has as its obvious purpose control of the flanks on Russia's only warm-water outlet? Imagine, for a moment, that the United States of America were a landlocked Nation without Atlantic or Pacific seaports and that our only outlet to the Atlantic was through the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico. Imagine then that Russia, disapproving the Aleman regime in Mexico, decided to intervene with arms and money to unhorse Mr. Aleman and substitute a regime sympathetic to and in close collaboration with one of the totalitarian governments, let us say the Argentinian. Even without the Monroe Doctrine, America would spring to arms.

I read another paragraph:

The upshot cannot be favorable to the United States. The Russians will be resentful and even more suspicious than in the past. They will close ranks at home, more willingly suffering a low standard of living in order to build up their industrial potential for defense. They will look at Britain as an ally, even as a partner in the development of oil fields in the Near East, and to the exclusion of the United States.

And the last quotation from this publication:

The danger to Americans is not the activity of Communist agents but the deterioration of capitalism itself. Sensing our own weakness we look for a foreign devil to blame it on. But this is self-deception. Communism would have to chance at all in a world, or even in a part of a world, in which capitalism was working. Rome did not fall because of the power of the barbarians, but because of the weakness of the Romans. In weakening capitalism in order to "contain" Russia by naked military force, we do not defend ourselves intelligently.

And one other quotation. The publication from which I am reading now is the U. D. A. London Letter, published by the Union for Democratic Action Educational Fund, Inc., in London. This letter makes commentary upon what has been happening in England under the British Government.

Unlike Britons, Americans never really believed that labor meant what it said about breaking with the old English imperial traditions. Hence, when successive steps were taken toward India's freedom, they always flattered themselves that they could detect in each decision some subtle English trick; some new way of holding India against her will. As labor, with gathering speed, disengaged itself of empire (the setting of a near date for Indian independence followed hard on the agreement for Burma's freedom) they found it increasingly difficult to discover equivocations. The coal crisis gave them an excuse for seeing necessity, not design, in Britain's actions; a foolish notion, because far weaker countries (France and Holland) were hanging on to their empires for dear life. The proposal of President Truman to assume responsibility for Turkey and Greece took them utterly by surprise; almost, as it were, between the words "British" and "imperialism." The burden America thus proposed to take up was one of the most unpopular—

Speaking of the British occupation of Greece—

Britain had ever carried. English troops entered Greece to keep it from falling into the Russian sphere. In so doing, they arrested in mid-course a Communist-led revolution. Britain did her best to support what moderate elements existed, but without success; only the Royalists and the Communists were strong in the countryside, and whatever cabinets were put together at the top, the actual administration of the law fell (if Communists were excluded) into Royalist hands. The memory of communistic excesses, and fear of the Slav bloc with its extravagant claims on Greek territory, drove many sincere Republicans to vote for the return of King George. As Britain gradually relaxed her influence, and the Royalists gradually got a freer hand, they in turn proceeded by their harshness and incompetence to turn Republicans into Communists.

I hope that will not be accomplished in the United States.

The British decision to withdraw altogether was logical and expected. As America moved hastily into action, Britain enjoyed the luxury of a sideline seat.

Mr. President, surely a doctrine subject to so many different interpretations—and I am giving them to the Senate only for what they are worth—which has aroused such sincere concerns and fears from noncommunistic sources in so many parts of the world, which has illimitable and incalculable implications, as admitted by its own proponents, should not be adopted without the American people taking ample time to debate and to weigh the solemn judgment they shall cast upon it.

The Congress and the country debated lend-lease, another momentous American policy which had my hearty support, for many months before we enacted it. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee conducted hearings before it recommended it. Those of us who are deeply disturbed by this momentous pro-

posal now before us protest against the effort to secure its hasty passage by the Senate without adequate opportunity for debate in the Senate and in the country.

Especially is it regrettable that the Senate, where the privilege of debate can be unlimited according to the rules, has chosen to act first upon this measure instead of following the practice we used in connection with lend-lease and letting the measure first pass the House and then come to the Senate after the Nation has been more fully advised of its significance and implications.

Let me hasten to assert that in these observations in no sense of the word do I cast any disparagement upon or direct any criticism to the able chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. VANDENBERG] or to the distinguished members of that committee. On the contrary, the chairman has been characteristically distinguished in the fairness with which he has approached every aspect of this question. He has already told the Senate that the committee heard every witness who asked to be heard. Yet it is a fact—and I am sure it was a necessity on the part of the committee—that in many cases the witnesses were limited in the time they were allowed before the committee. I feel that, if the hearings are considered by the committee to have been adequate, surely here in the Senate, Senators should search their souls and minds upon this momentous proposal and give the American people an opportunity to express their sentiments to their Congress before we launch America upon a course, the implications of which no honest man can foretell.

From church people, from those whose faith in the future is pinned to the United Nations, from those who both love America and love peace, there is a rising tide of opposition to this measure as it is now before the Senate, in spite of the generous gesture which the Foreign Relations Committee, in the utmost of good faith, has extended to the United Nations. I believe Senators will have to go no further than their own mail to affirm the growing opposition to the proposal, the end of which no one can honestly foretell.

Robbed of the military aspects, this measure would have had no opposition in Congress, for we all favor Greek relief to the utmost. In 1945 I had the privilege of spending a few days in Athens. I saw the horror which those people had experienced as the Germans sought to wreak their vengeance upon them for knocking out of order Hitler's timetable to invade the Soviet Union. I heard this at Nuremberg in 1945 from the mouth of General von Brauchitsch, who had been commander in chief of the German Army. The timetable called for an attack upon Russia by the Germans on the 8th of May 1941. Then they determined to occupy Greece and Yugoslavia. Hitler gave the order to General von Brauchitsch for execution. He occupied those two countries. But Von Brauchitsch was a good enough general and an able enough commander to anticipate the difficulty of this assign-

ment. Perhaps he sensed ahead of time the glorious and heroic defense which would be made by the peoples of Greece and Yugoslavia. He called upon Hitler, he said, to allow him to withhold the attack upon Russia until the job in Greece and Yugoslavia was completed. He testified that Hitler finally acquiesced. The result was that the Nazi assault upon Soviet territory was launched on the 22d of June 1941, instead of on the 8th of May. Because the Germans were aware of what the Greeks had done to upset their timetable, they wreaked every barbaric form of vengeance that they could possibly conceive upon the Greek people. I know, therefore, how dire is their distress and how great is their need.

Relief for Greece could have been continued through UNRRA, which was set up by the United Nations Organization, and to which we generously contributed. But the Government of the United States is responsible for the termination of UNRRA, giving some justification for asserting that, in the dispensation of relief, we were not thinking solely about human need and the suffering of men, women, and children, but those who obtained relief had to be politically acceptable to our dispensation. Relief could have been provided through an international relief fund set up in the United Nations, as other nations wished to do, upon the recommendation last year of former Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, the head of UNRRA, pursuant to the directive of UNRRA itself in the United Nations.

But, Mr. President, United States representatives prevented that resolution setting up an international relief fund from being adopted, though Mayor LaGuardia asserts that he had visited Stalin beforehand and that the head of the Soviet Government had given his commitment that the Soviet Union would participate in setting up such an international relief fund.

I hold in my hand the resolutions and official documents showing who proposed to set up an international relief fund and who killed it. This material comes to me, upon my request, from the United Nations Organization itself.

We are already undertaking to provide \$50,000,000 outside this bill for immediate relief to Greece, and that is all that is asked to relieve distress in Greece. It will be recognized that I refer to the general relief bill providing \$350,000,000 for relief of other distressed nations and peoples of the world. But again, Mr. President, while that bill allows \$50,000,000 for Greece, there is some justification for the assertion that we recognize human misery and need only when it happens to occur in a country whose political policy is agreeable to the State Department of the United States.

When the Good Samaritan was on the way to Jericho and heard a cry to his conscience, he did not ask whether the recipient of his charity was on his political side. It is a good lesson for America to recall today like other Biblical illustrations, in the dispensation of Christian charity.

The \$150,000,000 which this measure requests for economic rehabilitation in

Greece should be and can be provided through the World Bank in the form of a loan, a part of which, at least, could be paid back, and would not in the first instance be an outright gift, provided at the expense of the American taxpayers.

It is well known that the International Food and Agricultural Organization set up under the United Nations Organization sent a mission to Greece to make a study of short-term and long-term needs in that war-torn country. That mission submitted a report, which was recently published. In its report, it asked for two kinds of relief—perhaps I should say three kinds: First, they appealed to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and to the United States and Britain, to provide Greece with short-term relief in the matter of food and other imports which they were not otherwise able to get to cover the period following UNRRA's withdrawal until international assistance and an expanding economy would no longer require such special aid. I understood that type of aid referred to the kind of relief contemplated in the \$50,000,000 appropriation which is being made available by Congress for assistance to the distressed Greek people, outside the proposal which is now before us. But, the burden of the recommendation of that mission of the Food and Agricultural Organization was that the World Bank make a loan of \$100,000,000 to Greece for long-term rehabilitation of her economy.

It is said that the World Bank cannot give this assistance, that it cannot extend this loan. No one denies that it has many billions of dollars in its treasury. One reason it is not able immediately to give this assistance is because there has been some delay on the part of our Government in recommending some of the officials of the institution. It is said it is a lending organization. Several weeks ago the bank announced that the Greek Government had notified it that it intended to apply for a loan and would do so as soon as it completed a study of its needs and its reconstruction program. Surely the Greeks could pay something back. The United States is the major stockholder in the World Bank. If the bank should lose the fund, we would lose the major part. But is not that preferable to giving it all without any hope of reimbursement to the American taxpayers?

So I say, Mr. President, that the relief needs of Greece, short term and long term, could have been taken care of through UNRRA had we continued it. They could have been provided for in an international relief fund had we not killed it. They could be aided now in connection with the \$50,000,000 which Congress is in the course of providing. The long-term relief can and should be provided through the World Bank set up for the express purpose of giving such assistance to those who require it.

Even if the President had asked the Congress to make a direct grant of money to Greece for both relief and rehabilitation, he could have got the money by a simple request. Congress is not going to deny a request of the President

that we do our duty in an economic way to the other peoples of the world. But—

What has deeply moved and disturbed the American people and people all over the world is the unprecedented proposal, first, that we send a military mission to Turkey, second, that we give Turkey \$100,000,000 for the equipment and support of her army for the next 15 months, third, that we send a military mission to Greece, fourth, that we give Greece \$150,000,000 to equip, train, and support a Greek Army of 125,000 for the next 15 months.

I know we are moving in a fast world. I know especially that the international scene is kaleidoscopic in its changes; but I will say candidly, Mr. President, that, if 6 weeks ago anyone had suggested to me that the President would propose or that the American Congress would countenance our sending a military mission to Turkey, paying the major part of the support for the equipment and maintenance of a Turkish Army, I would have thought that the suggestion was unthinkable. It is so linked with the animosity that is directed against some nations and some peoples, it is so delicately interwoven with a nation like Greece for which we have such supreme respect and affection, that we seem to take it as a matter of course that today there are no geographic limits to where America may go in giving aid and armed support for things which we approve of in various parts of the world.

There is an axiom in the law that what we do by another we do ourselves. If we finance another nation's army by providing money for its support, by giving them the equipment, by providing training in the use of the equipment, through the medium of an American military mission, can it be denied that to a very practical degree the foreign army becomes our army because we are financing it, we are equipping it, we are training it, and we are providing supervision in certain ways through an American mission? Above all, we are helping to continue its existence.

What deeply frightens the American people is that, if Congress adopts this measure, it will make the United States, the principal founder of the United Nations, repudiate its solemn covenant to act through the United Nations for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

I have before me the Charter of the United Nations Organization. I merely want to read article 1 of that Charter:

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Mr. President, the effect of this proposal, if enacted, is officially to brand the United Nations as a failure, and of no force or power to achieve the sacred functions for which it was founded—the protection of the security of peoples and the preservation of the peace of the world. This proposal has disappointed the hopes of the American people for peace more than any other single event since the establishment of the United Nations.

Mr. President, let me summarize the results from the last Gallup poll on that subject. The poll indicated that 56 percent of the people queried favored the bill asking for \$250,000,000 to give aid to Greece, but the poll report also indicated that a majority of the people regretted that we had not gone, in the first instance, through the United Nations Organization, and the poll further disclosed that an overwhelming majority opposed our sending military missions to Turkey and to Greece.

Mr. President, the question of sending military missions might be adverted to at this point. At the present time there is no statute which authorizes the President of the United States to send a military mission to any country outside the Western Hemisphere. There was a statute, enacted several years ago, which permitted us to send military missions within the Western Hemisphere, but not outside it. On the contrary, the fact that the Executive recognizes that he has no authority to send military missions outside the Western Hemisphere is best attested by the fact that there is now pending in the present Congress a bill to authorize the President to do that very thing—to send military missions outside the Western Hemisphere.

I recall that in 1945 I was visiting in Syria and was talking to the highest officials of the Syrian Government. To the American minister whom I accompanied in the conference and to me—with the idea that in some way I might be able to help in the accomplishment of their recommendations—they pleaded that two American officers in American uniforms be permitted to go there, to help them achieve their emancipation—from the Russians, Mr. President? No; from the British troops. But our officials had to report to them that our Government had no authority to send military missions outside the Western Hemisphere, even though they sympathized with their aspirations. Help later was given. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] had a very great and excellent influence in the United Nations in bringing about a decision by which British and French troops did leave Syria and Lebanon.

But I am saying that this bill proposes a new principle; namely, to allow military missions to be sent outside the Western Hemisphere. Where will that course lead us?

We are told that not more than 30 or 40 American officers will be sent. Mayor LaGuardia has said that that will mean the sending of 300 or 400 personnel, because every officer will have at least 10 aides. But, Mr. President, if an American officer in the uniform of the United

States Army or Navy is placed there, America will be there, with all that that means and with all that it should mean. In many instances it will mean that the American uniform will be the leverage by which reactionary and perhaps corrupt governments may at least psychologically intimidate the opposition to their own domestic policies.

Mr. President, it is not true that the United Nations is incapable of meeting the present problems of the eastern Mediterranean unless the United States makes it so.

If we rob the United Nations of the stalwart support of the strongest nation in the world and then condemn it as being incapable of acting, the fault is upon us, not the United Nations. We shall have to bear upon our hearts and consciences the immeasurable consequences, not only of this new doctrine which now is proposed, but the mortal blow that we strike at the United Nations, which is our one great gain from all the blood and treasure the war has just cost us.

The leaders who have proposed this measure to us, however earnest and sincere and patriotic, I fear are not aware of what they have done. In an honest but misguided zeal to strike out against what they call communism, as one does against horrible shapes and forms which accost one in a nightmare, they would sabotage the United Nations, destroy any hope of reconciliation with Russia, launch the United States upon an unprecedented policy of intervention in remote nations and areas of the world unilaterally, ally us with the reactionary and corrupt regimes of the world, subject this Nation to the serious accusation of aspiring to become the new Rome or the old Britain, and risk for the American people a war which may destroy civilization.

Against such a policy, small wonder that the protests of those groups who believe in peace and the United Nations, those who want America to hold firm to its old democratic traditions, are rising to a higher and higher pitch.

Surely the Senate will not adopt in haste this policy, the end of which no Senator can foresee.

Mr. President, let me digress here to observe that, as I said to the Foreign Relations Committee the other day, a committee characteristically courteous in their reception, I supported lend-lease. I saw Senators on this floor search their souls for the right decision on that policy. They saw its implications and where it might lead. So did I. But I supported it. I thought that at that time, under those circumstances, there was nothing else to do. But, Mr. President, to those who too rashly condemn some of us who were so hardy in our support of lend-lease and are so reluctant in any support of this measure, let me remind them of the action I took about the 20th of May, 1940, when I stood on this floor and announced to the Senate that the Germans had reached Abbeville, nearly on the Atlantic coast of France; and that they were about to pinch off the whole British Army and that Dunkerque was in prospect. I did not announce that, but that was what

was inevitable. Then I announced the purport of a resolution I contemplated submitting, not upon the direction of President Roosevelt, but at least having communicated it to him and having advised him that I would submit it on my own responsibility at noon that day unless he requested me not to. I read it over the telephone to Miss Margaret Le Hand, his personal secretary. After I had finished she probably disclosed what may have been the thinking of the President, when she said, "It would be great if we could get that, wouldn't it?"

We authorized the President to let any allies who were the victims of Hitler's aggression have any airplanes in our own possession that could be replaced by manufacture in the United States. A little later the authority was extended until it embodied the spirit and the purpose, if not the letter, of the eventual lend-lease law.

What I wanted to emphasize, Mr. President, was that on that day Denmark was under the cruel heel of the Hitler hordes, as was Norway, likewise Holland, likewise Belgium, likewise all eastern France, and it was inevitable that the German Army should sweep over probably all of France. It was thought by a great many at that time that it was only a question of time until Britain herself would fall.

I will say, therefore, that, whenever Russia undertakes, even in a small way, to do the same thing, I shall try to be as diligent in rejection of such action on her part as I was at that time in resisting the actual military aggression of Hitler's hordes upon the people of western Europe.

Let me remind the Senate that there was no United Nations in 1940. Today military assault has been undertaken, and to my knowledge, no ultimatum prophecies of such an assault in the immediate future. Today we have taken a solemn covenant that we will collectively keep the peace of the world through the United Nations Organization.

I say, Mr. President, against a policy such as that now proposed, small wonder that the protests of the groups who believe in peace and in the United Nations, those who want America to hold firm to its old democratic tradition, are rising to a higher and higher pitch. Surely the Senate will not adopt in haste this policy, the end of which no Senator can foresee.

Let Senators who give their unreserved approval to the pending measure be prepared for the full implications of it, as those of us who supported lend-lease were prepared to accept the utmost implications of that measure.

The American people believe in the United Nations for they know it is the only rock upon which they can base their hopes of any peace. A majority of the people have recently attested their grievous disappointment that the United Nations was bypassed, and their overwhelming opposition to our sending military missions, without precedent, to Turkey and Greece. Now the Foreign Relations Committee, in an attempt to assuage the grief and to satisfy the protest of the American people, ingenuously,

and with the best motives—and undoubtedly the committee wishes the matter had been handled differently from the beginning—proposes that the United States go ahead sending military missions to Turkey and Greece, supporting Turkish and Greek armies, and for all practical purposes administering the Government of Greece, but that it be subject to the veto of the United Nations by a majority vote.

Mr. President, this may soothe our consciences, but it does not correct our conduct. There is no substitute for the United Nations; there is nothing just as good. It is like going through the courts of law—you either do or you do not. You either act according to law or you act outside the law. This proposal, despite the Committee amendment, is still outside the charter of the fundamental law of the United Nations.

It does not discharge our solemn obligation to act through the UN "for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression" and for the "adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace" by acting unilaterally and then telling the UN we will stop if a majority of the UN ask us to discontinue what we are doing.

We solemnly agreed to article 24 of the UN Charter, subparagraph 1 of which provides "in order to insure prompt and effective action"—mind you "prompt and effective action"—"by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

Mr. President, that is what we agreed to. I wish to read that again. Paragraph 1 of article 24 of the UN Charter reads:

1. In order to insure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

We solemnly agreed to article 25 of the Charter, which provides "the members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter."

We solemnly agreed to article 39 of the United Nations Charter providing that "the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations and decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with articles 41 and 42, to maintain and restore international peace and security."

We agreed to article 33 of the United Nations Charter, which reads as follows:

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Mr. President, have we exhausted every effort in a peaceful way to settle this dispute as between those who are parties to it, or, if we do not regard ourselves as a principal party, have we done everything we could by arbitration, conciliation, negotiation, and all the other methods provided in article 33, to bring about a peaceful settlement? If we have not, we have not, in my humble opinion, fully discharged either the obligation or the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

By chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter, if, as is charged, Russia is the real threat to the security of Greece and Turkey and those two nations so charge in the United Nations Organization, that organization has the express authority and power, which Russia could not veto, to make recommendations for the peaceful settlement of the dispute or the situation that endangers the maintenance of international peace and security.

I cannot make it too clear, Mr. President, that the Security Council can make recommendations for peaceful settlement respecting any matter, and a party to the dispute cannot vote upon the action of the Security Council. So that, as was brought out in the Committee on Foreign Relations, if Russia is charged by Greece or Turkey, or by any other nation, with being a party to this dispute, she cannot vote in regard to the action of the Security Council in an effort to find a peaceful adjustment of the dispute or the situation which is likely to engender the dispute.

What is the occasion of our alarm respecting the security of Greece? It is that Albania and Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are alleged to have given training, encouragement, and some equipment to certain Greeks alleged to be led by Communists in the northern part of Greece, said to number 13,000. So far as I am aware, nobody has charged that these "armed bands" so-called consist of anything but Greeks in Greece. But Greece appealed to the United Nations against this aggression. The United Nations took jurisdiction, quite properly, and appointed a Commission of Inquiry. The Commission has been on the spot, made its findings, and is now preparing to report. Can anyone with justice say that the United Nations has failed in this matter? Shall we, before the report of the Commission has been filed, before the United Nations has had a chance officially to know the facts and to take any action, presume that it will not act at all? Can anyone justify the United States in unilaterally sending a military mission to Greece, equipping and training a Greek army of 125,000 as an answer to an alleged intervention now being investigated by the United Nations? On the allegation of small-scale intervention in Greece, I am afraid, Mr. President, we in Congress are being asked to authorize the unprecedentedly large-scale intervention by the United States.

And what is the aggression, or what is the situation threatening the independence and the security of Turkey? There have been no excursions into

Turkish territory by the forces of Russia or any other nation. There is no Communist threat in Turkey. The totalitarian government there has seen to that. The assumed threat in Turkey is that certain requests have been made by the Soviet Union to Turkey that the four Black Sea powers—Turkey, the Soviet Union, Rumania, and Bulgaria—without the western powers having anything to do with it, shall determine the control of the Dardanelles. For over 200 years Russia, feeling that the Dardanelles is essential to its security as well as to its welfare in affording access to the Mediterranean, has either been trying to acquire or to obtain a dominating influence in the control of the Dardanelles. That may be bad policy, but it is not Communist policy—it has been Russian policy for over two centuries. It will be recalled that Russia won the Dardanelles in 1854 in a war with Turkey, and the British and the French then sent their fleets into the Black Sea, sank the Russian Fleet, and forced the Russians to agree to a new treaty taking away from them the Dardanelles, which they had secured by their victory over Turkey and through their treaty of peace with Turkey.

In World War I the Allies solemnly agreed to give Russia the Dardanelles in compensation for Russia entering the war on the Allied side against Germany, while Turkey fought with Germany. And I need not add that Turkey did not fight with us in this war at all, so far as I know, although she did declare war technically toward the end of the conflict. Russia got out of World War I before it was over through her revolution, although, said Sir Bernard Pares, the brilliant British historian, she gave two and one-half million killed and two and one-half million wounded to the Allied victory before she got out, and the British historian Pares says she saved Paris twice by what she did in World War I. But Russia did not get the Dardanelles, and it is my information that the revolutionary government did not ask for it.

Since World War I, the Dardanelles have not been controlled exclusively by Turkey; they have been controlled by a convention of powers called the Montreux Convention, and the dominating powers in that convention have been Britain and France. In short, western European powers have used Turkey as a bastion against Russia. The United States was not a party to the Montreux Convention, but it was agreed at Potsdam that Great Britain and the United States support liberalization of the Montreux Convention and that concessions be made to Russia. This is one of the pending issues yet unsettled among the big powers. But there has never been any ultimatum. There has been no new demand to my knowledge. What precipitated the present proposal was not a new threat by Russia, but notice to Turkey by Great Britain that she was no longer able or willing to pay the major part of the expense of maintaining the Turkish Army. That expense we now propose to assume.

Mr. President, I do not presume to pass judgment on what Great Britain does, but I think the British imperial

record discloses to fair critics of history that the British have played the game of power politics, having been in power for centuries. In international affairs they do not have the same tradition we have. If they support a revolution to aid British prestige or further British interests, that is not a strange doctrine to them. If they finance a foreign army to serve their ends, their people and apparently their parliaments do not object to that. If they even influence internal affairs of other peoples, they have precedents, Mr. President, for such policy, which America, thank God, does not have. And it is a peculiar thing that Britain, which has been in Greece for years, has been there, I dare say, more to serve British policies than to save Greece; and if Britain has been in Turkey helping to support the Turkish Army as well as backing up the Turkish position with the British Fleet and with British bases in the eastern Mediterranean, I presume, Mr. President, that Britain has been doing it to serve Britain's national interest. Call it "imperial," they have not objected to that.

The strange thing is that, though we may be activated by different motives—and I know we are—when we do substantially the same thing, yet is there not some justification for suspicion being attached to our own motives of serving similar purposes on the part of the United States?

I say, Mr. President, let the British do what they choose to do; that is their business. But I have the greatest reluctance to have the charge made against my country that, to a phenomenal degree, we are stepping into empty British footprints in the imperial quicksands of the world.

Mr. President, before I get away from the Dardanelles, though I do not have the clipping before me, let me say that I remember reading last year, about September or late August, in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, the integrity of which no Senator would question, an editorial which said that Americans in considering the Dardanelles' problem might well think of it as if a foreign power possessed the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay. How would we feel about that? And how would we feel if we asserted the right of this government and that government to determine the defense and the control of the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, and Britain, France, or Russia said, "No, you are not going to arrive at that settlement unless we have a voice in it."

Mr. President, I live down in that golden part of this country, that blessed part of this earth called Florida. Instead of thinking about the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, as does the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, I think of the Gulf of Mexico. I look at it on the map. I see that Mexico and the United States of America are the powers which border on that great body of water. I see the mighty Mississippi, which opens up the heart of America, emptying its colossal waters into that great gulf. I see, Mr. President, the Straits of Yucatan and the Straits of Florida, which form the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico. Suppose—God

forbid—that in an earlier day we had not wisely acquired Florida and made it a part of the United States of America, but having been Spanish in its early settlement it had remained Spanish in association and come to belong to the Republic of Mexico. Suppose, therefore, the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico was controlled by Mexico, except insofar as it was regulated by a convention which was entered into, we will say, in the old days when the great European powers were the mighty forces of the earth.

Then suppose that, looking backward historically, we saw a great giant—Mexico—arising upon this continent, growing stronger and stronger, and suppose, becoming more and more sensitive to our own security, we had said to Mexico, "The mighty Mississippi opens its arteries to the heart of America. We demand, Montreux convention or no Montreux convention, Congress of Vienna or no Congress of Vienna, compact of the nations of Europe or no compact of the nations of Europe—we demand that America, as the mightiest nation on this waterway, the mouth of which is in your control, shall share it with you, if not dominate it with you, to the exclusion of all the powers of the Old World altogether." Would men who proposed that in the American Congress, would those of our military and naval staffs who advocated it, would those of our State Department who urged it, be called warmongers, subject to denunciation around the world as aggressors against Mexico? I can hear Senators making these steel rafters ring with the defense of American policy calculated to secure the heartland and the homeland of America.

Mr. President, I am not saying that in any case the Soviet Union is justified in coming down and attacking the Dardanelles. I think if she were to do so it would raise the supreme test of what the United Nations would do. For my part I would vote to furnish America's share of the forces necessary to resist that kind of an aggression. But so far it is still in the stage of negotiation. It is a request—call it a demand, if you like—made by Russia upon Turkey. We ourselves admitted that the Montreux convention should be changed. The Russians truly feel—and there is much ground for such feeling—that the Turks, who in the last war gave raw materials to the Germans and aided them, permitted German ships to slip through this waterway which they presume to protect.

Stop to think about Russia's situation. Take a map and study it. It will be seen that a merchant ship today cannot leave any Russian port and go across any sea of this earth without the permission of the British or the American or the British and the American Fleets.

If I may quote it without impropriety, I will say that I was rather amused at a point of view expressed to me by a lady in Great Britain one evening in 1945 at a dinner. She had heard I had been to Russia as well as to some other countries. She said, "Senator, what do you think of these Russians wanting a navy and everything?" That lady was honestly shocked at the suggestion that Russia should even have a navy.

The other day our own Secretary of the Navy was testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee. I was by the great kindness of that committee permitted to ask a few questions. I said, "Mr. Secretary, I have read in the papers from time to time about American naval craft going into the eastern Mediterranean. Have we a squadron or task force of any sort in the Mediterranean? I was just wondering if we are correctly informed by the press from time to time, which tells us about certain demonstrations made by American naval forces."

The Secretary, with the ability which is characteristic of him immediately replied by making a very patriotic statement: "I said last autumn that it was my feeling that we should accustom ourselves and the world to the sight of the American flag anywhere in the world that it would not be conspicuous where it went—wherever there is a sea."

I said, "So you deem that that is the role of this country to have the naval craft wherever there is a sea?"

He answered, "I think so; yes, sir."

I said, "Do you deny to other powers the same right?"

He indicated that the seas were free and accessible to all nations.

I wondered what those naval forces would do if the Russians decided to put a navy in every ocean and sea of the world—I wondered if that would be considered an act of aggression on their part. Suppose a Russian ship wanted to leave Murmansk, which is icebound for many months of the year, to go through the Atlantic Ocean, the North Sea, either through the English Channel or to the north of Britain. Does anyone think it could do so without the approval of the British Navy?

Suppose a Russian ship desired to leave a Balkan port, for which Peter fought a war, to go out through the Baltic, through the Kattegat and the Skagerrak, the entrance to the North Sea from the Baltic, does anyone think it would be able to do so without the permission of other powers?

Suppose a Russian ship started from the Black Sea, which laves Russia's homeland, to go into the Mediterranean, could it get through the Dardanelles without Turkey's permission?

If a Russian vessel got through the Dardanelles, could it pass the eastern Mediterranean without the permission of the British Fleet established at Cyprus and with access to Greek bases?

I think if Senators will look at a map they will not have serious cause to wonder why it is that the British have always been so interested in Greece. For, if they will examine closely, they will see that it is not so much the adjacent shores but the Greek islands in the eastern Mediterranean that really dominate the Dardanelles and keep ships from coming through from the other side. Suppose, Mr. President, Russian ships came out of the Black Sea and got through the Dardanelles; suppose they got past Cyprus and it was intended that they should go to the Indian Ocean; could they get through the Suez Canal without British permission?

If the ships got through the Suez Canal and down into the Red Sea, could

they negotiate the Indian Ocean without British permission?

Suppose the ships decided to go straight west in the Mediterranean, could they get by the British Navy based at Alexandria? Could they pass Malta, a British base? Could they, without British approval, get through Gibraltar, which, so far as I can read the map, is a part of the Spanish mainland, but has been a British bastion for centuries? If they got into the Atlantic Ocean, how far could they go without the approval of the British or the American Navy? If they started from the other side, at Vladivostok, and came across the Pacific, we know, of course, that it is our country which dominates that ocean.

If the Russians do what Hitler did, I shall try to do against them what I tried to do against Hitler. The Sudetenland had never been a part of Germany in history. Neither had Denmark. Neither had Norway. Neither had Holland. Neither had Belgium. Neither had eastern France, which Hitler had overrun with force of arms and with Nazi barbarity, when I introduced the genesis of lend-lease and later fought for the bill which was introduced by someone in a position of leadership. However, while I will oppose the exertion of Russian armed force in the acquisition of the Dardanelles, what I think my country should do toward recognizing some elemental justice in her claim is another proposition.

I am not unaware of all the epithets I have had to bear, all the contumely I have had to bear, all the bitter denunciations that I have had to experience from certain sources, to the delight of some publications which call themselves fair, but wish to apply one appellation or another.

All I have ever said is what I think is good policy for the United States of America. As a citizen and as a United States Senator I have the right, if not the duty, to express my opinion. I am saying that it is an act of fairness and justice for the United States of America, in determining what a sound policy shall be, to take into consideration the aspirations, aims, and situations of other peoples of the world, their background, their history, their peculiarities, and their interests and fears.

I have been troubled by the fact that America did not always take an independent position in these issues. America did not say to Britain, "We think Russia is entitled to a large part of what she asks in connection with the Dardanelles, and we are going to support her in an international council in the United Nations." That is where the question ought to be settled. Then we should turn to Russia and say, "You have no right to take the Suez or attempt to take it, or to attempt to take the Middle East. The British have certain interests there which are legitimate. The native peoples have certain interests which are entitled to protection. If you assault them, we are your enemy. We will throw the American Fleet, the American Air Force, the atomic bomb, and American men between you and them; and, God giving us

the strength, we will stop you to the best of our ability."

It seems to me that our fundamental error has been that we have taken up where Britain, France, and other European powers have been going for centuries, and have identified ourselves with them, rather than looking at these age-old conflicts and issues from a detached American point of view. I do not see how we can always say logically, and with force, that no one can venture to question our complete supremacy over the Panama Canal, no one can dare to challenge the absolute sovereignty of Britain over Gibraltar or Suez, or other important and strategic areas of the world proximate to their homeland and their interests, and then say to the Russians, "No; you may have dreamed for two centuries of this control. For two centuries you may have fought for it in war and negotiated for it in peace because you consider it essential to your welfare and security. Despite these facts, we are going to line up behind the old western European powers which have always made it their principal policy to keep you out of the Dardanelles, out of the eastern Mediterranean, out of the oil fields, and out of the trade of the Middle East."

That is where America stands. Today we are not only implementing that policy by sending warships and carriers to the Mediterranean to make demonstrations, but we propose to go a step further. We propose to send a military mission in American uniforms, a little farther to the east than we ever did before; and we propose to put up the money to equip and pay a large part of the expense of maintaining the Turkish Army in Turkey.

Mr. President, if I am oversensitive in feeling concern over a proposal so momentous, I am sorry. But the American people want peace. They want to do what is right. They do not want America to become another great imperial power. They do not care to see the imperial eagles of America floating over far-flung possessions all over the world. They would rather save one ignorant country boy than to have the whole world as an empire. They know that world empire is fool's gold. They know that it leads to desolation and eventual death for every nation that has ever followed that path.

Those who sit in high places in other lands like to play this game as one would play chess. They move a piece here, and push a pawn there. They put a knight in a certain position, and a bishop in another. They seem to enjoy the magnificent game of prestige and power.

After executing a beautiful military maneuver, Robert E. Lee, looking upon the battlefield, felt his exultation at his brilliant success subdued by the carnage he beheld. He said, "It is good that war is so terrible. Otherwise we should like it too much."

I hope those in high places will realize that they are not dealing with pawns, knights, bishops, castles, queens, and kings—although a king is involved in this situation. I hope they will realize that the things they are moving are human beings, the men and women, the boys and

girls of the United States of America, and that what they are toying with is a fuze that may set off an explosion which will engulf mankind in the utmost of destruction.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Will the Senator allow me to finish?

It is true that a civil war in Greece, if only a domestic controversy, is outside the scope of the United Nations. It is certainly outside the interest of the United States, which is solemnly committed to a doctrine of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other peoples.

I remind my colleagues that a few years ago it was common practice for our Government to interfere in the affairs of our sister nations. We did not feel too sensitive about it. Sometimes we encouraged a revolution if we thought we would get a strategic gain from it, such as the Panama Canal. If we did not like one regime, but liked another, we would support the one we liked with money, and sometimes with the marines. What did it do for us? I think, by and large, we tried to follow as honest a judgment as we could when we did that sort of thing. For a long time we really thought when we did it that we were carrying out our obligations under the Monroe Doctrine. We actually helped collect debts with the marines, always fearful that, if we did not ourselves do it, foreign nations might come in. At one time we nearly had trouble with Great Britain, which insisted upon the protection of her rights of a commercial character in Venezuela.

But, Mr. President, time passed. We saw we had won the hatred and the fear of nearly all the countries of Central and South America. Then what did we do? We changed our policy. At the Montevideo conference we announced a solemn agreement with all the nations of the Western Hemisphere that there would be no more American intervention. That was the policy of the good neighbor. We agreed not to use the power of recognition as a means of interfering in the politics internal of those countries. That policy won the Latin-American Republics to our side during World War II. Many times, I am sure, we may have had a certain regret for that policy. We saw Peron come into power in Argentina—a man, in my opinion, if I must speak my sentiments, of fascistic tendency, association, and purpose. Yet we have not sent an army or a navy down there, much as in our naturally impulsive way we might like to do it. If we take on Turkey as a partner, how will we explain our Argentine policy in Argentina, which also remained neutral and played with the Nazis?

We have not thrown Franco out of Spain, although documents in our possession have convicted him of collaboration—not merely acquiescence, but direct collaboration with the Axis in a military way. He refueled and supplied German submarines. Our own State Department has told us that, and I read it on the Senate floor. Yet we have not thrown him out. We did not want to intervene. We felt that in the long run it was better, as Shakespeare says, to

"bear those ills we have than fly to others that we know not of."

In this case, are we intervening in Greece? Are we intervening in Turkey? I realize what my able and distinguished friend, for whom I have both great admiration and affection, has said: That there is no precedent in this respect, because we have been letting Britain have money; we have been letting France have money. But, Mr. President, so far as I know, we have never taken over the job of equipping, financing, and attaching a military mission to the British Army. We have never done that with respect to the French Army. What would our people back home have said to us if it had been believed that we were supporting the French Army that was in Indonesia, shooting down with modern weapons of war the natives who were seeking to lift themselves out of their slavery to emancipation as a new people?

I am not aware, Mr. President, that we have done anything through UNRRA or in these other instances except honestly to lend or give money. If the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations will say now that everything will be stricken from the bill except the provision for the money that we propose to give Greece for relief and the money that we propose to give or loan for rehabilitation, I shall sit down and join him in moving the unanimous passage of this measure. No, Mr. President; we do not object to giving relief to Greece. We do not object to lending money to Greece to rehabilitate her war-torn economy.

To be perfectly candid, it has been very embarrassing to me to appear in opposition to this proposal which has been so forthrightly, so sincerely, and so patriotically presented to the Congress by our great President. But what we object to is the principle; and what I am afraid of, is that, if we start sending military missions to European countries, if we start equipping, training, and maintaining foreign armies, we shall have taken a step that will hurl us over a precipice and we shall never, in my humble opinion, be able to recover.

Take Greece, for example. The money is to be used to establish an army of 125,000 in Greece.

How many guerrillas are there in Greece? It has been said that there are 13,000 Greek guerrillas. They may have had a few arms; they may have had some training; they may have had some other aid or assistance from Albania or Yugoslavia or Bulgaria, either singly or altogether. But I think that by and large everyone admits that the Greeks are fighting amongst themselves. There are approximately 7,000,000 people in Greece, and there are 13,000 guerrillas, all of them Greeks. There is a United Nations Commission there now preparing its reports based on what it found when it went there for the United Nations. Although the United Nations has not yet received that report, yet suddenly the United States resolves to send a military mission to Greece and to give the Greeks money, arms, and training in order to have an army of 125,000.

Mr. President, the Senate does not need to take my word for it. Read the dispatches which have come from Greece.

There have been excesses on both sides. I think that is the truth of the matter. As General Marshall found in China, the extremists on both sides take positions which are contrary to our ideas of what should be done or what people should stand for.

So we are establishing a Greek army of 125,000. For what? To restore order in Greece? To eliminate the guerrillas—or what our Secretary of War called armed bands or bandits—or whatever we want to call them? I shrank a little when he used the word "bandits." I believe an honest appraisal will reveal that many of the so-called bandits bared their breasts to the Germans and fought for Greece against Germany in the early stages of World War II and were partisans against them during the German occupation. I feel that it is fair to say that most of those people are patriotic, and that, while there may be, and no doubt are, some Communists leading them, some communistic influences encouraging them and directing them, many of those men are quite as honest—I have been told some things about them—as the ragged army that followed George Washington for the freedom and independence of the Thirteen Colonies so long ago.

It troubles me sometimes to wonder whether we have forgotten that at one time we were not free, but were governed by a king, and that there were Americans who would rather die than have to live that way. There may be Greeks who feel the same way.

Mr. President, this is no new experience for the Greeks.

Let me quote from the annual message to Congress of President James Monroe, in which he expounded the Monroe Doctrine:

A strong hope has long been entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. * * * there is good cause to believe * * * that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

In that document we agreed not to interfere in the internal affairs of any European power.

Sometimes, perhaps, we are not realistic. After all, the little tea tax which George III imposed on the Colonies was a mere bagatelle. The little stamp tax that the Parliament imposed on the American Colonies—"taxation without representation"—did not amount to a pittance. It was not the amount of the tax that was of importance; it was the principle for which Patrick Henry sounded the tocsin of American sentiment, when he said, "Give me liberty or give me death!" I do not care what anyone says in commentary upon the statement, but I believe that today in the mountains of Greece, awaiting the first shot of the American Army—not in the uniform of America, but facing American equipment, for which America is morally responsible—awaiting the first shot of the first American gun that will throw its shells among them—are those who also waited, one day, for the German shells to explode. They waited the

Germans out; and I predict that time will show that they will wait the others out, for there will come a time when the Americans, too, will leave. I do not know how long they will stay.

If I am not mistaken, we are headed toward that course. There is nothing I can do, and, so far as I know, there is nothing that anyone who is raising his voice today, or is troubled in his heart, can do. In the sheer momentum of our power, we are bound to a destiny that will mean, first, empire, and then, the same disillusionment that has been wrought in the full tide of time upon everyone who has pursued that illusive and delusive snare.

So, Mr. President, all that I am saying is simply for the record, I suppose. I think I would feel better, perhaps, sometime, to be able to say that I was against it, and that I said so and that I said I did not think it was a good policy—not that I have any aspiration of stopping it or very perceptibly slowing it down. The die is cast, Mr. President; we are off. We shall not see the end, unless some great conflagration consumes us all.

But I see mankind locked in a power struggle against which, and beside which, the Peloponnesian Wars and the other struggles of antiquity shall be but the play of children's soldiers. There has never been anything like this before—when, standing on one hemisphere, one giant of the earth extends its sword in mortal combat with another giant of the earth, the master of three continents, to be a battle to the death. The world has never seen that before.

Mr. President, a civil war in Greece, if only a domestic controversy, of course, is outside the scope of American intervention, if we do not depart from our noninterventionist policy of the past.

I started to say that the army in Greece, which we are to finance, will be supposed to get rid of the Greek guerrillas. That will mean shooting them if they do not surrender. Are we going to be there to tell them which ones to shoot? Are we going to distinguish between the Communist and the Republicans? Or are we just going to let those fascist-minded Royalists take our guns, that we put in their hands, and our ammunition that we put in their guns, and with skill and training acquired from us, directed by our military mission, shoot down anyone they want to shoot down? Is not America going to revolt at that? Unless we are going to deny the freedom of the press and the radio, which I am sure we are not, there will be a picture, some day, of those who were lined up against the wall; and reports will come trickling through that the Royalists are doing with skilled fanaticism what they have been doing ever since they got notice that probably we were going to give them this support—getting rid of their enemies, killing them with our weapons.

Mr. President, does not it seem reasonable that if we give Greece all the economic aid she needs and if we feed them and clothe them and shelter them and help repair their railroads and give them ships and rebuild their docks and wharves, they could at least, if they needed to, take sticks and staves, and

thus, 6,987,000 of them could survive and protect themselves in the enjoyment of the kind of government they want, against 13,000, without having our Army over there? Mr. President, people who really want democracy must be ready to fight for it, in the first place; and in the second place, they must deserve it. We cannot give anyone democracy unless he wants it. People do not deserve it unless they are prepared to fight for it.

If Russia, with her great might, were on the threshold of that heroic little country, threatening her independence with her might and power, then I would say God speed our weapons to arrest their progress and to preserve that little country. But 6,987,000 Greeks, in my opinion, with all the economic aid we can give and with the United Nations behind them, are not ready to succumb to 13,000 who are alleged to be led by Communists in the mountains of Greece.

So, Mr. President, I venture to say that we are doing this more to protect the strategic and economic interest of the United States of America than we are to protect the Government and the people of Greece. We are trying to maintain a power position in the Middle East, vis-à-vis Russia. That is what it is about, really.

Mr. President, if that ever becomes necessary, we shall have to face it. But let us not put it upon the pretense that it is charity that we are extending or that we are trying to save Greece. Let us say nakedly that it is a power struggle with Russia and that we are determined to fight it out wherever the issue is joined.

Mr. President, I wish to state my idea of the best way to handle that matter if we are to come to such an issue. I do not exclude it; it may be necessary. I think it can be avoided, and I pray that it can. I am not very far away from the position of the able Senator from Virginia in saying that this matter should be put squarely in the hands of the United Nations Organization and should be settled there, for better or for worse. But, as I have said, if 7,000,000 Greek people have so much as lost their classic love for democracy and their ancient hate of tyranny that they are powerless before these 13,000 in the mountains, and if the matter is such as to threaten the peace, the first and square duty to meet that threat is upon the United Nations, and the first obligation of every member state is to act through the United Nations in its solution. That we have failed to do. No amount of backing up, no amount of collateral jurisdiction that we voluntarily extend, no amount of good will which the Foreign Relations Committee has earnestly and ably intended to exhibit, can conceal the fact that we did not go through the United Nations, and we have not yet gone through the United Nations, and we do not propose to go through the United Nations.

Let me run the risk of being tedious by reading again from chapter I, article 2, of the Charter of the United Nations:

The Organization and its members, in pursuit of the purposes stated in article 1, shall act in accordance with the following principles.

It goes on to say that—

2. All members, in order to insure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present charter.

Mr. President, what is the obligation that is assumed? I am reading now from article 1:

The purposes of the United Nations are—

Surely every Member subscribes to the purposes of the Organization. I read them:

1. To maintain international peace and security—

Mr. President, would not international peace and security include peace and security in Turkey and Greece?

I read further—

and to that end: to take effective—

Mr. President, I wish to call particular attention to the next word, for it is the key to this question. The Charter does not say there "effective measures," but it says "effective collective measures." That is what it says—

to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace—

Are not these alleged to be just exactly that—threats to the peace? Are not these alleged to be acts of aggression or other branches of the peace?

I read further—

and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes—

Is not this an international dispute? If it is not, I read further—

or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Can anyone deny that this thing in Greece is a situation, that this case of Turkey is a situation, at least, which might lead to a breach of the peace? We have the words of the President that that is the significance of both of them—aggression against the northern boundary of Greece, the possibility that if Turkey should fall, it would produce disorder in the whole Middle East. Is not that a situation which threatens or is likely to endanger the peace of the world? If it is, have we not solemnly obligated ourselves to act collectively, through the United Nations, in time to solve it, and can we say we have discharged our obligation when we have never even asked the United Nations to take it up, and to work with us in its solution, except in respect to the border commission in Greece which was the result of a request by the Greek government to the United Nations. We were a party to that, that objective is being carried out, but the commission has not had a chance to report. The United Nations has not failed to act, it has not failed. We have not pleaded and then had our pleas scorned. We have not petitioned the United Nations and had our petition denied, as Patrick Henry said the colonists had done before they were forced to act as revolutionaries.

As I said a while ago, Mr. President—and I say it again, with all respect and

deference to the Committee on Foreign Relations, every member of which I honor—this attempt on the part of the committee, however honorable and laudible it is, does not cure our conduct. It may soothe our consciences, it may exemplify the good will the committee has toward the United Nations—and it has unquestioned good will—but it does not change the fact, I have the testimony of the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations that the President proposed this message to Congress, and for 16 days the United Nations was not even notified, let alone consulted, or made the instrument of collective action, in an effort to solve this threat to the peace of the world.

So, Mr. President, as I said, I honor the committee. It has done the best it could, unless it had gone a little further and just flatly provided that this matter will have to go through the United Nations, and shall not take effect unless the United Nations, after a fair petition on the part of the United States, has refused to act collectively in the matter. The situation would be different if they were to ask us to act, if there had been first a failure on the part of the UN in these cases, and the President came to us and said, "What else can I do? I put it up to the United Nations. Our representatives sought their assistance. We tried to discharge our obligation, to take effective collective measures to save Greece and to save Turkey. Day in and day out, week in and week out, we pleaded in the Security Council and in the Assembly for the other nations to stand with us to save the situation, and they failed. They have spurned our plea. They have refused. What else can I do but ask you to join me in the solemn responsibility I take when we go it alone in this treacherous field?"

The President has not done that, and we know he has not done it. I do not say that critically. I know the President's motives could not be higher, his patriotism could not possibly be more pure, his intentions could not be more laudable. He is honest and sincere. But this is not the first time that Senators on this floor have had conscientious disagreement, in the matter of policy, with the Chief Executive, and I am not the only one ever to have been in that position in the Senate; and Senators who have taken that position are no less Americans for having an honest difference of opinion.

The Congress is the one which has to take the responsibility. We are now in an embarrassing situation, we are told; but embarrassment is no excuse for failure to discharge a duty. The President, too, has expressed his fidelity to the UN. Perhaps he was pressed by counselors who might have erred.

Mr. President, at least all of us gain by reflection, we gain by counsel and debate, and especially we gain when we let the wise heads and the strong hearts of the American people be heard. Their judgments are fundamentally right, and, as Lincoln said, while not always the wisest, they are in the long run the safest depository of power. The American people have not been so troubled by any-

thing since the end of the war as they are by the bypassing of the United Nations in the making of this decision by the Government of the United States.

Nor, Mr. President, has one the right to assume that there would be a veto by any member in any aspect of the situation before the Security Council. There might be, but I say we have no right officially to act upon the premise that there would be. The United Nations got Russian troops out of Iran without a veto. The moral opinion of the world was mightier than an army, and, let me say, we did not send American troops to Iran, nor did we finance the Iranian army to build it up to throw the Russians out. We turned the scrutiny of moral condemnation upon their violation of their treaty, and they got troops out of little Iran without a veto and without the use of force.

The UN got British troops out of Syria and Lebanon without a veto, and without our giving any money to either one of them to build up a bigger army, nor did we send a military mission to either one.

Mr. President, Senators will remember the old debate we used to have over the proposition that the pen is mightier than the sword. There is nothing on earth as powerful as the moral judgment of mankind. A little while ago it looked as if no force under Heaven could stop the Nazis. In terms of troops and weapons and the matériels of war we were doomed. Everything except the heart and the spirit, the will for freedom, of the people of the world, seemed to collapse before them. But resurgent democracies eventually vanquished them. I cite merely for the record that the UN, without more troops than they have now, without more authority than they now possess, got Russian troops out of Iran, and British and French troops out of Lebanon and Syria.

Let us first get all the foreign troops out of Greece. Let me say again that when I have tried here to be condemnatory of one country as against another, I said, as Senators will see if they look up the words I used, we should have the United States lay down a single standard of international morality. Let us get foreign troops out of every nation. We cannot leave British or other foreign troops in some other people's country, and have some of our own there, and then expect to carry conviction in our condemnation of the Russians for doing some of the same things. I repeat, let us get all foreign troops out of every nation, and I will pledge, Mr. President, any possible contribution I can make, in support of that kind of a policy. So I say, before we start to settle the situation in Greece, let us get foreign troops out of Greece, any country's troops out, including our own, and keep them out.

Let us keep out of Greece and out of Turkey, all foreign money to maintain armed forces. Let us honestly, and according to the rules of justice and fairness, seek to settle the issues involved in the present dispute, including the Dardanelles, and in accordance with the Atlantic Charter, and equalize access to the oil resources of the Middle East.

Let us then see whether any of the permanent members of the United Nations Organization prevent effective action by the Security Council in the discharge of its obligation to preserve the peace. I shall deal later with what we should do in case they do that.

Mr. President, we all know that the situation with respect to oil in the Middle East is substantially this: Probably the greatest undeveloped oil preserve in the world is in Saudi Arabia. Two American companies, the Texas Co. and the Standard of California, have total concessions in that field. There are two other oil companies, the Standard of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum of New York, which have attempted to buy into this concession.

In southern Iran is one of the great oil preserves of the world, one of the great oil-producing fields of the world, and there the British Government owns nearly 55 percent and thus has control. In Iran, another one of the great oil areas of the world, four principal countries are represented in equal shares—the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, and the United States—and an individual, who I think got the original concession, has a small percentage of ownership. In other areas in that region, Mr. President, the ownership is similar. Now of all that vast area, although Russia occupies the same relation to Iran as we do to Mexico—it is proximate; it borders it—the only concessions the Russians have is in the northern part of Iran, which finally grew out of the dispute the Russians were having with the Iranian Government a little while ago.

Not only that, Mr. President, but Russia once had that concession, and Lenin and his revolutionary government gave it up. At the same time the Russians got their northern concession, the British got a southern concession. They developed theirs; the Russians gave theirs up, but later on undertook to demand it again, I believe, partially at least because of the terrific loss or impairment of their oil production which they sustained by the destruction of the Germans during the war. I have read in Washington newspapers statements issued by American oil authorities, that the Russians were suffering a shortage of oil; that the production cost of oil in their country was high; and that they were seeking outside territory or areas in which they might replenish their own resources.

Mr. President, I merely say that in the Atlantic Charter we spoke about equality of access to the "have-not" nations. I am not saying that we should turn over to the Russians any of our concessions, but I do think that the oil of the world should not be monopolized by any nation or group of nations. It tends to encourage conflict in an effort to obtain what it should be possible to get by working out a sensible arrangement, the way we do in our commercial transactions. Yet today there are people who charge that what in part is really behind this policy and other acts similar to it in the Middle East is the fact that today we are a middle eastern power, due to the concessions that American oil companies

have in Saudi Arabia and the interests they have in other areas in the Middle East, rich with oil reserves.

Mr. President, is not that the old way rather than the new way? Is not that the pre-Atlantic Charter way, rather than the post-Atlantic Charter way of working out these things?

Again I ask, are we following in the footsteps of imperial Britain? She embarked upon her imperialistic program in order to protect her lifelines, then justified everything she did on the grounds of necessity. Are we justifying what we are doing upon the grounds of necessity, American pecuniary interest, due to the necessity of our maintaining the oil fields and concessions we have in the Middle East?

Mr. President, is there not some way, besides conflict, by which a question or dispute of that character can be settled honorably to all? —

I was saying, Mr. President, the UN, by chapter 7 of its Charter, has authority by the vote of the five permanent members and two others to use economic sanctions or necessary force to maintain or restore international peace and security. If Russia or any other permanent member should prevent the Security Council from determining "the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression" and from making recommendations or deciding "what measures shall be taken in accordance with articles 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace and security" under article 39 of the Charter, then, under the interpretation of the Charter recently announced by Senator Austin, our representative in the UN, the other member nations are still obligated under article 1 of the Charter "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression"; nor does such a veto relieve all members of the UN of their duty under article 2 of the Charter to "settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered."

Nor does such a veto under article 2 relieve all members of their duty to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations."

In other words, instead of our Government telling the world that the United Nations cannot function, our solemn duty is to make it act effectively. It is time for the United States to take the lead in saving the United Nations. Lincoln assumed that his first task was to save the Union. Before Congress had conferred upon him any authority to raise an army, he, as Chief Executive, called for volunteers to save the Union.

This is the supreme challenge to the United States. We must not finish the rending of the United Nations by this blow. We must not lead those who would destroy the United Nations by unilateral action. As the strongest member of the United Nations, we must take the lead in making the United Na-

tions function as it was intended to function. If, Mr. President, the Charter needs revision or modification, it is equally our solemn duty to take the lead in the project that will accomplish that, as well.

But shall we be so presumptuous as to believe that we are the only member of the United Nations which either believes in peace, or is prepared to resist aggression, or loves democracy, or wants peace?

Do we have such a monopoly of virtue in all that vast organization that not one nation among its members could be found to remain true to its solemn vows to the United Nations?

We know otherwise.

Indeed, as President Truman addressing the final plenary session of the UN Conference in San Francisco said:

You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world.

The world must now use it.

If we fail to use it, we shall betray all those who have died in order that we might meet here in freedom and safety to create it.

If we seek to use it selfishly—for the advantage of any one nation or any small group of nations—we shall be equally guilty of that betrayal.

The successful use of this instrument will require the united will and firm determination of the free peoples who have created it. The job will tax the moral strength and fiber of us all.

How prophetic are those words.

We all have to recognize—no matter how great our strength—that we must deny ourselves the license to do always as we please. No one nation, no regional group, can or should expect, any special privilege which harms any other nation. If any nation would keep security for itself, it must be ready and willing to share security with all. That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace.

Mind you, Mr. President, the President said that each nation will have to share security with all. He continued:

That is the price which each nation will have to pay for world peace. Unless we are willing to pay that price, no organization for world peace can accomplish its purpose.

And what a reasonable price that is.

Field Marshal Smuts, the grand old man of collaboration in the world for the past decades, in addressing the final plenary session at San Francisco, speaking of the Charter, said:

It provides for a peace with teeth; for a unified front of peace-loving peoples against future aggressors. * * *

It is for our peace-loving people to see that this peace plan is backed with all their energy, all their heart and soul.

That is what General Smuts said; that is what he said was the obligation of us all. Have we discharged that obligation?

If now, instead of acting through the United Nations, we repudiate it, then we are destroying it the same way that the League of Nations was destroyed. Mr. President, it was the decision of the big nations to act unilaterally outside the League instead of making the League act collectively; for example, against Japan when it invaded Manchuria, and Italy when it invaded Ethiopia, and Germany and Italy when they invaded Spain, which sounded the death of the League

of Nations and made World War II merely a matter of what year.

The United States and the Soviet Union not only can but must live in the same world. There is no other world to which to go and in which to live at all in the human sense.

We not only should but must together work toward the world's peace, security, and prosperity. But each of us has vital interests which the other must recognize. Each has fears which the other must respect. Each has concerns which the other must neither deny nor disparage. Each, in judging the other, must first look at that nation's past, its history, its peculiarities and, above all, what it has suffered and by what dangers it believes itself to be beset.

It cannot better our relations with Russia for the United States in the Dardanelles to take over the role of the old western European powers who made it the cardinal principle of their policy to keep Russia shut up in the Black Sea, out of the Mediterranean and the Middle East—without an ice-free port. If we take over the role of the British, which was admittedly in furtherance of their imperial interests, how can we escape at least the charge of ourselves following an imperial policy?

Is all of the fault on Russia's side that Soviet-American relations today are so bad? Is Russia totally to blame for the wasting of the legacy of good will and confidence which President Roosevelt transmitted as his immeasurable inheritance to his fellow countrymen and to the world? Have those in the world, indeed in America, who hate Russia, who magnify our differences with Russia, who would like to destroy Russia, or those who do not understand Russia, made no contribution to the present enmity and strife which provokes this dangerous doctrine?

Russia is constantly denounced as having been engaged in a protracted course of conquest since the end of the war. Yet, she has today less territory than she had at the beginning of World War I. Mark those words, Mr. President. The Soviet Union today has less territory than she had at the beginning of World War I. Does that look like a protracted course of aggression? And it must be admitted that in reaching out for security, the United States, since the war, has reached thousands of miles farther from its homeland than has the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, I am not saying we should not have had the Marianas and the Carolines, which we insist upon as being placed in our exclusive control. I know the blood those islands cost us. But when we reached for them we did not call ourselves aggressors. We thought we were doing something essential to our own security. It may be that Russia has something of the same feeling, rightly or wrongly, about what she does.

Those who know the measure of Russian suffering—that Russia bore the brunt of the war in numbers killed and forces engaged, must know that no nation in the world needs peace as does Russia; that none has more to gain from peace than she.

Any man who loves peace must appreciate the vital necessity of the United States and Russia coming to a successful common recognition of each other's place and function in the world. I am no less exacting in my demand that they recognize our place and our interest than I am that we recognize theirs. If we work together, we can give mankind the longest peace and the highest level of life it has ever known. But if we, by the enactment of this proposal immeasurably set up and intensify the undeclared war which is going on between the United States and the Soviet Union today, the area of conflict will broaden and broaden and broaden until it shall soon stretch around the world, and all mankind will be forced to take one side or the other in an approaching war, which the Senator from Michigan, himself, has said, "Civilization cannot survive."

Mr. President, let us make this clear. We will not allow Russia directly or indirectly to dominate the world, but if she threatens aggression, the instrument now to check and to hold her or any other aggressor is the United Nations or at least those who shall rally to the standards, like Lincoln's volunteers, of the United Nations.

We are not going to see the world overrun by communism. But the spread of ideas cannot be stopped with guns or bayonets or even atom bombs. Even all the wealth of America is not enough alone to hold off the surging forces of the people, only a small part of whom are Communists, who are reaching out, some of them blindly, some frantically, some in desperation, many misguided, for the rungs of hope upon which to pull themselves from their misery. Only through the United Nations, through the Social and Economic Council and through all the other agencies of the United Nations, through wise leadership and planning and intelligent and sincere cooperation with all of us doing our utmost, can we really establish in the world conditions under which democracy can hope to live.

I cannot half so well state the basic fallacy of this proposal as a battle for democracy, as it was stated in the Washington Post of April 8 by Mr. Walter Lippmann when he said, "What bill?" referring to the request of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] to know what we were going to do, and an inquiry to determine whether we had the resources to accomplish it:

What bill? The immediate bill for Greece alone is nearly \$300,000,000. But under the administration policy this can be only the first installment. The money is to be used to balance the Greek budget this year on behalf of a government which collected almost no taxes and is, with our approval, conducting a civil war. Conceivably this installment would pay the Greek bill if there were set up promptly in Athens a government which can collect taxes and can unite the bulk of the Greek people. But the deficits of this government, which protects the profiteers and is trying to crush the Republicans.

Again I hope that will not be taken too literally in this country. I suspect that there are many Senators on both sides of the aisle who would be shot with some of the shells we propose to send over

there, because they were Democrats or Republicans whom the royalist, fascist-minded government in some respects, did not like. This is not my word. This is the word of Mr. Walter Lippmann, a competent observer. I continue:

But the deficits of this Government, which protects the profiteers and is trying to crush the Republicans as well as the Communists, will continue as long as the Government, as now constituted and conducted, exists.

Yet Greece is only a pinpoint in the Truman global policy. There can be no end to the financial costs of that policy because adequate precautions have not been taken to see to it that the money will accomplish the purposes for which it is given. Unless the Greek Government is reformed, Greece will not be stabilized by our meeting the deficits of that government.

The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions, which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also Republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, progressives, social Democrats, Socialists, Christian Democrats, cooperators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what-not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremities of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties.

I interpolate that that is what General Marshall recommended for us in China. That is what we are not doing in Greece or Turkey.

I continue to read from the editorial:

They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue.

Rich as we are, and powerful as we are capable of being, we are not rich enough to subsidize reaction all over the world or strong enough to maintain it in power. The American people and the Truman administration do not want to do that, of course, nor do they think they are doing it. But that is what we shall be doing, nevertheless, if we entrust the formulation and execution of the new policy to men whose zeal has gotten the better of their judgment.

Let America remember, as we make this solemn decision, that we cannot, with arms, cram democracy down people's throats. They must want it and be willing to fight for it, either to be able to gain it or to deserve it.

Today our great country stands at the Rubicon. Flushed with our victories with our loyal legions clamoring to follow us, we can, like Caesar, not only take Rome, but begin what some historians have called, the glorious journey down the glamorous path of empire. No nation started out to be a great empire, but those who came to the purple and

the ermine took decision after decision, never going at once the whole way, until eventually there was no turning back, short of their tragic dissolution. Is there anything about any empire of the past that America desires to emulate? Could anybody seriously suggest that we should follow that fool's gold or that our quest would end differently from that of all others who have pursued it? Yet this proposal so hastily urged upon us would clearly set us on the path of empire.

Can the world's greatest empire, now our contemporary, teach us nothing? Have we not the good sense and the good spirit to curb our own power and to make it humble, to make America come as humbly to world leadership, in the Council of Nations, as Thomas Jefferson came riding on his horse to his inaugural?

The implications of this measure reach beyond the prediction of any man. Senators declaring their support of it with honest candor have said it might mean war. Is this issue one upon which we can hazard that event?

Does the pending issue in the Dardanelles demand that we challenge in mortal combat a nation occupying one-sixth of the earth and containing one-tenth of the world's people? Is Russian access to the eastern Mediterranean such a violent invasion of our rights and interest that it demands we risk war? Are we prepared to thicken the sands of the Middle East with American blood as the price of our exclusive enjoyment of the oil resources of that area?

America's role is to lead the world to peace, not war; to help mankind up, not to push it down; to build, and not to destroy. If there be those who will not hearken to the appeal of right or respect the sentiments of justice, if there be those who would trample upon their fellow men as aggressors, we shall not be slow to defend the cause of the oppressed. But we have not been singled out alone to stand in the thermopylae of right against the invading hosts of wrong. We have solemnly pledged that we will work—and, if needs be, fight—with the other members of the United Nations against war makers if all possible methods of peaceful adjustment have failed. That is the kind of team ball to which we have already committed ourselves. That is truly befitting the American character. That is in the American tradition. There, in the United Nations, is America's rendezvous with destiny.

It has been said that our refusal to adopt this measure would repudiate our President. The world knows that we do not differ here in this debate about objectives; it is essentially about methods that we argue. We have in the Congress the sacred duty to determine the best way to preserve the Nation's peace and security, the peace and security of all peoples. We do not have the fearful alternative of rejecting the President or repudiating the United Nations, for the President, too, is wedded to the United Nations. Congress has the power—yes, the challenging opportunity—to make the United Nations able to function as it was intended to function. We can give

it the strength it is alleged to lack. We can supply the very force which it is alleged not to have. With the unstinted support of this Congress, the United Nations can realize its full vigor and promise. It can become, as it was intended to be, the last best hope of peace on earth. The question is, Shall Congress destroy the United Nations, or shall it build it?

I proclaim that there is nothing that this Congress could do in its whole life which would so hearten mankind as to rededicate this country to the United Nations and to its high purpose to maintain international peace and security. The world would know that when required to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression in the name of this noble charter, we have again pledged our lives, our fortunes and our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor; that America is, and before God and man will continue to be, a Democracy dedicated to the people, the servant of their hopes and their dreams, the friend of all the peoples who live in the houses, big and little, beside the roads of the world; that no overweening ambition, no lure of profit or power, no fool's gold of empire shall tempt us to betray our dead or our destiny; that America is not soft, that it is not afraid to fight either for the poor, the oppressed, or the victims of aggression, that we realize that we can neither lift up mankind nor protect their security, strong as we are, alone; and that therefore we shall keep our pledge to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; that we turn our faces toward the future with confidence; that we are on God's side because we are on man's side, and as our cause is just we are strong in His strength. If, God forbid, we shall ever have to fight, let us fight to save the Union, as did Lincoln, because the Union is all that can save men. As Washington said, "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the just may repair." And now, as it was when Washington rose to defend the new Charter of the United States, "The event is in the hands of God."

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Standing Committee, the senior Senator from South Dakota, be excused from all sessions of the Senate the remainder of the afternoon and the week. He is on official duty in connection with the work of the committee.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave is granted.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the

House had passed, without amendment, the following bills of the Senate:

S. 241. An act for the relief of Andrew Chiarodo; and

S. 243. An act for the relief of Lillian M. Lorraine.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2102) to provide for a 6 months' extension and final liquidation of the farm-labor-supply program, and for other purposes; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. HOPE, Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN, Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, Mr. FLANNAGAN, and Mr. COOLEY were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 231. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of San Diego a right-of-way over land owned by the United States within the limits of Camp Gillespie, San Diego County, Calif.;

S. 363. An act to amend section 3 of the act of July 24, 1946 (Public Law 534, 79th Cong.);

S. 516. An act to authorize the furnishing of steam from the central heating plant to the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 97. Joint resolution limiting the application of provisions of Federal law to counsel employed under Senate Resolution 46.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on today, April 10, 1947, he presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 231. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant to the city of San Diego a right-of-way over land owned by the United States within the limits of Camp Gillespie, San Diego County, Calif.;

S. 363. An act to amend section 3 of the act of July 24, 1946 (Public Law 534, 79th Cong.);

S. 516. An act to authorize the furnishing of steam from the central heating plant to the property of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and for other purposes; and

S. J. Res. 97. Joint resolution limiting the application of provisions of Federal law to counsel employed under Senate Resolution 46.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MARTIN in the chair). The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 4, beginning in line 1, after the word "act", to strike out the comma and the words "and any necessary expenses related thereto."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I had not intended to speak today on the general question of the proposal which is now before the Senate.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I should like to suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No; I do not wish to yield for that purpose.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thought the Senator would like to have an audience.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I know that Senators have a great deal to do. If they are not here it will be their misfortune.

I am approaching this question, which has many phases, by addressing amendments to it. I have five or six such amendments, and it is my plan to speak on them as they are called up; and in that way I shall be able to touch on all the vulnerable points which are encompassed in this extremely important question which the Senate must decide.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator propose any amendment this afternoon?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I shall talk about an amendment. That is the reason I did not want to discuss the general subject this afternoon. This is not the time to bring up amendments, but we have run out of speakers for today. Several speakers will be ready tomorrow. I think perhaps it would be better that I talk about one of my amendments today. I shall not call it up, but shall talk about it.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I was going to take the liberty of suggesting that there are only two or three committee amendments which I am sure everyone, whether in favor of or opposed to the bill, agrees should be in the bill, and that we might immediately adopt those amendments and let the Senator then offer one of his amendments.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. So far as I am concerned, I would be perfectly willing to have that done. I shall not offer any particular objections to the committee amendments. I do not think they go far enough. I am not satisfied with them, but I am not opposing them.

I think, however, perhaps it would be just as well for me to go ahead with my discussion of one of my amendments—not calling it up at the present time, but discussing it, nevertheless, and calling it up at a later time.

Mr. President, the amendment about which I shall talk today is one which I have submitted. It has for its purpose the exclusion of Turkey from receiving any assistance under Senate bill 938. If my amendment is adopted to Senate bill 938, under the bill, as thus amended, Turkey would not receive any loan or gift or money from the United States.

This amendment is the most important amendment, in my estimation, which I shall have to offer because there is no part of this entire matter that is as fundamental as is our proposal to give money and aid and military assistance to the Republic of Turkey. To my mind, that is the most important feature of this bill; it is the heart and soul of it.

Although I may be mistaken, I believe that the references to Greece are simply thrown in as a sort of camouflage or as a sweetening for the bitter pill, an attempt to throw dust in our eyes, an attempt to drag a red herring across the trail, so that we shall not see what the

real issue is. The real issue, as I have said, is aid to Turkey; and implied in the aid to Turkey, I find a military alliance between the United States and Turkey. That is not spelled out in the bill; it has not been entered into and agreed to by the Congress of the United States. Nevertheless, a military alliance is implied, just as certain as that we are sitting here today discussing this question. A military alliance is implied in the measure. We cannot give military assistance to another nation without having a military alliance some place in the background. That is the situation we are facing today in this whole great question.

So the particular amendment I shall discuss today in my opinion is the important one—namely, the amendment providing for the exclusion of Turkey from receiving any assistance under Senate bill 938.

I noticed the other day that the newspapers carried great headlines and lengthy articles to the effect that Governor Dewey had endorsed President Truman's proposal. I read everything I could find regarding the Governor's statement, but I did not find one line or one hint that the Governor endorsed anything with respect to Turkey. He talked about Greece; yes. He endorsed aid and assistance to Greece; and I, too, endorse aid and assistance to Greece. I think almost every citizen of the United States endorses aid and assistance to Greece under certain conditions. Greece is one of the idols of this country. Greece has made great contributions to civilization, both in ancient and in modern times. In the United States there are many people of Greek ancestry. All of us have close personal friends among the Greeks in this country—men who have come to the United States from Greece and have made good here and have contributed to our civilization and our kind of life. They are good citizens; they have done a grand job here. So, of course, all of us have great sympathy for them.

Furthermore, the Greeks fought a great war. They held the Italians at bay; they threw Hitler off his schedule and made definite changes necessary in his time table. By their violent opposition to the Italians they delayed him, which was a very great contribution, indeed, so much so, that Hitler had to send his forces into Greece before the Greeks succumbed. The Italian soldiers could not do the job.

So Greece played an important role in the Second World War, as she did in the First World War; and today the conditions in which the Greek people find themselves—the poverty, the suffering, the wreckage which was left behind by the Germans as they retreated—all appeal strongly to our hearts.

So we wish to help Greece and help restore Greece and put her back on her feet. But in my opinion, provision for aid for Greece is included in the pending bill simply to appeal to our sympathies, and to line us up for the more important purpose; namely, a military alliance with Turkey. I know of a great many reasons why there should not be a military alliance between the United States and Tur-

key, and I desire to touch upon some of them this afternoon.

Mr. President, I wish at this time to have the Senate consider the amendment which I have proposed to exclude Turkey from receiving any assistance under Senate bill 938.

Mr. President, I do not wish to review the history of ancient persecutions. I scarcely think that the religious persecutions which Christians suffered from the Turks for a thousand years should in any way determine our judgment on this bill or upon my amendment. Nor do I believe that the fact that Turkey was our enemy in the first World War should be a consideration of any great moment; nor do I think that the fact that the present Turkish Government does not permit private enterprise in great areas of its economy, should militate against Turkey. After all, that is her business. Likewise, the fact that the Turks have had treaties of friendship with Soviet Russia and with Nazi Germany in the past, or the fact that they have always and persistently acted in behalf of themselves alone, should have little bearing on the pending proposal.

However, Mr. President, I do believe that the reliability of the present Turkish Government should be carefully considered before the Senate rejects my proposed amendment. For my own part, I do not believe that Turkey is a reliable confederate.

Mr. President, in the secret documents which the State Department attempted to present to the House Foreign Affairs Committee in strict confidence, and which it afterward made public to a select group of 10 newspapermen, are to be found some very interesting summaries of Turkish activity during the recent World War. In 1939, on May 12, the Turkish Government concluded an agreement with England for mutual assistance in case of aggressive war in the Mediterranean region. We discovered that on June 10 of 1940, on the occasion of the Italian declaration of war against Great Britain and France, Great Britain asked for implementation of its alliance for mutual assistance with Turkey. The Turkish Government declined to act. That is when they showed their true colors; that is when Germany looked as if she might be successful in her wild venture to conquer the world; and in that great hour of German supremacy, the Turkish Government declined to act.

Shortly thereafter, on July 18 of 1940, Turkey signed a commercial agreement with Germany.

On June 18 in 1941, the Turkish Government signed a 10-year friendship act with the Nazi government. On October 9 of 1941, the Turkish Government signed a commercial agreement with the Nazi government providing for an exchange of goods valued at 100,000,000 Turkish lira. Germany was to provide steel and war materials in exchange for Turkish raw materials, including 90,000 tons of chrome in each of the years 1943 and 1944. Turkey entered into a lend-lease or a lease-lend agreement with Germany in those days, for an exchange of war goods with the Nazis. On June 2, 1942, a new commercial agreement be-

tween Germany and Turkey was arrived at. On September 29, 1942, it was announced that Turkey had contracted to send about one-half of its annual production of chrome to the Krupp munitions plant in exchange for German arms. In April 1943 a new Nazi-Turkish trade agreement was signed. What was that chrome to be used for? It was to be used to make superior weapons with which to destroy American youths, and the youths of other countries.

During all this time, Mr. President, Great Britain and the United States and the Soviet Union were desperately and continuously attempting to prevent the shipment of chrome and other raw materials to Germany through the expedient of preclusive purchase. The Turks were able to hold us up for an extravagant price, and did so without batting an eyelash. During all this time, Mr. President, the British, the Russians, and the Americans were attempting to have Turkey enter the war on the side of the Allies, and Great Britain in particular was continuously attempting to persuade Turkey to honor its treaty agreement of mutual assistance signed with the British on May 12, 1939. Indeed, at the conference of Tehran, the Allies agreed that Turkey should enter the war, and President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and President Inonu of Turkey had a conference in Cairo on December 4, 5, and 6 of 1943, reviewing the general military and political situation.

Nothing came of this; exports to Germany were not stopped, and on February 10, 1944, since Turkey refused to budge from a policy of inaction, Anglo-Turkish military staff talks, which had been underway for several months, were suspended. We gave them up as a bad job. We finally decided that there was no hope that Turkey would come in on our side at that critical moment in World War II.

Finally, on April 20, 1944, under intense Anglo-American pressure, the Turkish Government announced that it was stopping the shipment of chrome into Germany. On May 24, 1944, Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons, denounced the Turkish Government, and attacked its policy during the war. On June 14, 1944, Foreign Minister Eden stated that the British Government was profoundly disturbed by the fact that the Turkish Government, by allowing German vessels to pass through the Dardanelles from the Black Sea into the Aegean Sea, had helped to increase German naval strength in the Aegean Sea.

That is the way they used the Dardanelles. The Dardanelles is an important point in the whole controversy, the whole issue. We must bear in mind what happened according to Foreign Minister Eden. He told what use they had made of the Dardanelles. Finally on August 2, 1944, when it was apparent to everyone Germany had lost the war, the Turkish Government severed economic and diplomatic relations with Germany. She of course continued those relationships with Japan. The German spy system in Turkey was simply transferred to the

Japanese, and it was not until February 23, 1945, that Turkey declared war against Germany and Japan.

Mr. President, is there anybody in the Senate of the United States who is willing to stand up and justify on any basis the course of action pursued by Turkey during the past war? I ask the question, Is there anything in the record of the present Turkish Government which leads any Senator to believe that Turkish Government is reliable?

Mr. President, it is one of those small ironies of history that the German military equipment which the Turkish Government obtained during the war cannot now be supplied and serviced by the arms manufacturers of Germany. It is ironic that the Senate is now asked to supplement with American equipment the Nazi military equipment obtained at the expense of double-crossing her allies, of bleeding the American taxpayer, of sending to their death additional American boys. But that is the proposal before us.

Apparently Turkey believed that the Nazis were going to win the war, because they geared their military equipment to Nazi production. Turkey in reality was accepting lend-lease from Germany. Of course, some Senator may suggest that we were unable to supply the Turks with arms during the war. Is there anybody in the Senate who believes that at a time when we were distributing lend-lease to all parts of the world we would not have supplied the Turks with arms if the Turks had been willing to enter the war?

As I see it, Mr. President, there is nothing in the history of Turkey in which the American people can place their confidence. A nation that violates its sworn agreement and supplies essentials to our enemies, a nation that made a choice of the Nazis against America in the last war, does not deserve selfless consideration from us now.

Mr. President, we hear a great deal about the fact that the Russian Government has demanded a revision of the Montreux Convention of July 1936, which returned the Dardanelles to Turkish sovereignty. That agreement also permitted Turkey to rearm the Straits.

Both Britain and Russia protested against the manner in which Turkey permitted Nazi war vessels to pass through the Straits during the war. The United States, Russia, and Great Britain have all three stated over and over again that the Montreux Agreement must be rewritten. A number of notes have passed back and forth between the British, American, Russian, and Turkish Governments, in accordance with the agreement of these governments to review the whole question of the status of Turkish control of the Straits.

Mr. President, our State Department and our Chief Executive agreed to review the question of the Dardanelles at Potsdam, and in a series of diplomatic notes since that conference everybody acknowledges that the manner in which the Turkish Government handled the Straits in the last war was reprehensible. Yet, today the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] is asking us to arm the Turkish Government, to assume its military obligations, and, in effect, to

throw the weight of America solidly behind exclusive Turkish domination and armed control of the Dardanelles.

"We agreed to review the question. Now, in effect, we refuse to review it. We voted to bring before the United Nations any situation endangering the peace. Now we refuse to do so. If the Dardanelles is a possible cause of war, why does not the administration bring the question before the United Nations? Why does our State Department, in its unlimited arrogance, assume on behalf of the world to make a unilateral decision to maintain Turkish sovereignty and armed control over the Dardanelles? In effect, Mr. President, this is the decision which the Senate is being asked to make in voting to arm the Turkish Government.

And who, Mr. President, asked us to do this? Has the Turkish Government in the past 6 months appealed to us for aid? It is my distinct impression that we have received no request whatsoever from the Turkish Government, except a request to our Export-Import Bank for a loan. The British did not ask us to lend money or to send a military mission to Turkey. They did not ask us to arm the Turks, so far as the record is concerned. I think that statement stands up. Something might have been done behind some kind of curtain other than an iron curtain, but I have no knowledge of that, and so I am presuming that Britain did not ask us to arm the Turks.

After Turkey declared war on February 23, 1945, the whole question of the Dardanelles was discussed at Potsdam, and President Truman stated his belief that "one of the persistent causes for wars in Europe in the last two centuries has been the selfish control of the waterways of Europe. We proposed that regulations for such navigation be provided by international authorities."

I recall that we fought World War I for the freedom of the seas. That was the real issue. If Germany had not violated the freedom of the seas I sincerely doubt that the United States would have gone to war with Germany. Freedom of the seas was the issue that brought us into the war, and now we are attempting to deny to the great Soviet Union freedom of the seas.

I have no particular love for Russia. They have done many things that I do not like. I often heard my father say, when I was a small boy, that he would be glad to return to his native land of Sweden to fight the Russians. He had an intense hatred of Russia, as most Swedes do—a great fear of them. They have had many an unpleasantness, many a war in the past. I was brought up in that kind of atmosphere and taught at my mother's knee not to like the Russians. One does not get away from those old prejudices very easily. But, as the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], stated a few moments ago in the most eloquent speech I have heard in this Chamber since I have been a Member, we are attempting to deny Russia the freedom of the seas by one subterfuge or another. "Do not let them go through the Dardanelles. Bottle them up. Encompass them. Encircle them.

Keep them out." We do not even want them to have a navy. And yet we fought World War I for freedom of the seas. We have slipped a long way since Wilson made his pronouncement and laid down his ultimatum based on the freedom of the seas.

After the Potsdam Conference on October 2, 1945, Turkey asked the United States for a \$500,000,000 loan to be granted for 30 years. Again, on February 6, 1946, Turkey submitted a detailed list indicating capital goods that she wished to obtain. Since over a year ago, Turkey, so far as I know, has made no request whatsoever for a loan, for a military mission, or for any other assistance from the United States.

Mr. President, in substance we have bluntly told the United Nations: we have decided that the Dardanelles shall remain in Turkish hands. Our State Department has decided to take over the armed forces of the Turkish Government, to arm, advise, guide and direct the military preparedness of Turkey. Mr. President, who asked us to do that? The Turks? The British? The British, Mr. President, already have a military mission in Turkey. The British have already extended a dozen separate loans to the Turkish Government, in practically every case for armaments.

Mr. President, the Turkish Government is a member of the International World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund. The Turkish Government has apparently over \$200,000,000 of gold reserves. The Turkish Government is in a good financial position. Why, Mr. President, does not the Turkish Government seek a loan from the International Bank? Of course, if it obtains such a loan our Army and Navy could not attach as a condition to it that an American military mission should be permitted to run loose in Turkey. There is no question, Mr. President, but what, with the excellent financial position of the Turkish Government, that the International Bank would grant the loan.

Why then, Mr. President, has our Government, when it has not been requested to do so, and when an adequate alternative exists, why does our Government, in a passion of fear and hysteria, attempt to stampede the Senate of the United States into a decisive and far-reaching change in our national foreign policy? Is there somebody in the State or War Department with an inferiority complex, who feels that we must wave our massive Navy and Army and air power over every village and crossroads in the Near and Middle East? Has the Hitlerian ego, has the hunger for military glory, has the passion for expansion infected the souls of our military high command? What in God's name could cause us to propose such a policy without regard to the history of the Turkish nation, especially its actions in the last war; without regard to our commitments to the United Nations, without regard to our own often repeated declarations that the Dardanelles must be reexamined, without regard to the financial security of the Turkish Government, without waiting for any request from the Turkish Government, in what frenzied night-

mare, in what smoke-filled room could such a policy have been conceived?

I say, Mr. President, that the financial position of the Turkish Government is excellent. When we look at the export and import records of Turkey for the past 10 years we find that their exports in 1943, 1944, 1945, and 1946 far outstrip their imports. Indeed, for those 4 years their exports were millions of lira above their imports, and roughly, 80 percent greater than were their exports between 1936 and 1941. Their exports have increased 80 percent over what they were just a few years ago. Where can one find another country in the whole world, outside the United States, in that favored condition? The exports from the United States have been due to the amount of money loaned to every other country with which to buy our exports. We have not sold very much for cash on the barrel head. All our sales have been instigated, inspired, and stimulated by loans.

When we examine the Turkish expenditures for armaments we discover that their expenditures run almost one-half of their total budget. We discover also that that budget has substantially increased as the years have gone by. We discover that the millions of lira in circulation in Turkey have risen from 194,000,000 in 1933 to 931,000,000 lira in 1946. We discover that the foreign exchange holdings of the Central Bank in Turkey are at the all-time high. In 1938, for example, they held 5,700,000 lira, and on December 7, 1946, their holdings in foreign exchange were 201,900,000 lira. They have a positive foreign trade balance with high foreign exchange holdings. They settled their lend-lease account in cash, the first nation to do so. In fact, they paid within 30 days after the effective date of the agreement.

Mr. President, from those famous secret documents that the State Department gave to the 10 newspapermen I wish to quote a section on public debt on Turkey:

Turkey's foreign debt is approximately 268,000,000. This will be increased to the extent that Turkey draws on recent credits. The bulk of the foreign debt is an obligation to Great Britain, and some of it is repayable in Turkish lira. The estimated annual burden of service charges, including retirement of principal, is approximately 17,000,000, lira, only about 25 percent of which is said to be payable in gold or foreign exchange. Turkey at present can meet these obligations.

Here is an additional paragraph from the section in this secret document entitled "Turkey's Economic Position":

Turkey's principal difficulty is that of meeting the economic and financial burden of maintaining a large standing army. This expense costs the Turkish Government not far from one-half of its annual revenues and requires foreign exchange exceeding that available from current income.

Mr. President, this is one of the most damnable propositions ever presented to the Senate of the United States. The State Department itself, in its own secret document, demonstrates that the present foreign exchange holdings of the Central Bank are 201,900,000 lira. It then points out that the annual payment on the foreign Turkish debt, including payment on principal, amounts to 17,-

000,000 lira per year, only one-fourth of which is payable in gold, or foreign exchange. And, finally, the State Department document states that the Turkish military expenses require "foreign exchange exceeding that available from current income."

Mr. President, our national debt is \$260,000,000,000. Our debt is measured in billions of dollars, not millions. One billion dollars is 1,000 times a million dollars. Turkey's national debt is 268,000,000 lira. We pay six or seven billion dollars a year in interest; they are paying 17,000,000 lira. They have holdings of over 200,000,000; yet our State Department, without any request from the Turkish Government, asks us to pay for the Turkish armaments because the Turkish Government "requires foreign exchange exceeding that available from current income."

Mr. President, is not that a damnable proposal? The American people, suffering under heavy taxation, poured out their blood and wealth while Turkey profited. The Turkish Government today is in the best financial shape in its history, with available foreign exchange—plenty of it—and our State Department proposes that we subsidize everything the Turks need over and above their foreign exchange "available from current income." The American people are tremendously interested in current income. The American people want to see our budget balanced. As a matter of fact, the American people would like to see our taxes lowered; they would like to see our national debt retired. As one Congressman said, "We should be asking for a loan from Turkey."

Mr. President, perhaps the American people would be more sanguine, more ready to take funds from their current income to pay the bills of the Turkish Government if that Government were a democracy. But when, as is well known, these funds from our "current income" are to be expended in behalf of a Government which has been a dictatorship for 24 years, some doubt arises, even in the minds of the most fearful of our countrymen.

The New York Times of March 29, 1947, carried a startling story about the so-called freedom of the press in Turkey. I ask that this article be printed at this point in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EASING OF TURKISH PRESS CONTROL IS SOUGHT WITH LOAN PLAN AS LEVER—PROGRESSIVES DECRY "CHINESE WALL" AROUND COUNTRY—SEVERE PENALTIES PRESCRIBED FOR REPORTS DEEMED OBJECTIONABLE

ISTANBUL, TURKEY, March 28.—In the light of the latest developments in Turkish-United States relations, progressive individuals and newspapers are renewing their efforts to ease what is considered to be the difficult position of foreign press correspondents here.

A leading opposition paper, Vatan, which is campaigning for freedom of the press, editorially urged the government today to accord more facilities and cheaper cable rates to foreign correspondents "if we want to pull down the Chinese wall surrounding us."

Interpretative reporting here is hazardous in view of the Turkish law relating to the dissemination of information. Although unofficial censorship of cabled press messages ended last June and no signs of visible, direct censorship exist, correspondents still face what is known as the German system: Censorship at the source, which puts correspondents on the carpet for printed cables judged by the authorities to be objectionable.

The Turks, who still are shy of foreigners, consider the correspondent as a sort of spy, one to be avoided. No government officer except the Premier is allowed to make a statement to the press without authorization from the top and it took the proposed American loan to induce Premier Receppeker to grant an interview recently.

The penal laws that apply to foreign correspondents and the local press have convinced reporters that an assignment in Turkey is no easy job. Article 140 prescribes a minimum of 5 years in prison for anyone sending abroad unfounded or exaggerated information on Turkey's internal political situation that might harm her dignity in foreign countries. The penalty applies to the person giving such information and to the correspondent who sends it.

Article 158 prescribes a minimum of 3 years in prison for anyone insulting the Turkish President or writing aggressively about him. A penalty of 1 to 6 years' imprisonment is provided in article 159 for any person insulting the moral personality of the national assembly, the Turkish Republic, the government, the armed forces, the police, or the judicial system.

Article 162 provides that the act of transmitting a story or information that the law considers criminal is a crime.

The government has argued that the laws are not invoked. They are enforceable, however, and hang over every reporter's head.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, this report demonstrates clearly that there is no real freedom of the press in Turkey. The Turkish Government promptly suspended the correspondent's privileges to file cables because he wrote the article. This, I believe, happened on April 3. On April 5 his rights were restored pending the arrival of another correspondent from Athens. An American correspondent was gagged because he told the truth to the American people.

Mr. President, the secret documents which our State Department furnished to 10 newspapermen, in its summary of the present situation in Turkey, have some other interesting things to say. Permit me to quote:

While the Turks are almost unanimous in supporting the government's foreign policy, there is considerable difference of opinion among them about the direction of internal affairs. Less than 2 years ago the Turkish Government took the courageous step of licensing the existence of opposition political parties.

That is from the Department's report, which is doubtless authentic.

I trust that the Senate notes that the adjective "courageous" comes from our State Department, also, that they see nothing strange in the fact that a license for a political party is necessary. Again:

One major opposition party emerged—the democratic party, which was well supported in elections to the National Assembly in the summer of 1946. Other political groups, however, have not won many adherents, while such subversive and antigovernment minority groups as do exist, are not powerful, and

are under effective control by the police and security services.

In other words, Mr. President, the police suppress all political parties and groups that do not agree with the government. Why does not the State Department say so and get it over with? Permit me to quote further:

The Democrats insist upon the removal of certain restrictive laws which they regard as unconstitutional, such as the press law, by means of which the government exercises somewhat arbitrary control over the Turkish press. They also strongly condemn the Government for its inability to take effective steps to improve critical economical conditions and to halt the rising cost of living.

It is a terrible crime, is it not? Quite a few Members of the Senate would run into difficulty if ours was that kind of a government.

From the Newsweek magazine of May 27, 1946, pages 41 and 42, I find this statement:

When the Democrats began to organize, however, they ran into trouble. They accused civil authorities of preventing them from setting up headquarters on a nationwide scale. They declared provincial state governors refused to allow Democratic rallies, and constantly intercepted mail and telephone messages. They said policemen beat up their followers. Finally, as a protest, they issued a manifesto declaring the Government nondemocratic, and decided they would boycott both municipal and national elections. President Inonu seized upon this action to imply that the Democrats were actually Communists who wanted to discredit the Turkish Government in the eyes of other states. He promised Turkey would fight political parties inspired from abroad and acting as foreign instruments.

That goes to show how governments nowadays, whenever they encounter any great difficulty, simply yell "Communism, communism, communism!"

Mr. President, these same Democrats, whom President Inonu of Turkey called Communists, drew up a program in the elections of 1946 opposed to the present governmental ownership of mines, public utilities, textiles, and shoe factories. That is quite a crime, is it not? They are opposed to the government operation of businesses, factories, and industries, and for that crime they are termed "Communists." These free-enterprise advocates must be a queer breed of Communists. A political party opposing a government's total ownership of utilities, mines, factories, et cetera, is called Communist by the ruling political clique. That is name-calling with a vengeance. We do not even go so far over here.

By no stretch of the imagination can Turkey be said to be on the road to democracy, even though our State Department gracefully approves the brutal, harsh, and ruthless dictatorship that controls that nation. The Senate ought to be more realistic. Military aid and assistance to this Government is aid and assistance to a Fascist military dictatorship.

Mr. President, a heavy and serious responsibility has been thrust upon us without rhyme or reason. The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has asked us to take from the pockets of the American taxpayers millions of dollars

to support a government whose political irresponsibility is demonstrated by historical fact. He has asked us to support a government which is essentially military and dictatorial. He has asked us to give money to a government in excellent financial position; indeed, in better financial position than is the Government of the United States. We are asked to repudiate our commitments to the United Nations and, in effect, to guarantee Turkish control of the Dardanelles. We are asked, in effect, to assume responsibility for the maintenance of Turkish mercenary Janizaries. It is my fixed conviction that the American people want no part or parcel of this proposal. I urge the Senate, in all good conscience, to adopt the proposed amendment, striking Turkey from the pending measure.

I now send to the desk the amendment which I have discussed and ask that it lie on the table, to be called up later.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will lie on the table.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I know of no other Senator who wishes to speak at this time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am still wondering—and I should like to have the attention of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON]—whether we cannot at least move forward to the extent of adopting the committee amendments. It is my understanding that even those who hold the position of the able Senator from Colorado are in favor of the committee amendments, and I should like to get the bill to the point at least where we can start tomorrow with the real debate, which will be upon just such amendments as the able Senator from Colorado proposes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I join the Senator in that desire. I shall be glad to have the committee amendments adopted. I shall not oppose them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I suggest that the Senate proceed with the committee amendments.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I presume that will not foreclose amendments to any part of the bill.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is correct.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will state the next committee amendment.

The next amendment was, on page 6, line 11, after "government", to strike out "and" and at the end of line 14, to strike out the period, insert a semicolon, and "and (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government", so as to make the section read:

SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance

is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this act; and (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 7, after line 15, to insert the following language, as heretofore amended:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable; and

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

The amendment as amended was agreed to.

The next amendment was, on page 8, after line 11, to insert:

SEC. 7. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this act as the President shall prescribe.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan a question. This amendment does not make it perfectly clear whether there must be a chief of mission to a country, or exactly what his powers are to be. I wonder if the Senator has been informed as to what sort of an organization we are to have in Greece.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Committee on Foreign Relations was advised that the form of the administrative organization will be a chief of mission in Greece and a chief of mission in Turkey, and that the chief of mission shall organize his own staff.

Mr. TAFT. I was interested in the question whether we can avoid what has happened in so many places throughout the world, where three or four different departments of the Government have representatives, sometimes each of them handing out money and working at cross-purposes. I wonder if there is any assurance that in this case that will not occur, and that all Americans will sub-

stantially be under the direction of a chief of mission.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is the intention.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment on page 8, after line 11.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I suggest that the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] be made the pending question.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I have sent the amendment to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado will be stated.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 1, lines 5 and 6, it is proposed to strike out "and Turkey,"; in line 6, to strike out "their governments" and insert in lieu thereof "its government"; in line 9, to strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country"; in line 10, to strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country"; on page 2, lines 7 and 8, to strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country"; in line 15, to strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country"; in line 17, to strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country"; on page 3, line 5, to strike out "or of Turkey"; in line 6, to strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country"; in line 8, to strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country"; on page 4, line 4, to strike out "or of Turkey"; and in lines 12 and 13, to strike out "to either Greece or Turkey."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON].

SALE OF COAST GUARD SITE AT FORT LAUDERDALE, FLA.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce be discharged from the further consideration of Senate bill 1009, that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, and that the bill be presently considered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A bill (S. 1009) to extend the time within which the municipality of Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, Fla., may consummate the purchase of the Coast Guard site (commonly known as the base six property) which is located at Fort Lauderdale.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Maine?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, the bill is of purely local interest. For some time there has been authority in the Coast Guard to transfer sites in Florida to other locations. Several years ago legislation was passed authorizing the sale of one of these sites to the city of Fort Lauderdale. Financial arrangements have all been completed, and the transaction is ready for consummation. The difficulty is that there must be authority both to sell and to acquire the

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 10 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out "and Turkey".
- 2 On page 1, line 6, strike out "their governments" and
- 3 insert in lieu thereof "its government".
- 4 On page 1, line 9, strike out "those countries" and insert
- 5 in lieu thereof "such country".
- 6 On page 1, line 10, strike out "those countries" and
- 7 insert in lieu thereof "such country".
- 8 On page 2, lines 7 and 8, strike out "those countries"
- 9 and insert in lieu thereof "such country".
- 10 On page 2, line 15, strike out "those countries" and
- 11 insert in lieu thereof "such country".

- 1 On page 2, line 17, strike out “those countries” and
2 insert in lieu thereof “such country”.
- 3 On page 3, line 5, strike out “or of Turkey”.
- 4 On page 3, line 6, strike out “countries” and insert in
5 lieu thereof “country”.
- 6 On page 3, line 8, strike out “countries” and insert in
7 lieu thereof “country”.
- 8 On page 4, line 4, strike out “or of Turkey”.
- 9 On page 4, lines 12 and 13, strike out “to either Greece
10 or Turkey”.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Proposed by Mr. Johnson of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 10 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
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DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 14, 1947
For actions of April 11, 1947
80th-1st, No. 68

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	3	Labor, farm.....	2,11	Presidential succession..	16
Adjournment.....	7	Lands.....	4	Rubber.....	13
Appropriations.....	9	Minerals.....	5,14	Social security.....	2
Foreign affairs.....	1,12,18	Natural resources.....	4	Trade, foreign.....	5
Forests and forestry...	8,10	Paper shortage.....	10	Transportation.....	15
Labor.....	17			Un-American activities..	6

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate debated Greek-Turkish aid bill.

SENATE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3428-45, 3448-51).
2. SOCIAL SECURITY; FARM LABOR. The Finance Committee reported without amendment S. 1072, to extend until July 1, 1949, the period during which income from agricultural labor and nursing services may be disregarded by the States in making old-age assistance payments without prejudicing their rights to grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act (S.Rept. 100) (p. 3424).
3. ACCOUNTING. The Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee reported with amendments S. 273, to limit the time within which the GAO shall make final settlement of the monthly or quarterly accounts of disbursing officers under the executive branch of the Government (S.Rept. 99) (p. 3424).
4. LANDS. S. 28, to supersede the provisions of Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1946 by reestablishing the offices of registers of land offices and providing for appointment of the Director and Associate Director of the Bureau of Land Management, which was reported from the Expenditures in the Executive Departments without recommendation (see Digest 67), was referred to the Public Lands Committee (p. 3426).
Received from the Interior Department proposed legislation to provide for the disposal of materials or resources on U.S. public lands. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3424.)
5. COPPER IMPORTS. The Finance Committee reported without amendment H.R. 2404, to suspend certain import taxes on copper (S.Rept. 98) (pp. 3424-6).
6. UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES. Sen. O'Daniel, Tex., spoke in favor of removing "Communists" from Government (pp. 3445-8).

7. ADJOURNED until Tues., Apr. 15 (p. 3451).

HOUSE

NOT IN SESSION. Next meeting Mon., Apr. 14.

BILL INTRODUCED

8. NATIONAL FORESTS. S. 1090, by Sen. Thye, Minn. (for himself and Sen. Ball, Minn.), to safeguard and consolidate certain areas of exceptional public value within the Superior National Forest, Minn. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 3426.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

9. APPROPRIATIONS. Sen. Myers, Pa., inserted his statement before the Appropriations subcommittee on Labor-Federal Security appropriations (pp. A1711-4).
10. NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE. Sen. Brooks, Ill., inserted Col. Robt. R. McCormick's (editor, Chicago Tribune) statement on the newsprint shortage (pp. A1714-5).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

11. FARM LABOR. H.R. 2102 and S. 724, farm labor supply program. Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee.
12. FOREIGN RELIEF. H.J.Res. 134, relief assistance to countries devastated by war. House Foreign Affairs Committee.
13. RUBBER. S.J.Res. 79, S.J.Res. 83, and H.J.Res. 77, rubber production and importation policy. Senate Banking and Currency Committee.
14. COPPER IMPORTS. H.R. 2404, copper import tax suspension. Senate Finance Committee.
15. TRANSPORTATION. H.J.Res. 122 and 123, providing ocean transportation service to and from Alaska. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.
16. PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION. S.Con.Res. 1, S.139, S. 536, and S. 564, succession to the Presidency. Senate Rules and Administration Committee.
17. LABOR. S. 55 and S.J.Res 22, Pt. 2, labor relations program. Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.
Investigation of the Effectiveness of the Hobbs Amendment in Suppressing Racketeering. House Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee.
18. FOREIGN RELIEF. S. 938, assistance to Greece and Turkey. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

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COMMITTEE HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 14: H. Appropriations, agricultural, deficiency, and Government corporations appropriations bills (ex.); S. Expenditures in Executive Departments, merger of quarantine services; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; H. Judiciary, review of orders under Packers and Stockyards Act and Perishable Agricultural Commodities Act; S. Appropriations, first deficiency and Labor-Federal Security appropriations; H. Public Lands, abolish Jackson Hole Monument; H. Appropriations, State, Justice, Commerce and Judiciary appropriation (ex.).

- oOo -

S. 1095. A bill to facilitate rights-of-way through restricted Osage Indian land, and for other purposes; and

S. 1096. A bill to prevent the imposition of restrictions against alienation of certain classes of personal property acquired from the restricted funds of members of the Osage Indian Tribe in Oklahoma, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY— AMENDMENTS

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado submitted an amendment and Mr. BALDWIN submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, respectively, to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

REDUCTION OF INCOME TAX—AMENDMENT

Mr. McCARRAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 1) to reduce individual income-tax payments, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred as indicated:

H. R. 341. An act for the relief of the estate of Reuben Malkin;

H. R. 389. An act for the relief of the dependents of Carl B. Sanborn;

H. R. 400. An act for the relief of Benjamin Gordon;

H. R. 422. An act for the relief of Francesco and Natalia Picchi;

H. R. 437. An act for the relief of Iva Gavin;

H. R. 654. An act for the relief of Lawrence Portland Cement Co.;

H. R. 704. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mary Jane Sherman and W. D. Sherman;

H. R. 722. An act for the relief of Charles A. Clark;

H. R. 723. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Hunter A. Hoagland, a minor;

H. R. 828. An act for the relief of the State Compensation Insurance Fund of California;

H. R. 914. An act for the relief of George Corenevsky;

H. R. 925. An act for the relief of Therese R. Cohen;

H. R. 986. An act for the relief of Leslie H. Ashlock;

H. R. 1064. An act for the relief of Fred E. Weber;

H. R. 1065. An act for the relief of the estate of Thomas Gambacorto;

H. R. 1068. An act for the relief of Pearson Remedy Co.;

H. R. 1091. An act for the relief of Mrs. Georgia Lanser;

H. R. 1092. An act for the relief of Eugene Spitzer;

H. R. 1093. An act for the relief of D. Lane Powers and Elaine Powers Taylor;

H. R. 1176. An act for the relief of Mrs. Elizabeth Kempton Bailey;

H. R. 1221. An act for the relief of Eva Bilobran;

H. R. 1318. An act for the relief of Mrs. Fuku Kurokawa Thurn;

H. R. 1393. An act for the relief of Donna L. I. Carlisle;

H. R. 1482. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Gilda Cowan, a minor;

H. R. 1514. An act for the relief of certain disbursing officers of the Army of the United States, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1791. An act for the relief of Dr. Theodore A. Geissman; and

H. R. 2389. An act for the relief of Harriet Townsend Bottomley; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H. R. 1844. An act to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to grant easements in lands belonging to the United States under his supervision and control, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

H. R. 2199. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Henry Big Day and other heirs of Catherine Shield Chief, deceased, to certain lands on the Crow Indian Reservation; to the Committee on Public Lands.

H. R. 2248. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to grant an easement and to convey to the Louisiana Power & Light Co. a tract of land comprising a portion of Camp Livingston in the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Armed Services.

PROPOSED TAFT LABOR RELATIONS BILL—STATEMENT BY SENATOR WAGNER

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent, on behalf of the senior Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER], who is necessarily absent, to have included in the body of the RECORD a statement by him on the labor relations bill proposed by the able Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] for committee consideration.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER ON THE PROPOSED TAFT LABOR RELATIONS BILL

The omnibus labor bill offered by Senator TAFT for consideration by his Committee has already served a useful public purpose. It has cleared the air of all the sham, pretense, and demagogery of the last few months that the Republican leadership seeks to modify the labor laws only to promote equality in collective bargaining and industrial peace.

The bill would turn the clock back in labor relations, not to conditions that existed before the National Labor Relations Act was adopted, but in many instances to those that obtained more than a hundred years ago when labor had to fight for its right to organize.

The bill is a very thick one, so I can only discuss a few of its high lights. It contains a confused hodgepodge of wholesale rewriting of our labor law, in language so ambiguous and complex that it would require at least another decade of extensive, costly, and exasperating court litigation to determine the full meaning and impact of the legislation. It would be a Roman holiday for high-priced lawyers.

Those who remain under the coverage of the National Labor Relations Act will have only nominal protection, for the heart is cut out of the statute. But under a catch-all definition of supervisor, the bill would exclude from the protection of the National Labor Relations Act foremen and a great many classes of minor clerical employees. The bill excludes agricultural workers and the other classes of workers now covered. It is a strange way indeed to prove one's faith in the fundamental right of self-organization and collective bargaining by limiting and restricting the number of those who are to enjoy this precious right.

Company-dominated unions which have enslaved labor in the past are to be brought back, for they will be able to participate on the same footing with legitimate unions in an employee election. The employer will again be able to sit on both sides of the bargaining table.

No longer will good faith in intent to enter into an agreement be the test of bargaining. All that will be required will be to meet at reasonable times and confer. How will industrial peace be promoted by a provision

which leaves the shell of collective bargaining and cuts out the core?

By substituting the narrower term "working conditions" for the present broader term "conditions of employment," the bill would narrow the scope of collective bargaining to exclude many subjects, such as, perhaps, pension plans, insurance funds, which properly belong in the employer-employee relationship and in regard to which the employer should not have the power of industrial absolutism.

Even when a contract is entered into, the bill would undermine its effectiveness by undermining the position of the union in seeing to it that the contract is carried out in its application to specific cases. This the bill accomplishes by rendering unnecessary the intervention and presence of the union when individual grievances are being settled. The picture of the unequal struggle between the powerful corporation and the helpless individual employee is once more restored.

The real purpose of the bill to break the back of labor is shown also by other provisions. Instead of enacting some guaranties against possible abuses the bill would eliminate the closed shop as a subject for required collective bargaining. How would industrial peace be served when the employer would not even have to sit down and talk the matter over? He is not even now required to agree to a closed-shop contract or to any agreement, for that matter.

The prize exhibit is the attempt of the bill to break up national unions by preventing them from acting as a unit in collective bargaining. This attempt to eliminate industry-wide and regional collective bargaining would play havoc with many industries, such as the needle trades, where this type of bargaining has contributed to industrial peace and prosperity. It is unthinkable that in our economy where businesses are operated on a national scale, a serious proposal shall be made to break up labor unions and put collective bargaining back on the company-union basis so dear to the heart of that colossus of industrial might, the National Association of Manufacturers.

The same purpose to destroy labor's hard-earned rights is apparent in the bill's procedural provisions. I shall mention only two. By placing a limitation of 6 months on the bringing of unfair labor practice charges, the bill rewards the unscrupulous employer who by duplicity and concealment can cover his actions which have deprived his employees of their legal rights. Why place such a premium on illegality?

Another provision of the bill would render the NLRB procedure rather futile, for each fact in each case would be reviewed all over again in the courts. This is achieved by depriving the NLRB of the authority now enjoyed by other administrative agencies composed of specialists, to appraise the evidence and determine the facts, if supported by substantial evidence.

While weakening the NLRB the bill would throw the problem of labor relations into the inexperienced hands of the courts and would revive the widespread use of the labor injunction. Is this calculated to achieve cooperation between labor and management?

No constructive approach to the problem of labor relations is made by this bill. In some respects it is ludicrous. For instance, it prohibits labor organizations from "interfering" with the right of employers to self-organization—as if any worker ever acted to interfere with the incorporation of companies or the formation of trade associations. Would solicitation by a labor organizer to join a union be an interference?

There is no fresh point of view evident in the approach to the problem of the settlement of labor disputes. Reliance is placed on cooling-off periods which our war experience proved to be actually heating-up intervals.

The few proposals that are found in the bill, such as those pertaining to jurisdictional disputes and arbitration of controversies arising under a contract, which have been raised by President Truman and could serve as a basis for deliberation, are so deeply buried under a cluster of antilabor measures that they are lost sight of.

By fostering uncertainty and confusion and narrowing the scope and effectiveness of collective bargaining, this bill would contribute not to the evolution of a just and satisfactory national labor policy, but to industrial chaos, strife, and violence. As such, this bill cannot serve even as a basis for discussion.

This bill constitutes a grand assault on our industrial democracy. It is an attack further to undermine the forces which could help to raise the purchasing power of the people at the very time when business itself is becoming alarmed by the inordinate profits it is reaping.

If the Republican leadership in Congress wants to assist the Communist Party in the promotion of widespread class warfare, industrial chaos, and economic depression in this country, they could not devise a better method of doing so than recommending the enactment of such legislation.

All who are interested in the basic human rights of the ordinary citizen should diligently and vigorously resist such legislation.

MEETING OF APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND FEDERAL SECURITY

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Labor and Federal Security of the Committee on Appropriations be permitted to meet at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be permitted to sit this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, consent is granted.

MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration be authorized to sit this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, consent is granted.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—STATEMENT BY SENATOR MYERS

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement on the Labor Department appropriation bill made by him before the Labor-Federal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE LILLIENTHAL NOMINATION—EDITORIAL FROM THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Lillienthal Debate Ends," from the Philadelphia Inquirer of April 11, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE—ARTICLE BY SENATOR FULBRIGHT

[Mr. FULBRIGHT asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "United States of Europe," written by him and published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of April 6, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

NEWSPRINT AND NEWSPAPERS—STATEMENT BY COL. ROBERT R. MCCORMICK

[Mr. BROOKS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement on the subject of newsprint and newspapers, made by Col. Robert R. McCormick on March 17, 1947, before the subcommittee investigating the newsprint shortage, which appears in the Appendix.]

SOCIALISM IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND—ADDRESS BY COL. ROBERT R. MCCORMICK

[Mr. BROOKS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Col. Robert R. McCormick in Los Angeles, Calif., on March 21, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

AMERICA'S TEN LEGAL COMMANDMENTS—ARTICLE BY ALBERT BRICK

[Mr. COOPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "America's Ten Legal Commandments," written by Albert Brick, of Washington, D. C., and published in the April issue of the Public Service magazine, which appears in the Appendix.]

MAJ. GEN. LAURENCE S. KUTER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the amendment of the House of Representatives to the bill (S. 875) to authorize the President to appoint Maj. Gen. Laurence S. Kuter as representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, without affecting his military status and perquisites, which was, on page 2, line 18, after "State", to insert a colon and "Provided further, That Major General Kuter shall not remain in this position for more than 2 years after the date of the approval of this act."

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate concur in the amendment of the House.

The motion was agreed to.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Mississippi has the floor.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, I favor the passage of the pending bill and the granting of the aid to Greece and Turkey which the President has requested, because, in my judgment, if the expansionist policies of the Soviet Union are not effectively checked, then war between the Soviet Union and the United States is inevitable. If the present drift continues, if Russia continues to pursue her avowed objective, which is simply chaos, revolution, and aggression leading to world domination for communism, there can be no peace. If we sit idly by and permit Russia to pick off free peoples one by one, and meet these aggressions with weak, vacillating appeasement, as France and England in their attitude toward Hitler prior to 1939, and as we have

met the aggressions of the Soviet Union up to this time, then we permit Russia to become stronger and more powerful with the digestion of each conquest, and the conflict between us will thereby come at a time when we are placed at a great disadvantage.

There is no sense in American appeasement of Russia, because we are the strongest and most powerful nation in the world, much stronger and more able at the present time to wage war than is the Soviet Union. Russia realizes this, and she attempts to weaken us by creating internal strife and discord; and exactly as the Axis Powers did, proceeds to pick off her neighbors one by one, digest their resources, and feverishly build up her industrial capacity to wage war. Her policy is to bide her time, and to become a stronger nation through conquest and preparation at home, until her strength is greater than our own. Our policy of appeasing her will not lead to peace, but is certain to cause war; and therefore I say President Truman's present program to prevent Russian aggression and stop the spread of communism is a program of peace and not of war.

Mr. President, the bipartisan foreign policy which the bill embodies will, if it is possible to do so, avert World War III, which otherwise seems inevitable. It strengthens democratic governments to the point where they can resist aggression. It seeks to build a stable economy under which mankind will prosper. After all, the best weapon against communism is the establishment of prosperous peoples and strong democratic governments. This we attempt to do.

In this connection I quote from an article by Winston Churchill which appears in the current issue of Life magazine:

It is certainly not strange that American opinion should be greatly influenced by President Truman, General Marshall, Mr. Baruch, Senator VANDERBERG, Senator CONNALLY, and other champions of peace and progress in trying to nip evil in the bud, quench fire at its outbreak, and stop pestilence by timely inoculation.

That, Mr. President, is the wholesome foreign policy of the United States.

Our memory is indeed short if we cannot recall the quiescent policy which was adopted by the leading nations of the world when Italy attacked Ethiopia, and when an upstart Hitler, with his regime in swaddling clothes defied the world and marched into the Rhineland in defiance of the Versailles Treaty. We remember that it was the pacist and the idealist who adjured the policy upon France and England not to resist this treaty violation. What was the result, Mr. President? Hardly had the cobblestones of the Rhineland ceased ringing with the echoes of Prussian boots when thousands of miles away the Japanese aggressor, taking heart from the weakness displayed by the world powers, attacked China, and World War II had in reality begun.

Yes, at that time the same cry was heard, "This is aggression! This must be turned over to the League of Nations." The League met at Geneva, and the world remembers that, notwithstanding the position of the United

States, friends crept to the side of the aggressor within the sanctuary of the League and the rape of China was condoned. The League of Nations met, argued, bickered, and that was all. There was Axis and Communist aggression in Spain.

Mr. President, with arguing and shadow boxing on the part of the League of Nations, with the cry of nonintervention in the air, who can say they were surprised when Hitler made his demands on Czechoslovakia? More than that, Mr. President, who was surprised when Munich came, and the capitulation occurred? And who was surprised at what happened to Austria and Czechoslovakia? And finally came that grim day when Hitler marched into Poland because of his connivance with the Soviet Union. We all remember a dazed world tolerated the months and months of the phony war. But, Mr. President, that war was not phony. It was merely the Gethsemane prior to the crucifixion; then war in all of its devastating fury burst upon mankind; all of which sprang from appeasement, and the failure to stop aggression before it was too late.

Mr. President, we have now seen what has recently occurred in the Balkan and Baltic countries, in Finland, and in Korea. We have seen the tentative aggression into Iran and, Mr. President, we are today feeling the totalitarian pressure in Greece and Turkey, so that the peace-loving people of the world realize that we are once more confronted with a Rhineland, a Manchuria, an Ethiopia, a China, a Czechoslovakia, and a Poland.

Mr. President, who can deny that today the heel of a totalitarian tyranny is poised upon the boundary of Greece? Overwhelming odds stand pointed today upon the boundaries of Turkey. Pressure constantly maintained, pressure of the threat of invasion, is gradually eating away the economic foundation of those two nations.

Russia's position is simple: "I have a slave economy and because I have slavery I can maintain large armies and create discord throughout the earth." Then she says, "To meet my threats you, too, will have to adopt slavery or perish." This is the battle between Russia and the world.

This threat of war is real. It follows the pattern used toward all those countries which have succumbed within the rigid confines of the iron curtain. Yet again today we hear the same voices which we heard amid the sounds of the Prussian boots in Vienna and Prague. We hear the voices of nonintervention; we hear the voices of millions of good people who hate and detest war, but who persist in living in a world of fantasy and wishful thinking.

Yes, we all want peace; but we should not be timid about its preservation. Peace is not bought at the price of timidity. Peace is a constantly challenging thing and we must pay the price of peace in courageous and realistic action, which alone can assure its realization.

Mr. President, at Yalta, at Tehran, and at Potsdam our country consummated agreements with Russia. It was solemnly agreed, among other things,

that the people of liberated areas would be free to set up governments of their own choosing and that there would be no government forced upon them by any other power. One of the great war aims of the United States was to assure that mankind would be free—free from fear; free from tyranny; free from oppression; that all peoples in liberated areas would be free to set up governments of their own choosing, and to go their own way without coercion and without domination by any other power. This was the pledged word of the Soviet Union. Our Government relied upon it and accepted in good faith their promises. Moreover, Mr. President, in addition to formal agreements, Mr. Stalin assured President Roosevelt at Tehran that he desired no territories in Europe; that his own country was only half populated and that Russia would spend her efforts in developing her own country, and would cooperate wholeheartedly with the United States and Great Britain in setting up a well-ordered world where mankind could grow and develop in peace and security. These were the solemn pledges of the Russian Government, and our own Government placed faith and reliance therein. Ah, Mr. President, how that faith was wholly misplaced.

Our Government and people had then and now have nothing but friendship and admiration for the Russian people. We have never sought anything from them. We greatly helped them both during the war and since at great material sacrifices to ourselves. As peoples we are friends today. We desire the continued friendship of Russia, but we demand that the Russian Government cease aggression and the threat of war. But, Mr. President, the conduct of the Soviet Government shows that its word is worthless. Its solemn agreements are broken at will.

Pope Pius XII wrote at Christmas 1945:

The indispensable element in all peaceful living among nations—the very soul of juridical relations among them—is mutual trust based on the belief that each party will respect its plighted word.

Of course, Mr. President, treaties, agreements, the plighted word of Communists are worthless because it is part of official Soviet policy to deceive. Lenin revealed in 1920 the real foundation of Communist tactics, strategy, and international diplomacy when he stated, and set it down as official Communist doctrine:

We have to use any ruse, dodges, tricks, cunning, unlawful method, concealment, and veiling of truth.

This is the reason why we can never have a binding agreement with the Soviet Union until they prove by actions the integrity of their pledged word. All the proof to date shows that they follow this line of deceit and falsehood set down by Lenin. They heed not the injunction of justice and morality. The will to use superior force is the only power on earth that they heed.

We have the promise of peace, but we do not have peace. We are still face to face with totalitarian aggression; the aggression of the left instead of the aggression

of the right. Italy and totalitarian Germany are gone. The menace of totalitarian German and Italian imperialism is gone. In its place there has arisen the expansionist totalitarian imperialism of the Soviet Union. Solely because of Russian predatory conduct, its policies of conquest, its intent of world domination, there is no peace. There do not exist in the world today the conditions by which mankind can develop, can recreate its prosperity, and work out its destiny in freedom. The better world, for which we sacrificed and fought, is not here. The peace of the world, Mr. President, is threatened today by the Communist dictatorship of the Soviet Union just as it was by Hitler. Hitler was no more unscrupulous than the Soviet Government. Of the two Russia is better organized, has greater resources, and more numerous fifth columns. The safety and security of mankind are certainly in as much peril today from Stalin as they were yesterday from Hitler.

What has been the conduct of Russia, Mr. President? Since 1939 the following countries with populations as indicated, were either annexed, occupied by the Red army, or taken over by Soviet Russia through the installation of puppet regimes which are controlled by Moscow and which have been placed by force over their unwilling populations:

Asia:

North China (area held by Chinese army)	Soviet	Red	
Manchuria			75,000,000
North Korea			45,000,000
			10,000,000
Total in Asia			130,000,000

Europe:

Poland	35,000,000
Eastern Germany	25,000,000
Rumania	20,000,000
Yugoslavia	15,700,000
Hungary	10,000,000
Bulgaria	6,300,000
Lithuania	2,000,000
Latvia	2,000,000
Estonia	1,000,000
Albania	1,000,000

Total in Europe 118,000,000

In addition the following European countries are today under partial control by the Soviet Government, and threatened with complete control by the Soviet Government:

Czechoslovakia	15,000,000
Austria	7,000,000
Finland	3,800,000

Total 25,800,000

Thus 16 nations or parts of nations, inhabited by 273,000,000 people have come under the dominance of the hammer and sickle as a result of recent aggression. Russia has more than doubled her population and tripled her resources. Is it not time to call a halt?

In these vast areas, Mr. President, as in Russia herself, every last vestige of human liberty has been suppressed. Thousands upon thousands of the best people of every class who opposed the imposition of the atheistic, godless Communist dictatorship, and those who sought to preserve their freedom, have been ruthlessly murdered or shipped off

to Siberia as slaves. A ruthless dictatorship has been imposed on these peoples by force against their will. Their rights and liberties are denied, and in reality they are held in slavery by the Communist dictatorship. These Communist dictatorships, under the control of Moscow, and by Moscow itself, are guilty of every crime which was charged against the Hitler regime in Germany. Terror and violence hold sway, and the crimes committed are just on as large a scale as those committed by the Axis countries.

Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia are the first nations in modern history which have recognized and practiced the doctrine of human slavery as applied to the white race. Normally, in the prison camps of Russia in the past 15 years there have probably never been less than 10,000,000 men and women working in semistarvation, often in the Arctic north, where the average expectation of life is 6 years. These were citizens of the Soviet Union. Their only crimes were opposition to communism, and the love of liberty and the rights of man. The number of slave laborers is much greater today, due to the millions of slave laborers from what we naively call liberated countries and the nationals of former enemy states. Indeed, there is more slavery on the earth today than at any previous time in the world's history, because communism is the greatest of all enslavers.

In addition to the vast human misery within the fiery furnace of communism, there is the imminent threat of the conflagration spreading; establishment of a puppet government in Iran was attempted by Russia in flagrant violation of her pledged word. Demands are being made upon Turkey. Armed Communist bands equipped by Russia or her satellites are violating the territorial integrity of Greece and attempting to set up a Communist dictatorship there. Russia is demanding the control of Tripolitania under trusteeship. She seeks a base in Eritrea. Throughout the whole Middle East Communist agents work to bring this vast area under the control of Moscow. Civil war inspired by communism flares up in China, and peace is denied this unhappy land. In every country in North and South America Communist agents, under the direction of Moscow, are at work to create strife and discord and to bring those countries within the Russian orbit. Spies directed from Moscow attempt to ferret out the military secrets of friendly states and allies. In France, Italy, the American, British, and French zones of Germany, and in other countries the attempt is being made to infiltrate and to take these countries from within, or to weaken them so that, like ripe plums, they will fall to Soviet Russia. A desperate, hungry people calculate not where they go. Mr. President, the United States is the only power remaining in the world strong enough to prevent Communist expansion, and throughout the whole world their propaganda preaches hatred against us and is attempting to inflame the peoples of the world against the United States.

All of this fits into a common plan. Soviet communism is pursuing its original and fundamental Communist policy—the conquest of the world for communism, the domination of the world for communism, the destruction of the countries of the world. And it is reaffirming its doctrine that war will be resorted to where necessary to carry out this program.

In my humble judgment this is the greatest crisis in the Christian era. Oriental communism directed from Moscow seeks to destroy Christian civilization and western culture. It has made great progress; our danger is greater than at any time in modern or medieval history. This is the third invasion of the west. Vienna has fallen. Eastern and central Europe are occupied. The danger is greater than at any time since Genghis Khan was thrown back in Poland.

Take the case of Greece and Turkey. These are very poor countries without resources. What does Russia want with them? She says she wants the port of Salonika in Greece. But it is economically unprofitable for the Soviet Union to operate this port instead of Odessa. This is not the reason. Greece has military position. The control of Greece would outflank Turkey and the Dardanelles. Air power in Greece would control the entire eastern Mediterranean. Our communications through the Mediterranean would be cut.

Mr. President, what are the reasons for the Soviet desire to control Turkey? The claim that she desires the Dardanelles in order to obtain access to the open seas falls flat when one understands that the control of the Dardanelles would not give her access to the high seas. The Mediterranean would still be controlled by the fortresses of Malta and Gibraltar, and access to the Indian Ocean would still be shut off by the Suez Canal.

Mr. President, Turkey and Greece, poor though they are, have great military significance. He who controls them controls the eastern Mediterranean. Land-based aircraft from those countries would seal off much of North Africa and the Near East. In fact, we would be shut off from vital oil supplies. If those countries were to fall, the whole Middle East would fall under Communist control and this great area, with vast resources, would fall under the dominion of the hammer and sickle. The Soviet Union would be made stronger for the inevitable final conflict for world dominion which communism decrees. The Soviet Government's attempt to absorb Greece and Turkey is a military plan greatly to weaken the United States and to strengthen the Soviet hand for prospective conflict.

Mr. President, all of this fits into a common pattern. This is all part and parcel of the great objective for which the Politburo is driving. There is no mystery about the ultimate objective of Soviet foreign policy. It is today what it has always been, and that is world domination.

Time and time again the leaders of communism have stated and reiterated

that their aim was world communism. The Official History of the Communist Party states:

Study of the history of the Communist Party strengthens the certainty of the final victory of the great task of the Lenin-Stalin Party: The victory of communism in the whole world!

Mr. President, this is the aim of communism; and the policy and actions of the Communist dictatorship of Russia have always been to carry this program to its ultimate conclusion. It is carried out by infiltration when control can be gained by this method, and if not by infiltration, by military occupation and by war where war is necessary.

Stalin, in his book Problems of Leninism, which is the Mein Kampf for Russia and the Bible of world communism, states:

The basic fact * * * is that there no longer exists a world wide capitalist system. Now that a Soviet country has come into existence * * * world-wide capitalism has ceased to exist. The world has been severed into two camps, the imperialist camp and the anti-imperialist camp (vol. 1, p. 369).

We are living, not merely in one state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist interminably side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately, one or another must conquer. Pending this development, a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states must inevitably occur. (Vol. 1, p. 56, quoting from Lenin, Works, Russian edition, vol. XVI, p. 102.)

I quote from Lenin:

From the time a Socialist government is established in any one country, questions must be determined * * * solely from the point of view of what is best for the development and the consolidation of the Socialist revolution which has already begun. The question whether it is possible to undertake at once a revolutionary war must be answered solely from the point of view of actual conditions and the interest of the Socialist Revolution which has already begun. (Lenin, Twenty-one Theses, January 20, 1918.)

To give a further insight into their program I quote from a September 1929 issue of Pravda, one of the official Soviet Government publications:

The world-wide nature of our program is not mere talk, but an all-embracing and blood-soaked reality. It cannot be otherwise * * * Our ultimate aim is world communism; our fighting preparations are for world revolution, for the conquest of power on a world-wide scale, and the establishment of a world proletarian dictatorship.

This is a fundamental Soviet policy, Mr. President. These are the goals to which the Communist hierarchy is driving.

Stalin's statement is that war between the Soviet Communists and the democratic states is certain. All the actions of the Communist Government show that she has embarked upon her program of world-wide conquest, and that when she is strengthened and has had time to digest the resources of the countries which she has overrun, and had time to build up her own shattered economy and industrial capacity, she hopes to carry to

the ultimate conclusion her policy of world domination for communism.

On February 10, 1946, in order to reiterate that the policy of Communist expansion had not been abandoned, Stalin stated:

It would be incorrect to think that the war arose accidentally or as a result of the fault of some statesman. Although these faults did exist, the war arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism.

No doubt remains of Stalin's determination to persist in his policy of aggressive Soviet imperialism. Stalin believes, and sincerely so, that the only road to permanent peace is the destruction of the democratic states and the conquest of the world for communism. In 1946 he announced as one of the objectives of the new 5-year plan the development of a steel production of 60,000,000 tons a year. This is three times the Russian steel production of 1940 and is greater than the combined steel production of Germany, Japan, and Great Britain in 1940. In addition to this, Stalin now controls the steel production of Silesia, Manchuria, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Hungary. A nation's steel production is the basic measure of industrial capacity to make war. The Russian people are desperately in need of consumer goods, but giving up the production of consumer goods, the goods of peace, and concentrating on building up a basic industry for war makes plain the Soviet Government's intentions. In addition, it is interesting to note that Russian purchases from abroad are chiefly machinery and industrial equipment to be used in building up basic industry for war. Since 1939 the Soviet Government, without provocation, has waged aggressive war against six free, independent, and sovereign peoples—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, and Finland—states which were unable to defend themselves. Her failure to live up to her agreements regarding them and her purpose to dominate by force Yugoslavia, Austria, eastern Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania, and northern Korea are aggressions which show her purpose to dominate the world. In fact, she intends to control by force all areas which she has occupied and ultimately to make them a part of the Soviet Union. Her aggressions are larger than the aggressions of Germany. She is truly an enemy of civilization.

Mr. President, the argument is made that we should turn the Greek-Turkish question over to the United Nations, and that if aid is given it should be supervised through the instrumentality of that organization. The charge is made that President Truman in his recommendations to Congress has bypassed the United Nations Organization. Let us not be naive. What is the cause of present conditions in Greece and Turkey? It is Communist pressure on those two countries. It is armed Communist intervention in Greece. This is a condition which must be met at once. I do not think anyone can seriously say

that at the present time the United Nations could solve any great question. Of course, the United Nations today is weak and ineffective. It could not even fix the blame for the placing of mines which took the lives of 44 British sailors. It could not place the blame because of the veto by Russia. It could not place the blame because to do so would be contrary to Communist policies. We are in the same situation here. Our Greco-Turkish policies run head-on into Communist policies. To be perfectly frank, the United Nations cannot be a great factor for peace until Russia desires peace, until Russia stops aggression, and through the United Nations Organization cooperates for stability and peace. The United Nations cannot be effective until the Soviet Union stops sowing strife and discord and permits the peaceful recovery of the world. When that condition arrives, questions of this nature can and should be referred to the United Nations. At the present time, however, to refer this question to that Organization would be playing into the hands of Soviet Russia, because it is evident that Communist obstructionist tactics in the United Nations Organization would delay the program until communism attained its ends in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. President, throughout all the vicissitudes of the foreign policy in the development of our Nation from 13 remote Colonies on the shore of the Atlantic seaboard to the greatest power in the history of the world, a country to which most of the world looks for guidance and hope in all the problems that beset the world, Americans have always considered that whatever differences may divide America, those differences cease at the water's edge.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one question?

Mr. EASTLAND. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. If the Senator's statement is correct—and I agree that it is—if communism finally reaches Greece and Turkey and overruns both of those nations, what next will happen, in the Senator's opinion, so far as concerns nations on both sides of Turkey and Greece?

Mr. EASTLAND. I think that aggression feeds upon aggression, and that Russia will take the next nations in her schedule until she controls all of Europe and a large part of Asia, and then she will want us.

Mr. LUCAS. Is it not true that at the present time Communist elements in France and Italy are virile and active?

Mr. EASTLAND. Yes.

Mr. LUCAS. And once Europe comes under the domination of Communist influence, it seems to me the same influence will spread in both directions, until eventually it probably will reach South American countries as well, and will become more active here in the United States.

Mr. EASTLAND. What the Senator from Illinois has said is true. If the Communist activities become greater in France and Italy, the Communists probably will come to control those countries

and also other countries of Europe, even including Spain, and eventually there will be Communist control of western Europe, which President Roosevelt time after time said would threaten this country.

As I have said, Mr. President, the people of the United States, a country to which most of the world looks for guidance and hope in all the problems that beset the world, have always considered that whatever differences may divide America, those differences cease at the water's edge. Throughout our history I think one of the greatest manifestations of that historic policy is the present bipartisan foreign policy of the United States, so thoroughly exemplified through the coordination of the leaders of the two great parties which make up our political system. It is a patriotic policy. It is a policy worthy of the finest traditions of American history.

America has grown and thrived upon the political differences of its citizens. It is the earmark of the stability of our system that it can withstand differences of opinion and contrarieties of thought. Any American citizen, be he proud or humble, great or small, is privileged to criticize, vociferously if he will, any policy of the American Government; but, Mr. President, I want to bring to the attention of the Senate and the country that I do not believe that our history records an instance of a man who has been honored by the people of the Nation to the extent that the former Vice President of the United States, Henry A. Wallace, has been honored, who has flown to a foreign country, and has attempted to induce the friends and allies of his country to desert her. No American citizen has the moral right to conspire with foreign peoples in order to undermine and to weaken the hand of his country. The least that can be said is that Mr. Wallace is performing a grave disservice to the American people when he attempts to induce Great Britain to desert the United States and thereby force us to sail the perilous seas alone. Everyone admits that the foreign policy which this bill represents has grave implications, that, while it is the least dangerous, it has its hazards. The fights between Americans should be at home; and the American citizen, whoever he may be, who attempts to induce our friends abroad to leave us, and who attempts to prevent a united front to a common foe, to say the very least, is not serving the best interests of his country. Mr. President, no American has the right to attempt to array foreign peoples against his country. We know that conditions in France are delicate; yet the statements and activities of Mr. Wallace are in accord with the principles and policies of the Communist Party of France; and it is interesting to note that one of those who invited Wallace to visit France was Duclos, the leader of the Communist Party in France, the man who is reputed to be the head of the Third Internationale, and who was strong enough to dethrone Mr. Browder as head of the Communist Party in the

United States and to establish in his stead Mr. Foster.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. EASTLAND. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. In no sense do I wish to interrupt the Senator's speech, because I think he probably would prefer to make it without interruption—

Mr. EASTLAND. That is quite all right.

Mr. PEPPER. But since, from the Senator's remarks, one would infer that Mr. Wallace went to France only by the invitation of Mr. Duclos—

Mr. EASTLAND. I said Mr. Duclos was one of the men who invited him to France. That statement is true, as reported in the Daily Worker.

Mr. PEPPER. That is correct; but all I wish to say upon this point is that on Saturday, before he departed for England on the following Monday, Mr. Wallace told me that he had had invitations to visit France from the heads of all the French political parties, including Mr. Leon Blum, the head of the Socialist Party, and also the head of the M. R. P. Party, the Popular Republicans. So although the Senator is incorrect in that Mr. Wallace was also invited by Mr. Duclos, yet I am sure the Senator would not want us to infer that Mr. Wallace did not have invitations from the other parties and groups that compose the French Government and the French political parties.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, by the furthest stretch of the imagination, no one could infer that from what I have said. I said that Mr. Duclos was one of those who invited Mr. Wallace, and I also say that the policies that he advocates are in keeping with the policies advocated by the Communist Party in France.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. EASTLAND. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Mississippi also would want the RECORD to show, I am sure, that the Communist Party is officially represented in the Government of France at the present time.

Mr. EASTLAND. I am sorry to say that is so. That is all the more reason why Mr. Wallace should not go to France and attempt to undermine the hand of his country.

Mr. President, the people of England and France do not realize that Mr. Wallace does not enjoy the confidence of the great majority of American citizens. By his attempts to make it appear that there is grave division in the United States, Henry Wallace weakens the hand of those who seek to retain the great French Nation within the orbit of western civilization.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me once more, and then I shall not interrupt him further?

Mr. EASTLAND. Yes; I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I think we might remember that Mr. Winston Churchill came to the United States and spoke at Fulton, Mo., at a time when he formally had been adjudicated not to have the political confidence of the Parliament of Great Britain or of the people of Great Britain.

Mr. EASTLAND. Mr. President, he has the confidence of Great Britain, and I am proud to say that he has the confidence of the people of the United States, and that his speech at Fulton, Mo., mobilized this country to such an extent that the Turkish Government says, so I am informed, that that prevented an invasion of that country by the Soviet Union. Mr. Churchill is a great man, one of the leaders for human liberty in the world.

Mr. President, as I was saying, the people of England and France do not realize that Mr. Wallace does not enjoy the confidence of the great majority of American citizens, that his policies have been repudiated in this country. Mr. President, to use an old proverb, if his activities are not inspired by the devil, they serve him equally as well.

Mr. President, it has been stated on the floor that this is an expensive program and will cost the Nation a great deal of money before we are through. But what is the alternative? I can see none except even greater expenditures later if we fail to act now. If we had stopped communism at Yalta, it would have cost us nothing. If we had stopped communism at Potsdam, it might have cost us no more than a stiff assertion of our rights. If we had stopped communism before the present Red government took over Poland, it would have cost us less than it will today. The bigger we let the communistic tiger grow, the more it is going to cost us to stop him. Since we cannot turn back the clock, let us seize what remains of our opportunity, and, without grieving at the expense, act boldly now.

I accept this program of aid to Greece and Turkey because it will cost less in the long run than any other program that is available now, or that will be available in the future. Mr. President, I fear the ultimate cost of further appeasement of Russia if we fail to act now. That cost in blood and treasure may even surpass the cost of World War II.

What is more, what shall we say about the cost of maintaining huge standing armies and the loss of world trade behind the iron curtain if we fail to stabilize the world?

Another criticism that has been leveled at this plan is the charge that there is no use in stopping communism in Greece and Turkey if we aid it elsewhere.

With this statement I emphatically agree. I hope we have heard the last of efforts by our State Department to unseat the governments of Argentina and Spain, because those governments are doing a fine job of combatting communism. I hope the effort now under way to clean out the Reds who have infiltrated into our government will proceed apace. I want to see an end of left-wing directives from a certain clique in the State Department for our foreign wards, like Korea, the American zone in Germany, and Japan. I want to see communism resisted on every front in the world, but the points of greatest importance to the United States are, just at this moment, the Greco-Turkish sector, and right here at home. There is no

reason why we should not be true to American interests everywhere. There can be no compromise with communism, because one cannot compromise with death.

Mr. President, the American people have a historic decision to make. We must either stop Russian imperialism, or submit to it. We have no other choice. Their object is plainly world domination. We cannot get off this planet. We must either stop aggression or submit. When we permit Russia to pick off areas piece by piece, absorb them, absorb their resources, and grow stronger and stronger, we make inevitable the day of armed conflict between us. If we permit her to take over Europe and a large part of Asia, our doom is sealed. We cannot stand against the whole world. The Western Hemisphere cannot stand with a Communist world arrayed against it.

I support the pending bill because if Russia is not stopped, war between Russia and the United States is inevitable, and to stop her effectively now is the only preventive of World War III. We must learn from the errors of the 1930's. Appeasement failed then. If Hitler had been stopped when he marched into the Rhineland, the great tragedy of World War II would not have occurred. God has placed within the hands of the American people the sole power to cope with atheistic communism. Our country is not worth its salt if we fail to protect our civilization, our culture, and our way of life. Our task is a double one: to stop aggression, and to turn the present uneasy armistice into a lasting peace.

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I wish to associate myself with the Committee on Foreign Relations in the stand it has taken, and I shall support the bill as it has been amended. I cannot refrain from saying that I am sorry, exceedingly sorry, at the way in which the matter has been handled from the beginning. I do not refer to the time since it came to the Senate; but since the President of the United States delivered his message, I think the American people have had to attempt to live down many of the statements made by columnists and by radio commentators concerning what we were about to do. I do not agree with many of the things which were said before the President spoke. In fairness to myself and to everyone else, I must say that I do not share the view that America is merely stepping in to continue the policy of Great Britain. We have a policy of our own, and we are going to carry on in accordance with that policy.

I regret that after the passage of the Reorganization Act, and the creation of a Policy Committee, which was established primarily to furnish counsel for the President, that committee was not consulted in the earlier stages of this development. I think much of the trouble—and I am sure much of the need for amendment—would have been overcome had we heard the whole story, had we gotten a real understanding of the facts from the beginning.

Mr. President, I shall support the bill primarily because the first thing we need in the United States, above all other things, is unity. The President has

spoken, and the President's words are in the minds and hearts and understandings of all mankind. He spoke for his country. I deem it our duty to stand by the President in what he has said, and it is for that reason that I have gone to the trouble of trying to work out what I think is a consistent background for what the President has said.

I stand by the President, and I want unity in America for another reason. In the first place, no treaty has yet been ratified or consummated. We are in a state of war. The shooting war is over, to be sure, but we are in what the aftermath of the last war taught us is the most deadly period. We are in the time of the riding of the Four Horsemen.

It is necessary for those nations which have some stability, which have real control of their affairs, which have won the war, and therefore laid down certain propositions for the world, to stand as a unit to assure the fulfillment of those propositions.

Wherever I look in the world I can see tremendous danger if there is not some place where nations that are weaker, that have lost faith, that have lost property, and have become completely discouraged as the result of the destruction wrought by war, may turn for guidance and understanding. I believe that today America stands as a beacon, as she has always stood, for those who are seeking opportunity to develop their own natures and to promote their own welfare. It is well that we keep leadership.

Mr. President, as I have said, no treaty has been ratified and no boundaries have been determined following the upsetting of the old boundaries by the war. But the establishment of boundaries does not mean peace. There will always be two kinds of war. At the present time we are faced by ideological warfare which has followed actual warfare. The boundaries of ideological warfare are not set; they cannot be set, and they never will be set. I do not know of very many kings who have been overthrown as the result of actual warfare, but I know that the progress of democracy has been certain, the notion of popular sovereignty has developed; and I know that nothing can stop the ideological trend of the world.

Today Russia, the political entity, in spite of changed ideology, is carrying on in international relations in much the same way and with much the same ideals as existed under the czarist regime.

Russia has embraced the concept of communism; and connected with communism is the political theory and the political fact of the single will dominating the proletarian dictatorship, and dominating the political actions of the state, and, therefore, all citizens within the state. In referring to Russia, then, we think of the political entity, we think of the concept of communism, and of a form of government subject to a single will. So far as America is concerned, she need not be antagonistic to political Russia; but, if she adheres to what have been her fundamental ideas, she must be antagonistic to communism, and, so long as her Constitution endures, she

can never submit to the concept of the single will.

It is strange, and yet it is proper, both from the standpoint of military strategy, which has been mentioned here this morning, and from the standpoint of politics, that Greece and Turkey should be bound together in the same bill. That could not always be said, although there was a time when Greece and Turkey were one. It should be pointed out that one of the reasons for now linking the two nations, in spite of the fact that they were antagonistic in the war, is that after World War I a working arrangement between Greece and Turkey was consummated, and there was a virtual alliance between the two; a rather happy alliance, because it resulted in more friendly relations, better trade, rising standards of living, and the actual saving of life.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] yesterday eloquently referred to the traditional Greece, the idealistic Greece, the mother of western democracy. It might be well to extend the idea further and to suggest that the fact that Greece and Turkey are linked together in this bill is perhaps a symbol, as it should be, of a new world, of new ties.

To leave Turkey out of consideration, Mr. President, would be to break down the theory in regard to nations working together; because one of the fundamental concepts back of the United Nations is that nations stand out as complete, independent entities. It is our duty to support those independent entities which have already been recognized and which form a part of the sisterhood of the nations; otherwise, there will be utter confusion in the world, and it will never be possible to reduce to practice the theory of the United Nations.

With reference to military missions, may I, as the author of the Chinese military-mission bill, say that I still believe in that bill? I think that, had General Marshall had the benefit of the provisions of that bill in the beginning of his negotiations in China and in the beginning of his sojourn there, he probably would have achieved a greater degree of success. The Senate did not see fit to pass the bill.

The general military-missions bill, dealing with missions in South America, is a bill which I think Senators generally should support. Had there been more time, the general military-missions bill, which was before the Committee on Foreign Relations at the last session, would undoubtedly have been passed. It is a bill which I think is exceedingly constructive, in the light of the extension of international understanding and the hope of lifting standards throughout the world.

There are military missions and military missions. A military mission does not mean a military expedition. It was pointed out by the Senator from Texas yesterday that under the pending bill we are not going to send military expeditions to either Greece or Turkey.

Mr. President, let me here say a word about intervention. It is not intervention to enter a country at the invitation of its government. It is technically

erroneous to use a word which has a definite meaning, so loosely as the word "intervention" has been used. Technically, it is not planned to intervene in Greece or Turkey. If a loan is made or if a military mission is sent, it is by an understanding with the existing governments. Of course it is said that the purpose in doing this would be that democracy might be extended in the world. It happens that probably two of the worst illustrations of what we consider a good democratic government have been chosen. There is theory, there are ideals, there is history, and there are a number of other things which should be kept in mind in considering what constitutes true democracy. Sometimes there is a deliberate attempt to get away from democracy both in theory and in practice and sometimes there is a deliberate attempt to adhere closely to democracy in both theory and practice. The intent of other countries should be recognized in a proper evaluation of democracy. The United Nations stands today, and we are its greatest sponsor. The retreat from collective security in 1919 brought on World War II.

It has been said by some that we have bypassed the United Nations in the present case. Of course, the amendments which have been adopted show that that is not the case, that the American Government declares that it is ready to fit into the scheme of the United Nations when it can become operative.

What if the United Nations had attempted this great task, in order to keep alive what ultimately would be two of its members, and had failed? Wherein would the United Nations have become strengthened? Is it not better that the United Nations should follow the leadership of one of its strong members in support of the fundamental theory upon which the organization is based and which makes it an acceptable institution, rather than to attempt to align the United States in support of a program which might not be practicable? There is a place for the small nations in the United Nations; there is a place for the great nations in the United Nations. If the United Nations is to succeed and become strong it must always recognize that there is a place in its organization for both great nations and small nations.

Conflicting theories exist, of course, within the United Nations. America faces a dilemma with respect to these conflicting theories. America stands as the leader of the democratic forces in the world and also as the chief architect of an international structure in which nations living under opposing systems, democratic, totalitarian, autocratic, monarchical, are members. But can we not find an answer to the dilemma? We cannot choose our neighbors. We cannot assume that all members of a community of states shall always be in agreement with us. Under the American theory we cannot insist that there shall always be agreement.

Mr. President, we have lately had presented to us in a striking manner the American theory of what we consider our democracy to be. It may be of in-

terest from the ideological point of view to call attention to the real conflict existing between the two theories which underlie and support the two greatest and strongest nations in the United Nations. In theory they can never agree and work together because they are so completely diverse, and will remain so at all times.

I shall not try to lay down the fundamental doctrine of the "single will" states, or the fundamental notion of communism either as an economic theory or as a political concept, but I wish to present two contrasting statements. I have chosen what I think are quotations which illustrate exactly the position in which we now find ourselves. The Communist who writes and thinks about his system in contrast with the democratic system says:

Capitalism separates countries in order the better to exploit them, but communism unites them, the better to defend them.

That is the theory on which the ideological approach of communistic conquest must ultimately rest.

Lenin had such faith in the extension and the universality of the acceptance of his theory that at one time he wrote:

No matter if three-quarters of mankind disappear the important thing is that what is left should finally be incorporated in communism.

Mr. President, it is extremely encouraging to an American to be able to turn to a last-minute definition of what constitutes our ideals. This definition is found in the words uttered by the spokesman of America who is today in Europe, our Secretary of State, General Marshall, who echoes and reechoes the words of the founding fathers when the American system was erected, when the American theory had its origin. General Marshall as late as March 14 told the representatives of the only other independent great powers left in the world, sitting in conference in Moscow—and listen to these words and see if as Americans we do not thrill under their influence—

I realize that the word "democracy" is given many interpretations. To the American Government and citizens it has a basic meaning. We believe that human beings have certain inalienable rights—that is, rights which may not be given or taken away.

They include the right of every individual to develop his mind and his soul in the ways of his own choice, free of fear and coercion—provided only that he does not interfere with the rights of others. To us a society is not democratic if men who respect the rights of their fellow men are not free to express their own beliefs and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home and family. To us a society is not free if law-abiding citizens live in fear of being denied the right to work or deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Mr. President, if General Marshall never utters any other words, those words will mark him as one of the greatest of Americans. Every American heart will respond to that statement made by him. We Americans who read it realize that we are represented by a true spokesman for us in the councils of the world.

At this point it will be interesting to point to a bit of history, the first by-

passing of the League of Nations, and to show the difference between what happened in the case of the League of Nations and what some now call a bypassing of the United Nations. One who will take the time to read about the Corfu affair will realize that it is not now proposed to bypass the United Nations; that everything that has heretofore been done or that is proposed to be done will be in harmony with the fundamental wishes, hopes, and aspirations of the United Nations.

The seed of defeat for the idealized procedure created under the League of Nations Covenant for keeping world peace was planted in 1923—the year of the celebrated Corfu incident. For it was in handling this so-called incident as it did that the League proved in practice a disregard for the equal rights of small nations seemingly preserved inviolate in the terms of the Covenant.

The Corfu incident arose out of the activities of the commission appointed by the conference of ambassadors to fix the frontiers between Albania and Greece. The commission was headed by an Italian, General Tellini, who was accused by the Greeks of deciding all disputed points in Albania's favor. On the morning of August 27, 1923, Tellini was murdered near the village of Janina, on Greek territory. The Greek Government expressed its profound regret to the Italian ministers in Athens and pledged itself to do all in its power to apprehend and punish the culprits. Patriotic indignation in Italy reached white heat. Here was an opportunity for the Fascist regime, not yet a year old, to play a strong hand by proceeding from sword rattling to action. On August 29 Mussolini sent an ultimatum to the Greek Government expressing Italian demands, several of which were so severe as to provoke the reply that these particular demands were an infringement on Greek sovereignty and injury to the honor of Greece. At the same time the Greek Government addressed an appeal to the Secretary-General of the League to bring the matter before the Council. And there was a real test, Mr. President.

Almost immediately the Italian Government rejected the Greek reply as unsatisfactory and ordered its naval forces to occupy the Greek island of Corfu, situated near the mouth of the Adriatic. The occupation was completed only after a bombardment in which a number of Greek and Armenian refugee children on the island were killed or wounded by the exploding shells. Italy's honor was thus happily vindicated, from the standpoint of those who constituted the new Fascist regime.

Greece notified the Council through its representative that it was ready to accept and execute in good faith any proposal the Council might make to give Italy full satisfaction. The Italian representative presumptuously contested the jurisdiction of the Council over this matter, on the ground that Italy had not intended to commit an act of war.

The British representative answered this contention with the observation that there was no tenable distinction between the bombardment of Corfu and an act

of war. Although that seems an appropriate assessment of Italy's act the Council nevertheless proceeded to enforce the Italian demands on Greece. There was no decree of indemnity to Greece for the loss of life and destruction of property at Corfu. The Italians did evacuate their forces from the island.

Peace had been preserved and territorial conquest averted. But Greece was obliged to bow to superior force. By this exercise of grotesque self-deception the League had set a course for war because, as Vanzetti has said, men were not sufficiently heroic for a life which does not need war.

When the expression "bypassing" is used, those who remember a real bypassing and a real spirit of utter contempt for what the world was trying to do in organizing itself cannot help thinking of that incident and note the difference. I do not think any serious student will ever purposely speak of the action of America in the Greek-Turkish affair as a bypassing of the United Nations.

Mr. President, in a situation of this kind some constructive things must be done. There must be a continuation of the organization of the world to implement and make stronger the United Nations. One such continuation has been suggested by a resolution introduced in this body. It is an old idea, an idea advocated 25 years ago, following the last war, by Briand, in his suggestion for the creation of a United States of Europe. Many suggestions have been made in the making of the peace which might bring about such a happy situation. One such suggestion deals with the waterways of Europe. If we could honestly tackle the problem of the waterways of Europe, we could probably bring about unity in Europe. Control of the waterways furnished one of the reasons for the meeting of the First Constitutional Convention, so that the waters which touched various States might be controlled to the advantage of all the States. The world has an opportunity now, not only in relation to the Dardanelles and the changing of the treaty with respect thereto, but also in connection with waterways. Something ought to be done. If it could be done, and if some agreement could be arrived at which would be lasting in its effect, it would be possible to transport wheat by water, without touching the Mediterranean, practically all the way to northern Europe, through the Danube, the Ludwig Canal, and the Rhine. There has been an effort throughout the years to bring about arrangements under which the waterways would be internationally controlled, thereby creating the beginning of a United States of Europe. If that were done, that which is called western civilization in Europe might be saved, even if the worst comes to the worst, and even if, as was suggested by the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND] a few moments ago, the start of the conquest of Europe is now well under way.

There are those who point out that in ideological warfare the world will ultimately be divided into three parts, following the various ideologies. They give control of all of Europe to the Russian

states. They leave with us North and South America and most of the commonwealth states. Then they forget the mass of the world so far as population is concerned, and leave that as a unit by itself. My feeling with regard to the future world depends upon the unit which is left. I think the future world will be formed and judged primarily on the basis of the actions of the great Asiatic nations of the world.

I should like to repeat the statement that keeping America united until there is a peace should be our great objective, both for our own sakes and also for the sake of the world and especially for the sake of the entity of the United Nations. The community-of-states idea is one which must prevail in the world; and the community of states must lay down the standard for individual states. Then we shall have decent, respectable, and proper international law. The policy which America must follow must always be an American policy.

I come now to a series of quotations which I wish to read. I shall try to point out that what has been recommended by President Truman is a natural growth and continuation of what has been American policy almost from the very beginning. In order to do so I think we must lay down certain simple morals of history in order to understand why nations fall into certain ways and habits. If we study the history of nations throughout the ages, we discover that, first of all, if they are to last, there must be, as Oöppenheim says, "an equilibrium, a balance of power, between the members of the family of nations."

One of the aims of the President of the United States is to continue that equilibrium.

Second:

International law can develop progressively only when international politics are made the basis of real state interests.

If we accept the theory and the philosophy of the previous speaker the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], surely America never faced a greater problem than she is facing now, and never did she need a better background of her own original policy and its expansion.

Third:

The program of international law is intimately connected with the victory everywhere of constitutional government over autocratic government.

We can never have a successful community of nations until governments actually speak for the people. That is the aim, and ultimately it will come; otherwise we cannot go forward with the United Nations to a successful consummation.

Fourth:

The principle of nationality is of such force that it is fruitless to try to stop its victory.

That is a moral of history that we ought to respect at this time. We cannot curb the growth of ideas; and ideas which are followed by better living conditions and happier people will encircle the world.

Wherever a community of many millions of individuals who are bound together by

the same blood, language, and interests, become so powerful that they think it necessary to have a state of their own, in which they can live according to their own ideals and can build up a national civilization, they will certainly get that state sooner or later.

Fifth:

That every progress in the development of international law wants due time to ripen.

Sixth:

That the progress of international law depends to a great extent upon whether the legal school of international jurists prevails over the diplomatic schools.

The school of expediency and self-satisfaction. Law must take the place of expedient action.

Seventh:

That progressive development of international law depends chiefly upon the standard of public morality, on the one hand, and, on the other, upon economic interests.

In that case we go into Greece and into Turkey with clean hands, for the benefit of the world, the benefit of the two countries, and the benefit of ourselves.

Is President Truman's policy recommendation an expression of American policy? I desire to take some time to discuss this question, Mr. President, because I believe we have in President Truman's recommendations and the action which is to follow one of the most splendid natural enlargements of American policy that has been presented for a long time. This little essay may seem tedious to those who know their American diplomacy and their American history, but I believe it to be worth while for us to have it in the RECORD as the opinion of at least one Senator. Here I should say that I am in hearty agreement with the stand which the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] took yesterday, and especially with his words when he said that he spoke only for himself. I hope, nevertheless, Mr. President, that while in this statement I speak only for myself, there may be an echo or two in the hearts and aspirations of the average American citizen who believes in the growth, the development, and the purposes of his Government.

Our famous Secretary of State, John Hay, once described our foreign policy as being summed up in the phrase, "The Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule." The latter rule is one which should modify the foreign policy of all members of the so-called family of nations. And with regard to the change that this Nation has not adopted a principled, consistent foreign policy an examination of the extent to which the Monroe Doctrine has influenced our course of international action may be in order.

The celebrated doctrine enunciated by President Monroe was a natural outgrowth of the situation in which the young American Nation found itself in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Here let me pause long enough to say that if those who wrote that the President of the United States was adopting an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, and glibly and quickly named it the Truman doctrine, had given attention to all that Monroe said and had paid attention to the first parts of Monroe's pronouncement, it is likely that many things which have been said would not have been said

regarding the meaning of the President's proposal. Monroe was very careful to point out that his doctrine must have the support of the people. He went so far as to talk about popular sovereignty in such a way that it is indeed worth while for us to read his words now:

The people being, with us, exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it. * * * To the people every department of the Government and every individual in each are responsible, and the more full their information the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued and of the conduct of each in regard to it. * * *

Their interests in all vital questions are the same, and the bond, by sentiment as well as by interest, will be proportionately strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to. A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary.

Mr. President, that part of the Monroe Doctrine should be read and reread by everyone in authority in connection with international negotiations conducted for the American Government. A proposition has been presented to the Congress of the United States and action by the Congress is requested. Why does it come to the Congress? Because of constitutional provisions. The President cannot act in certain matters without instructions. He cannot spend the people's money, and so forth. But, Mr. President, if the Senate or if the Congress has the last word, why should we not develop the idea that the representatives of the people may have the first word once in a while and act in unity, a condition we are trying to bring about in this instance.

The celebrated doctrine enunciated by President Monroe was a natural outgrowth of the situation in which the young American Nation found itself in the early part of the nineteenth century.

We were as yet comparatively weak and were conducting in the New World an experiment in democracy, the success of which might be endangered through becoming embroiled in European political quarrels. Jefferson declared in 1808 that one of the objects of our foreign policy should be to exclude European influence from this hemisphere. I refer briefly to Jefferson in order that the theory may be better understood.

In a message to Congress in 1811 President Madison advanced the idea that it was the paramount interest of this Nation to resist imperialistic encroachment. Congress thereupon passed a resolution expressing cognizance of the threat posed by a foreign power and providing for the temporary occupation of adjacent territory to countermand the threat. President Madison's idea was not one-sided. The territory which we then occupied was later acquired through peaceful negotiations, and it is essential at the outset to recognize that

the Monroe Doctrine has never served as a cloak for territorial aggrandizement.

It also should be pointed out here, Mr. President, that the whole philosophy of the Monroe Doctrine, as announced some 12 or 13 years after that time, was incorporated both in Jefferson's pronouncement and in Madison's recommendation to the Congress and in the resolution which the Congress passed.

When he spoke in 1823, President Monroe added to the elements of isolation and paramount interest the principle of non-intervention, to constitute the famous doctrine that bears his name. The essential import of the declaration was to advertise this Nation's assistance for the smaller nations in the hemisphere in resisting the imposition of despotisms. Although the doctrine was intended to meet a particular emergency, it was couched in general terms, and was thus broad enough to state our position whenever encroachments of a particular character might be threatened in the Western Hemisphere. The smaller American nations were thus assured of respect for their sovereignty on a plane of equality with the larger nations of the world. That is one of the theories that President Truman is working on as he moves into the Mediterranean sphere.

In 1845 President Polk declared, in his annual message to Congress, that—
it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established in any part of the North American Continent.

That is probably a better statement than the Monroe Doctrine itself, insofar as the average layman's interpretation of that doctrine is concerned.

In one respect that this was narrower than the Monroe Doctrine, since it did not include South America; but it was broader than the Monroe Doctrine in another respect: It prohibited the voluntary cession of American territory to any European power. Such cession could not be made with our consent, regardless of whether the territory in question was already under the control of some other European power or belonged to an independent American republic.

A case of the latter sort was that of Yucatan, one of the provinces of Mexico, which, on account of an Indian insurrection, offered itself to Spain, England, and the United States. With reference to the offer to the other powers, President Polk declared in a message to Congress of April 29, 1848, that—

according to our established policy, we could not consent to a transfer of this "dominion and sovereignty" to either Spain, Great Britain, or any other European power.

A bill was introduced in Congress enabling the President to "take temporary military occupation of Yucatan;" but before anything could be done, the collapse of the insurrection brought the incident to an end.

In the disputes over the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in the fifties, the principle of the Monroe Doctrine was invoked against the British colony in Honduras, on the ground that it was an extension of European influence.

Secretary Seward, undoubtedly in accord with President Lincoln, from 1861 to 1865 warned the French not to force a foreign empire upon unwilling Mexicans; and in 1865, Seward gave formal notice that the French must leave Mexico, and that was backed up by a display of military force on the border. Though Seward avoided mention of the Monroe Doctrine, he applied its principles very effectively.

President Grant in 1869 repeated President Polk's earlier warning by announcing that no territory in America could be transferred to any European power, regardless of whether the inhabitants were willing or unwilling.

Secretary Fish in 1870 proposed that the United States should take the lead in a general political and commercial policy for the republics of America. That was the first distinct statement of a policy of leadership by the United States, but it was undeniably in the minds of President Monroe and John Quincy Adams at the time when they were formulating the message promulgating the Monroe Doctrine.

Secretary Evarts in 1880 was the first American statesman to see the relation of the Isthmus Canal to the Monroe Doctrine. He claimed "paramount interest" for the United States in any land or water communication across the American isthmus. President Hayes added the significant declaration that any inter-oceanic canal would be virtually a part of the coast line of the United States. Secretary Blaine in 1881 made the position of the United States more precise by stating that for any European power to share in the construction and control of the canal would be an introduction of the European political system. He then drafted for the Pan-American Congress of 1889 the statement that the "principle of conquest" should not be considered as admissible under American public law. That was intended to apply to the wars between Latin-American powers, and also to foreign invasion.

Its significance in relation to the matter presently before us is the declaration that we recognize a political and an economic reason for the actions we take, and that such actions can be taken against political or economic ideologies.

That series of utterances, along with others of a similar tenor, clearly show a steady growth of responsibility and authority in American affairs. The mandate of the Monroe Doctrine had been developed sufficiently by 1895 to enable President Cleveland to assert its principles in definite and unequivocal terms, despite the fact that he was virtually without an army to back him up. The fact that Great Britain paid respect to the stand of President Cleveland and acceded to his request was a great tribute to the Monroe Doctrine, which had determined his course of action.

When we go further, to the writing of the Treaty of Versailles and the incorporation in that treaty of the concept of the Monroe Doctrine, we find that it became universally accepted by the nations of the world. It is that sort of procedure which brings about a peace-

ful acceptance of an idea which makes for better understanding between nations, and develops, of course, the possibility of world peace.

The interpretation and application of the Monroe Doctrine, with which President Cleveland's name is associated, was occasioned by a dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain in regard to the boundary line between Venezuela and British Guiana. That dispute had dragged along for many years without attracting any popular interest or attention either in England or in the United States, when, in 1895, it was suddenly brought into the limelight by the determined stand which President Cleveland took in declaring that the dispute should be submitted to arbitration. In July of that year his Secretary of State, Olney, sent to London a dispatch in which he argued that if, as Venezuela alleged, Great Britain was encroaching upon Venezuelan territory under the guise of a boundary dispute, such aggression was an attempt to extend European power and control over American territory, and therefore was clearly a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. He suggested that an investigation of the conflicting claims be made as the only way of determining whether Great Britain was within her rights or was seeking to extend her territory. He declared that Great Britain had thus far refused to arbitrate the controversy except on condition that Venezuela renounce a large part of her claim, and pointed out that the great disparity of strength between the two countries left Venezuela no hope of establishing her claim, insofar as it was just, except by peaceful means.

Here is another fine expression of the sense of the Monroe Doctrine that in legal contemplation all independent states are regarded as equal, and that the rights of each are not deemed to be dependent upon the possession of power to insure their enforcement. Mr. President, to have that principle recognized at that time was an exceedingly great step forward in the establishment of international understanding and international law throughout the world. Chief Justice Marshall may have been expressly cognizant of this aspect of the new doctrine when he gave voice to the famous legal pronouncement in an admiralty proceeding before the Supreme Court in 1825. Chief Justice Marshall said:

No principle of general law is more universally acknowledged than the perfect equality of nations. Russia and Geneva have equal rights. It results from this equality, that no one can rightfully impose a rule on another. Each legislates for itself, but its legislation can operate on itself alone. A right, then, which is vested in all by the consent of all can be divested only by consent.

Mr. President, if we have to assert a right which we have not yet had to, and which no one has asked us to assert, in regard to the President's pronouncement, I think we will find it can be justified, and justified completely, by a law which has been on our statute books for much more than 100 years, and what was law long before that in international society.

So far as the relation of Great Britain to American affairs was concerned, the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine by President Cleveland and Secretary Olney was successful. Great Britain took the lesson to heart, accepted the arbitration with Venezuela which was thrust upon her, and the findings of the arbitrators, and prepared to give up that joint control of the Canal which was embodied in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. During the Spanish War of 1898, Great Britain made it clear that other European powers must not interfere with the American policy of the United States. The next step was for Great Britain, in the first Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1900, freely and without consideration to give up joint control over isthmus transit. The Senate insisted that there should be a formal abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and Great Britain gave way and accepted the second Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, by which the United States was left free to control any isthmus canal that might be constructed and to "neutralize" it in her own way.

President Theodore Roosevelt transformed the Monroe Doctrine from a negative into a positive policy. By his construction of the Doctrine the United States assumed the positive responsibility of maintaining stable conditions in otherwise turbulent Latin-American States so as to avoid any excuse for European intervention in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Prior to this time our Government did not maintain that armed collection of private debts contravened the Monroe Doctrine, in the absence of any occupation of territory. President Roosevelt, however, at the time of the Venezuelan affair of 1902, came to be of the opinion that such armed intervention directed against a Latin-American State would substantially involve a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and consequently we could not permit European powers to exercise force in the collection of debts in Latin-American countries. Here, again, is an assertion of the equal rights of small nations. At the same time, we could not deny that debts properly contracted ought to be paid. We could not allow any country to hide behind us so as to avoid the discharge of their just obligations. In various speeches and messages, and particularly in his messages to Congress in 1904, President Roosevelt declared that the Monroe Doctrine was intended to be one of peace, and that to keep the peace the United States might be forced in flagrant cases to "the exercise of an international police power." This is the so-called "policy of the Big Stick."

President Taft inherited the Roosevelt principles. He endorsed the latter's positive interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, and applied it to new situations arising in the Caribbean region. He summed up as follows the doctrine underlying American intervention in that region:

Now when we properly may, with the consent of those in authority in such governments and without too much sacrifice on our part, aid those governments in bringing about stability and law and order, without involving ourselves in their civil wars, it is a

proper national policy for us to do so. It is not only proper national policy but it is international philanthropy. We owe as much as the fortunate man owes aid to the unfortunate in the same neighborhood and in the same community. We are international trustees of the prosperity we have and the power we enjoy, and we are in duty bound to use them when it is both convenient and proper for us to help our neighbors. When this help prevents the happening of events that may prove to be an acute violation of the Monroe Doctrine by European governments, our duty in this regard is only increased and amplified.

Mr. President, that doctrine is up to date. That is, what we are doing today is merely an enlargement of the same philosophy and the same idea.

In 1912, under the lead of Senator Lodge, the Senate itself took the initiative in adopting a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. The new policy was embodied in a simple Senate resolution, and did not receive the formal support of the Taft administration. The resolution asserted that—

When any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government, not American, as to give that government practical power of control for naval or military purposes.

The adoption of the resolution seems to have been due to newspaper reports that a Japanese corporation was attempting to secure control of land on Magdalena Bay in Lower California, Mexico. This resolution differs from previous interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine in extending it to a "corporation or association" under the practical control of a non-American government, rather than to the government itself. This seems to be logical extension where, as in this case, it is thought that the corporation is a mere disguise or subterfuge, and is really acting on behalf of the foreign government. The Doctrine is thus interpreted as preventing such a government from doing indirectly what it could not do directly without violating it.

Truly the Monroe Doctrine has not been a static affair: it has been growing. It has evolved from time to time, rather consistently. But it has been since the great pronouncement of Woodrow Wilson at Mobile in 1913, when what is now called the good-neighbor policy had its origin, that the foundation was laid for the Monroe Doctrine as it is understood today. For at that time the United States, by the words of its Chief Executive, announced to the world that the day of aggression, the day of advantage taking, was gone, and could no longer obtain condonation. Emancipation for the small nations was his keynote.

Referring to President Wilson's statement at Mobile, President Roosevelt said in 1933:

It therefore has seemed clear to me as President that the time has come to supplement and to implement the declaration of President Wilson by the further declaration

that the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention. The maintenance of constitutional government in other nations is not a sacred obligation devolving upon the United States alone. The maintenance of law and the orderly processes of government in this hemisphere is the concern of each individual nation within its own borders first of all. It is only if and when the failure of orderly processes affects the other nations of the continent that it becomes their concern; and the point to stress is that in such an event it becomes the joint concern of a whole continent in which we are all neighbors.

From that time on the Monroe Doctrine ceased to be a unilateral affair. It became a multilateral understanding, and from that day on it has moved more and more into that sphere.

This Nation follows neither a policy of conquest or imperialism, nor does it condone such a policy on the part of other large nations. The straightforward manner in which this Nation honored its agreement with the Philippines to assist in establishment of independence definitely militates against the possible supposition of an imperialistic policy.

There need be no suggestion of exploitation with regard to this proposal to extend economic aid to Greece. Nor should there be the insinuation that this Nation will thereby shoulder the burden of furthering the imperialistic policy of Great Britain. Both ideas are in derogation of this Nation's consistent policy. But it is quite consistent with the policy of this Nation to go to the aid of a smaller nation, to lend its aid in enabling that nation to maintain its political independence by solidifying its economic position. This is America at her very best. The nations of the world are neighbors today, and much more so now than in the time of President Taft we are the international trustees of the prosperity we have and the power we enjoy. We cannot make the world over, but we can advance that which is in the American interest whenever it is our right or our privilege to do so.

Mr. President, the good-neighbor policy, based upon the fundamental theories of the Monroe Doctrine, is not an affair which merely extends north and south; it is a policy which ultimately and actually extends east and west as well.

In relation to the feelings of our country toward the areas of Europe and Asia in which we have now become so interested, it is well worth while to emphasize what the Senator from Texas so well pointed out yesterday—that our action in going to the aid of Greece can be a new light on the road to the coming of a better world.

It is interesting also to note, in connection with what I said in the first part of my remarks, that if we separate, instead of mixing up the words "Russia," "communism," "single will," "proletarian dictatorship," and so forth, and confine ourselves to the real matters to be discussed, it is interesting to note how old the rivalry has been around the eastern part of the Mediterranean. We are all, of course, familiar with what Napoleon said about that section of the world, and I think everyone who has read a textbook on history and the conflict of nations

realizes what it would mean if these states could not survive as independent entities.

I have said at other times, and I said at the beginning of these remarks, that I do not think our action in going to the aid of Greece and in giving aid to Turkey means the assumption of the responsibilities of any other nation. It does not mean the continuation, through adoption and use, of any policy practiced by any other nation. My whole thesis in this discussion has been devoted to showing that that which we are doing is consistent with what has been American policy from the very beginning and will remain American policy so long as we have America.

Mr. President, I ask permission to have inserted in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a statement concerning rivalry between Russia, Greece, and Turkey in the 1840's and the 1850's.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RUSSIA, GREECE, AND TURKEY (1840-50)

When the western powers, under the influence of Canning, intervened on behalf of Greece in 1827 Russia proposed that, instead of creating one free Greece there should be created a number of independent Greek provinces—a proposal to which Canning replied: "The support of this country should never be given to any scheme for disposing of the Greeks without their consent."¹

In 1833 Czar Nicholas I favored Greece as a possible heir to the European possessions of Turkey, although he was far from wishing a sudden dissolution of the Turkish Empire. "The Turkish Empire," said Nicholas to the Austrian Ambassador Count Ficquelmont on February 18, 1833, succeeded to the Greek Empire by means of conquest. Its roots do not go deep; the populations of the provinces of the old Greek Empire, even on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, are mostly Christian. When the Turkish Empire destroys itself by its own incapacity, why should we not try and reestablish a Greek Empire? There are the beginnings of a Greek state. I do not know King Otto; I do not know if he is able to support such a destiny. I see for my part nothing better to do." The Greek Empire was presumably to include the small kingdom of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and both shores of the Bosphorus.²

By 1840 Greece was abandoned by the Czar. His attitude in the forties to Greece and Turkey was best expressed in his conversation with Lord Aberdeen in 1844 during the Czar's visit to London. Nicholas said: "Turkey must fall to pieces. Nesselrode denies this, but I for my part am fully convinced of it. We cannot preserve its existence, no matter how hard we try. I do not want a single inch of Turkish soil, but I shall not permit any power to alienate Turkish territory. Among the powers there are only two which are able to play a truly tutelary role: Those bordering on Turkey. I do not want Constantinople. But if the Ottoman throne falls by its own fault, if it succumbs as a result of its lack of vitality, in a word, if the empire is dissolved, never shall I permit Constantinople to fall into the hands of England or France. Nor would I favor the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire. It is Austria which, in the general interest, must fall heir to European Turkey. If the English, French, or any others wish to take Constantinople I will expel them; and I do not

think expulsion would be a hazard, for I would be on the ground before either of these forces. Once in Constantinople I shall never leave!"³

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. There was another time when Russia again figured in the economy of nations and in a conflict to which we were a party.

I have pointed out time and time again, and I now repeat that what I am saying is about Russia, not about communism, not about the "single will" theory of the state, or anything of the kind. Russia has a foreign policy which is based upon the position of Russia in the world. That policy of a nation with the population of 190,000,000 will find its ultimate fulfillment as surely as the policy of other great nations have found fulfillment. We cannot stop the destiny of 190,000,000 people, in trying to find a place for themselves in the sun.

I repeat what I said in committee, and it must never be lost sight of that until World War II, Russia—and I am talking about Russia, not about communism, not about the "single will," not about Stalinism or Leninism—has not won a war for more than a hundred years. All the previous wars resulted in what Russia deemed an unjust peace. She has been hedged around. She has sought a place in the sun. She has wanted an outlet into the Atlantic, an outlet into the Mediterranean, an outlet into the Indian Ocean, and an outlet into the Pacific Ocean. She has been deprived of all those things. It was glibly stated by French authorities when the League of Nations was set up that it was a League against Russia. The plan of French alliances was aimed to stop Russia. Japan was given her place after the last war, very much along the same principle, although Russia herself had collapsed. Russia did not have the outlet into the Atlantic, the outlet into the Mediterranean, the outlet into the Pacific, or the outlet into the Indian Ocean.

In World War II, Russia is a victor, one of the greatest victors from the standpoint of accomplishing things, throwing off bonds, and allowing herself "elbow room," as she would call it. She has won the greatest victory of all victories. Ultimately, therefore, Russia will be in the Pacific, or have access to it; she will have free access to the Mediterranean, she will have free access to the Atlantic. She will be a party to an arrangement, which must be had, that will enable her to get into the Indian Ocean.

The day of buffer states is gone. The day of drawing up anti-Comintern pacts or their equivalent is gone. The notion of bottling up nations is gone, even if it should be attempted by military force or by agreement. It cannot be done now because Russia has two great allies, allies which know no boundaries.

Her concept of communism, which thrives upon distress, and upon conditions which grow, as they always have and always will, whenever the four horsemen are loosed upon the earth. So her objectives will be accomplished in one way or another. She has been rec-

ognized as an equal by all the nations of the world, and responsibilities must be placed upon her.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have insert in the RECORD at this point a statement prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, showing Theodore Roosevelt's attitude toward Russia and Japan during the Russo-Japanese War 1904-05. I think the statement has a bearing upon what we are discussing today. The day of choosing sides merely for the purpose of talking is gone. The day has come when we must stand for principles because they are a part of life, a part of our national experience. In order to illustrate my point, I ask that the words of Theodore Roosevelt, as contained in the statement I present, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD RUSSIA AND JAPAN DURING RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR, 1904-05

Prof. Edward H. Zabriskie, in his study "American-Russian Rivalry in the Far East, 1895-1914" (Philadelphia, 1946), calls the American policy during the Russo-Japanese war 1904-05, "Roosevelt's policy of balanced antagonisms."

In a letter to Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, dated December 27, 1904, Roosevelt expressed freely his unflattering opinion of the Russians and his doubts of the Japanese. "Russia, for a number of years," he wrote, "has treated the United States as badly as she had treated England, and almost as badly as she has treated Japan. Her diplomatists fled to us with brazen and contemptuous effrontery, and showed with cynical indifference their intention to organize China against our interest. * * * I should have liked to be friendly with her; but she simply would not permit it." * * * "The Japanese, as a government, treated us well. * * * But I wish I were certain that the Japanese at bottom did not lump Russians, English, Americans, Germans, all of us, simply as white devils inferior to themselves * * * to be treated politely only so long as would enable the Japanese to take advantage of our various national jealousies, and beat us in turn * * *." Roosevelt, summing up the matter at the end of the letter, decided the course for the United States was "to trust in the Lord and keep our powder dry and our eyes open."

However vigorous President Roosevelt was, especially in the early stages of hostilities, in expression of both his official and unofficial anti-Russian bias, he at no time favored Japanese predominance in Manchuria. His purpose, as shown at an early stage of the war, was to give Japan a free hand in Korea, to render her assistance, both morally and financially, in her fight to loosen the clutch of Russia in Manchuria, with its menace to American commercial and industrial interests, to prolong the war for a sufficient length of time to exhaust both Russia and Japan, and to leave a weakened Russia and a strengthened Japan facing each other at the end of the war, thereby equalizing the Manchurian balance of power.

In a conversation held with the German Ambassador von Sternburg on March 21, 1904, during the second month of the war, Roosevelt, as reported by the Ambassador, stated that "it is to our interest that the war between Russia and Japan should drag on, so that both powers may exhaust themselves as much as possible and that their geographic areas of friction should not be eliminated after the conclusion of peace; and that, as

¹ G. F. Abbot, Turkey, Greece, and the Great Powers, London, 1916, p. 333.

² Harold Temperley, England and the Near East, London, 1936, pp. 68-69.

³ Vernon John Puryear, England, Russia, and the Straits Question, 1844-56, Berkeley, 1931, pp. 48-49.

regards the limits of their spheres of influence they should remain opposed to each other in the same way as they were before the war. This will keep them on a war footing and reduce their appetite for other territories."

During the war Roosevelt's attitude toward Russia and Japan underwent several changes. At the beginning of the war Roosevelt's sympathies were with Japan. "Between ourselves—for you must not breathe it to anybody," he wrote to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., on February 10, 1904, "I was thoroughly well pleased with the Japanese victory, for Japan is playing our game."

Later in the war, when the balance of power which Roosevelt sought in the Far East was threatened by the sweeping Japanese victories, his sympathies shifted somewhat to Russia. He considered the "complete exclusion of Russia from the Pacific Ocean most undesirable in general, and particularly unwelcome to the United States." He was ready for the war to end and accepted the role of a peace-maker.

However, on August 29, 1905, the day of the final session of the Portsmouth Conference, he wrote to W. W. Rockhill: "I was pro-Japanese, but after my experience with the Peace Commissioners I am far stronger pro-Japanese than ever."

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I repeat what I said previously respecting the dilemma in which America finds herself. The American dilemma today is that we find ourselves standing as the leader of the democratic forces of the world, and also as one of the chief architects of an imposing international structure intended as the bulwark of peace. In this structure the opposing systems of democratic and totalitarian systems are supposed to work together. The clash of these opposing systems is the chief source of weakness in the foundation we are helping to build for the United Nations Organization.

But because the United Nations Organization is young and weak is not an excuse for using it as a refuge for isolationistic thinking. It is intended only as the working ground for the internationalist. At the present time, however, the issue raised over the proposal to extend economic aid to Greece demonstrates that it is not enough for us to belong to the United Nations and to participate in furthering the purpose of that organization. Our future in the world neighborhood is dependent in large part on the proper functioning of the United Nations Organization, but our membership therein need not preclude our continuing to act as an individual Nation at a proper time and for a proper cause.

We are in a period of profound struggle. A serious contest of ideas is being promoted by apparently incompatible systems of government. However, these clashing forces have never met before. If we were to convince ourselves that the struggle we are now engaged in is the only kind of war we are going to fight for years to come we could adapt ourselves better for taking it in our stride and give greater effect to the work for peace.

We in the United States may be too much afraid of communism, Russia, and war—in the sense that too much fear usually inspires misdirected thinking and unwise action. Today, more than

ever before, we need careful thinking to make our determined course of action proper in the national interest, which must be coincident with propriety in the international interest.

To repeat, Mr. President, the world is still at war. There has not been a single treaty consummated. We are passing through the aftermath of the shooting war and into the midst of the talking and ideological-conflict war. American unity is, therefore, the prime necessity. To fail to follow the leadership of our President at this time would be a backward step for America to take. What we do must be done in accordance with American policy. Ideological controversy is probably the most striking.

According to one Communist, the progress of America in her one-hundred-and-sixty-odd years of growth, was too rapid for stability. Yet he speaks of a new measure of time of which the world must become conscious; thousands of years must be seen as an hour or two in the new "rhythm of time." At the same time, he speaks of the history of Russia as having covered a hundred years in the last decade or two in her efforts to catch up with the advancement of America and the rest of the Western World. He says that during this period Russia not only caught up with America and the western civilization but also developed the technique which will eventually pervade the whole earth and bring world stability, but that this stability will only be brought about through the processes of another war, the constructive war, which according to him, we must now prepare ourselves to execute. Those are the words of the most idealistic writer I know of concerning the present mission of communism in the world. Can it be forgotten so soon that the world has already fought one war to end wars, only to be followed by another war within a single generation, a war instigated and waged by an ideology permitting the domination of a single will.

There can be no peace and stability in the world unless there is a desire for peace and stability in the hearts and minds of men. There can be no peace unless there is faith in the ideal of peace. There can be no peace unless there is faith in the human race that it has the potentiality and ability through proper education and development of ideals to produce a whole world-citizenry with a social conscience. A faith which admits that necessity is its only law is nothing more nor less than the old forced salvation idea, which, from the beginning of time, has been the great provocator of war; it is nothing more than the means for the establishment of the single will, of which the world so recently grew weary. Faith in mankind based upon the power of the machine leaves the spirit of man cold, and that thing we call the milk of human kindness will be skimmed to a very pale hue under its influence. What is the difference between the caste mentality and caste spirit of India, and the mass mentality and mass spirit idea of Russia, if individualism in the mass mentality and mass spirit is denied expression. Limitations, other

than those endowed by nature, would remain the same. Single-will dominance will always prevail until mankind, individually and collectively, learns the technique of molding many wills into a single wish. That is the theory upon which our Government operates—liberation, and then understanding.

The process of deliberation and discussion which brought into existence the greatest country in the world, uniting 48 small States into one great unit, creating a peace-loving nation, a country sought as a haven for the oppressed peoples of the earth, a nation abhorring war since its inception, yet a nation which surprised the world with her ability and speed to wage a successful war against an aggressor enemy, is decried by Communists because they claim that such a process is too far removed from human misery and hardships. Yet, through this process, America established the highest living standards for the greatest number of people anywhere in the world. America does not yet claim to have reached her zenith in growth and development, but history gives us America as the classic example of a land where men have worked out a technique of living in peace with one another. Differences we have it is true, but at least one does not see tanks in our streets, nor their design for immediate production in our factories, nor does one hear the roar of gunfire the day after an election to obliterate the man who had the strength of his convictions.

To say that idealism has no place in human affairs, that we are weary of dreamers and idealists, is not only folly but stops short any hope for a better race. If America had ignored the force of idealism we would have still been chasing individual Japanese in foxholes and burning them up man by man, and we would never have obtained a surrender from Japan. That is, surrender definitely came as a result of the recognition of the fact that they, as a nation, were bad in having forsaken their past ideals in becoming followers of false leaders. Surrender in Japan, despite the fact that the Emperor said it came as a result of the atomic bomb, could never have come without the unity of the autonomous generals in the field. It came about through our efforts in psychological warfare, constantly sending radio messages to the people of Japan themselves, giving them the truth about themselves—that they had betrayed their heritage in their adoption of apostate leaders.

As I see it, we are indeed staying with first principles, probably returning to basic American theory; rushing, as it were, to the defense of democratic freedom and for the preservation of dollar democracy in the world. Liberty without property is a vain hope. To have and to hold are the bases of true liberty. There may be a mingling of political thought and economic theory, but it is a healthful mingling. From it all the earth may have a new baptism of freedom. In this battle we must win. Freedom, liberty, and private property are the stakes. America, therefore, cannot

stand by without going back on her destined leadership in the world.

Mr. LODGE obtained the floor.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hayden	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	O'Daniel
Ball	Hill	O'Mahoney
Bricker	Hoey	Pepper
Bridges	Holland	Reed
Brooks	Ives	Revercomb
Buck	Jenner	Robertson, Va.
Bushfield	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson, Wyo.
Butler	Johnston, S. C.	Saltonstall
Byrd	Kem	Smith
Cain	Knowland	Stewart
Capehart	Langer	Taft
Capper	Lodge	Taylor
Chavez	Lucas	Thomas, Okla.
Connally	McCarran	Thomas, Utah
Cooper	McCarthy	Thye
Cordon	McClellan	Tobey
Donnell	McFarland	Tydings
Downey	McKellar	Umstead
Dworshak	Malone	Vandenberg
Eastland	Martin	Watkins
Eaton	Maybank	Wherry
Ellender	Millikin	White
Flanders	Moore	Wiley
Fulbright	Morse	Williams
George	Murray	Wilson
Hawkes	Myers	Young

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-one Senators have answered to their names. A quorum is present.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, I should like to take a few minutes of the time of the Senate to say a very few words in order to keep the record clear, because I think if we are going to clarify this question, we must all mean the same thing when we use certain words.

I have noted that there seems to be a good deal of confusion about the word "military." I have heard some Senators in the last few days tell us they favor relief aid to Greece but that they are opposed to military aid, as though relief aid is necessarily good but when it has the word "military" in it, it is necessarily bad.

So I think we must have an understanding as to what we mean by the word "military." If by that word we mean the setting up of a force consisting of large units which are capable of undertaking combat operations on an international scale, we mean something which can be very dangerous indeed. But if, on the other hand, by the words "military aid" we mean the equipping of Greek personnel, which is equivalent to a constabulary, so that it can keep order, put down banditry, prevent highway robbery, and other forms of illicit interference with vital communications, and patrol the borders, we mean something beneficial and, incidentally, something without which no relief at all is possible.

It is my understanding that the military aid to Greece which is contemplated in this bill consists entirely of furnishing equipment to the Greek Army and teaching them how to use it—largely a supply function. I understand that there is no training whatever in the accepted sense of the word "military"—no maneu-

vers, no field exercises, no tactical problems, and nothing which in any way suggests large units or combat operations. When we see a group of uniformed men armed with pistols or rifles going down the road in an armored car, we are undoubtedly seeing a military activity. But if those men are protecting a convoy which is bringing milk and other food-stuffs to women and children, we are seeing something beneficial. On the other hand, if they are the advance elements of a battalion engaged in hostile activities, then we are seeing something entirely different.

Secretary Patterson, in his statement to the committee on March 24, pointed out, for one thing, that about one-half of the Greek requirements would consist of civilian type supplies. He stated:

The proposed assistance will enable the Greek Government to procure equipment and supplies not obtainable in their own country, as well as assistance in the training and instruction of key personnel in operation and maintenance of equipment so procured. The material required is principally repairs and gasoline for airplanes, weapons and ammunition, vehicles and fuel, clothing and food. In money value, weapons and ammunition account for about one-third; vehicles, fuel, clothing, and food for another one-third; the balance would go for such items as engineering supplies, communications equipment (such as radios, telephones, and wire), mules and horses for use in the mountains, and miscellaneous supplies.

To be specific, when it comes to training, our American military personnel in Greece will instruct the Greeks largely in the use of signal equipment—"the walkie-talkie" and all other types of radio equipment, which, as all who have been in the service know, is usually the most complicated thing that the soldier has to learn. It would be my guess that three-fourths of their time would be taken up with that kind of instruction.

There may be some instruction, of course, in maintenance of vehicles and in the mechanical handling of weapons.

So far as the Navy is concerned, Secretary Forrestal, on the same day, said this:

As regards Greece, preliminary departmental studies based on the limited information now available indicate that Greek naval needs will consist principally of certain types of amphibious vessels such as tank landing ships, personnel boats, tugs, and other minor craft. There also appears to be a requirement for minesweepers and mine-sweeping gear to sweep mines from coastal waters to clear the way for coastal shipping needed to support the Greek economy.

It is perfectly evident from that quotation that there is nothing at all in such a naval contribution which could in any way involve offensive operations of any kind. It would be purely supplementary to the constabulary activity which is what we mean when we talk about military aid in connection with Greece.

We can, therefore, safely conclude that there is nothing whatever in this bill which involves the United States in combat operations in Greece or which by any stretch of the imagination could put Greece in a position to undertake offensive international action.

Now let us consider Turkey for a moment. In the case of Turkey also a great

part of the American contribution will be in civilian type supplies, such as transportation equipment, telephone and road-building equipment, and materials for the improvement of railway and port facilities. All those things have military value, but they also have economic and general value. Some weapons which are surplus over here, such as anti-aircraft artillery, may be made available; but, of course, none of that can possibly be construed as American participation in the formation of large units trained for offensive combat operations on an international scale.

Mr. President, I have already made a general statement on this subject, so I shall not further detain the Senate by another general statement at this time, particularly in view of the fact that the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has covered the subject so admirably and so completely. But I wish to point out that we always run into trouble whenever in considering international policies we try to draw a sharp line between what is political and what is military. It is like trying to cut a pail of water in two with a knife, because the fact is that the two factors are constantly merging. There were times in the Army when I felt strongly that our professional soldiers were not sufficiently aware of this inter-relationship and tried constantly to treat the military as something utterly separated and unrelated.

I remember an instance during the war which illustrates this point. An order had been given to fall back, and one of our ablest staff officers had proceeded to draw on the map the exact line to which the troops were to withdraw. The line was drawn in accordance with the best military thought, taking advantage of natural obstacles, winding along rivers, using the cover of forests, the high ground afforded by mountains, and the strong holding positions made possible by using defiles and mountain passes. Another officer, one who was much less well informed from a military standpoint, watched the line being drawn on the map, and noticed that a withdrawal to that line meant that a great and famous city which had been conquered a few weeks earlier would have to be abandoned to the enemy. That city was a symbol to the French people, who for years, when Germany occupied it, bemoaned its loss. It was also somewhat of a symbol in the reverse sense to Germany. For the Germans to reenter that city would have far-reaching effects in depressing French morale and in reviving German spirit—all of which would be damaging to the Allied cause. When that was pointed out to the professional staff officer who was drawing the line, he remarked that those were political considerations which should not have a place in a decision of that character; that he knew what the best defensive line was; that he had selected it on the map; that for us not to evacuate the famous city would leave a difficult salient, and so forth, and so forth.

That was an instance in which the political and military factors were merged. If the city had been allowed to revert to the Germans, incalculable military

harm would have been done. The general, a wise man, decided to hold the city. A few weeks later the advance began and was never stopped.

It is true, of course, that the pending bill is not an ordinary relief bill. It is not a bill for economic revival. I think that "strategic" is as good a word as any to describe it, if we had to describe it in one word.

It is undoubtedly not the last action of its kind which we may be called upon to take. We shall have to meet future challenges to our security as they arise; and I trust that we shall not only have the intelligence and the ability to do so, but that we shall also have the material resources which are necessary to preserve our national existence in this troubled world. We are already a "have not" nation in many important respects. Our wealth and our power are not inexhaustible, and we must husband our resources.

Our President pro tempore, the able Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] was wholly right, in my opinion when he said that this action does not constitute a new doctrine, in the sense of the doctrine enunciated by President Monroe. In this country we have always been interested in our own self-preservation, just as we have always been interested in bringing about conditions in which all nations can live their lives in peace and freedom, or, as the President said in his message, "a life free from coercion."

After all, Mr. President, I am speaking of the Mediterranean. The marines landed at Derna, in Libya, in 1805. So there is nothing alarmingly new about the pending proposal. It is one thing, however, to proclaim these purposes; it is another thing to serve them intelligently.

I hope that in the future we shall not be caught by surprise and forced into action without enough time for full deliberation.

I trust that our American diplomats will not interpret this policy as meaning that the United States automatically joins and supports any force in Europe, no matter how degraded or squalid it may be, provided only that it is anti-communist, because, very frankly, Mr. President, these elements are often just as obnoxious—although from another standpoint—as the communists themselves. We would certainly be doing our country a very bad turn indeed if we were to get it lined up with the forces of European reaction whose cynicism, intellectual brutality and indifference to human values is as great as that of the Communists.

Mr. President, I think Americans must always be "pro" rather than "anti." We are a constructive people. That is how we have achieved what we have achieved, and we must always approach foreign problems in a constructive spirit.

Finally, I hope that in the future we will seek to achieve permanent results by our expenditure of money and effort as the result of forethought and far-reaching plans, and not be constantly surprised by a succession of expensive rescue parties in which we simply pour

money down a rat hole and achieve no basic improvement. For example, I believe that in western Europe there are many people who would like to see some sort of integration among the nations of that unhappy region. There are some who would undoubtedly go as far as the Senator from Arkansas who, in his able speech, came out categorically for a United States of Europe. There are surely many more who would favor a less overt and comprehensive type of integration.

It would be my hope that, without, of course, forcing anything, our good offices could be used to encourage such a step, without which no basic revival of economic life in Europe is possible. I give that as an illustration of how we might achieve concrete gains as a result of our effort, and not merely throw good money after bad. There is not sufficient money in the world, and there is certainly not sufficient money in the United States, to pursue such a course.

By being foresighted, and by keeping ourselves strong, we can have some real hope for the future.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will my colleague yield?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to ask my colleague one question which I have been very anxious to ask some member of the Committee on Foreign Relations. At this time, as my colleague has just stated, the Members of the Congress, and perhaps the people of the country, have been caught by surprise at the speed of the action of our President. One reason, and a very fundamental reason, which influences me in voting for the pending bill, as I expect to do, is that it will maintain the prestige of our country in the eyes of the other nations of the world.

My question is, Is there any method, either formal or informal, by which it is possible for individual Members of Congress to discuss with those in authority in the executive branch such a question as that now before the Senate before, so to speak, it is sprung on the Congress?

This is not a question of declaring war, it is a question of action in peacetime, and it seems to me that it would be far wiser for the Executive, if it were possible, in some way, formally or informally, to get the advice of leading Members of Congress before action is taken.

I should like to ask my colleague if that question was discussed at all in the committee, or if he has any opinion as to how such a course could be followed?

Mr. LODGE. I think that question has been discussed a great deal. I believe there is a general feeling that in situations affecting foreign policy we in Congress are often placed on the horns of a dilemma, and have only one of two choices, either to go along and support the President, or to repudiate him before the whole world—and the latter, of course, to me is unthinkable.

Mr. President, I have never liked to see this country or its representatives in a position where they have only two alternatives. I think that is one of the vices inherent in the European condi-

tions, namely, that nations there can go in only two directions. It is like troops caught in a tunnel. They can go forward or back, and the machine guns will get them whichever end they come out. In this country we can go around, or in any other way we wish. My colleague has put his finger on an important point. It is not satisfactory for us to be on the horns of a dilemma, as I think we are somewhat in this case.

While I am not well-advised on this point, I think the President might well take into his confidence the senior Members of this body, and I think he has done so in some cases; indeed, it is a matter of public knowledge that that has been done in many cases. I share my colleague's hope that it will be done, and that the American people will be left as much freedom of action as possible.

Mr. LUCAS and Mr. COOPER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Massachusetts yield, and if so, to whom?

Mr. LODGE. I yield first to the Senator from Illinois. Then I shall yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. LUCAS. Before I propound my inquiry to the able Senator, I desire to congratulate him on going into the military and naval phases of the bill, because there is no Member of the Senate who is better qualified to discuss those two features than is the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. LODGE. I thank the Senator from Illinois very much.

Mr. LUCAS. As I understand, one condition that exists today is that Great Britain has between ten and fifteen thousand troops in Greece at the present time. Under the program laid down by Great Britain, she being unable financially to rehabilitate herself, as I understand, she will soon withdraw all those troops. Does the Senator understand that to be the proposal?

Mr. LODGE. That is the plan.

Mr. LUCAS. The British have had at least ten or fifteen thousand troops, and probably more, in Greece since the war closed in Europe, and she had them there for a purpose. Great Britain proposes now to recall those troops from Greece, and what we are proposing is to send 40 or 50 or 100 technicians to take the place of all those troops. Is that what the able Senator understands the situation to be?

Mr. LODGE. Broadly, yes. The plan is that the Greeks themselves shall take over the burden of keeping order.

Mr. LUCAS. That is correct; the Greeks do have an army at the present time, and all we propose to do is to give the Greek Army certain military equipment which will aid them in keeping order in Greece.

Mr. LODGE. I think that is correct.

Mr. LUCAS. The point I wish to reiterate, and which I think exceedingly important, is this: Great Britain has had her soldiers in Greece before and since the close of the war. Russia has never protested, at least so far as I know. Now we do not propose to send any combat troops into Greece to take the places of British combat soldiers who are now

there, but all we propose to do is to supply certain military equipment to Greece, and to send certain technicians there to see that the military equipment is properly operated and understood, so that if we should send a tank some inept soldier would not drive it into a tree or into a creek.

Mr. LODGE. As a matter of fact, I do not think it is planned to send any tanks.

Mr. LUCAS. I merely used that as an example.

Mr. LODGE. I think the largest weapon planned to be sent in is mortars, but of course the Greeks will need some instruction as to the manipulation of those weapons, otherwise they will be blowing their own hands off.

Mr. LUCAS. I agree with the Senator, and I used the tank only as an example. I do not know what is to be sent to Greece, but if whatever is sent there is new and modern, and the Greek soldier does not know anything about the use of such equipment, it would obviously be foolish to send it without at the same time sending someone to provide instruction as to how to use it.

Mr. LODGE. Most of the training is going to be in radio. I do not know whether the Senator comes to the Senate Office Building in the morning in a cab equipped with a radio. Of course, radio installation is very useful to a police force, constabulary, or any military group that is trying to put down a disturbance of the peace. Most of the training is to be in radio.

Mr. LUCAS. I thank the Senator for his last contribution. I was not certain exactly as to the purpose for which the technicians were to be used. I want to emphasize as strongly as I can that we are sending a very few men, and no combat troops, and that as we send technicians into Greece to operate the new military equipment, the British are at the same time withdrawing at least 10,000 or 15,000 combat troops that have been there from the beginning, and that during all of this time I have never heard Russia make one protest because of the presence of British troops.

I do not view this as many people do. In my opinion, it is not at all a step toward war. In my humble opinion, it is a step toward peace. What is the alternative if this step is not taken? The alternative is to permit, not Russia, perhaps, but communism, let us say, to go into Greece and Turkey, and allow Greece and Turkey to sink in the communistic mire. When they do that all of Europe and Asia will go down with them.

Mr. LODGE. I thank the Senator. I think he has made a good point about the withdrawal of the British troops.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President—

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator from Kentucky.

Mr. COOPER. I should like to say that I have great respect for the opinion of the Senator from Massachusetts, because his opinion is based not only upon study but upon his personal experience with these people while he was in the military service and his knowledge of their countries. I was greatly interested in the statement made by the Senator, which seems to me to have been unique in this

debate. As I have heard the speeches made, it seems to me that in nearly every speech it has been said that there is a possibility of achieving democratic stability and democratic government because of achieving economic stability. I think I just heard the Senator say that in the long run there is not much possibility of achieving economic stability without achieving democratic stability. I believe there is a great danger that any money spent will go down the rat hole unless there is the possibility that democratic stability will be achieved.

I should like to ask the Senator, from his own experience and study, and from his own knowledge of these countries and his service with their people during the war, and from the hearings which have been had, if he is convinced that in Greece there is a real desire and a real effort on the part of the people and of the government to work toward and to achieve democratic stability and democratic institutions?

Mr. LODGE. I believe there is a real desire to create conditions under which a certain minimum standard of decent living will be possible. Of course, a country which has been completely ruined, as Greece was by the Germans, with all its bridges out and every conceivable installation destroyed and its people hungry, it not at first going to be so much interested in democracy or in the niceties of life as in trying to grab something to eat, and there will be a dog-eat-dog attitude. So the first thing to be done in order to make democracy possible is to bring about such a state of things that the people will be able to obtain food.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that, but I understood that in the course of his remarks the Senator also argued that as another condition there must be an underlying desire and effort to achieve democratic institutions.

Mr. LODGE. Yes, I think that is so, and I believe we must try to use our good offices to promote that desire. I was referring particularly to the crazy quilt of Europe, all the countries speaking different languages and hating one another, which has already caused World War I and World War II. Like one who in rebuilding an old tenement house constructs the same kind of firetrap, we run the risk of the same old fire if we do not try to work with the people in Europe who are undertaking at least to break down the economic walls and to bring about a measure of unity which will enable them to have an economic life that may possibly support them. If that is not done, then we shall be pouring money down a rat hole, in my opinion.

Mr. COOPER. Then, let me ask the Senator another question. From evidence which came before the committee in the course of the hearings, does the Senator have any assurance that the people of Greece and the Government of Greece actually desire and are working toward a live democratic institution?

Mr. LODGE. We heard our Ambassador to Greece, we heard some other very well-qualified witnesses, and I think I report correctly when I say they gave me the impression that the Greeks

would like to work toward that end. They cannot do it alone. They cannot even organize. If we were merely to supply the goods, the personnel of those countries has been so decimated that they could hardly organize delivery. They want our help, but I am convinced that they do want to move in the direction of the kind of living we have here, where there is respect for individual rights and respect for the integrity of the human being. I think they want to move in that direction.

Mr. COOPER. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. I think the Senator will agree with me that the evidence shows that those who were in charge of the elections in Greece last year have said definitely that in their opinion the elections which resulted in the installation of the present regime were free elections. But, be that as it may, the Senator knows, as everyone else knows, that liberty was practically born in Greece. She has been a liberty-loving country throughout the ages, and if there is any place in the world outside the United States of America where it would be possible to build a democracy, in my humble opinion, it is Greece. All the Greeks want is the opportunity to go forward again, to rehabilitate their condition. As the able Senator has said, those who have been in Greece know what the Nazi army did to Greece and to her economy and her transportation system, in fact, to her way of life. She is struggling to get on her feet and to become a democracy again. It is my humble opinion that if the Greek people can have the opportunity to rehabilitate themselves through the medium of this proposed loan, administered under American supervision, they will again move forward along the path of liberty and democracy according to American ideas of those terms.

Mr. LODGE. I think that is an interesting observation. I shall not say anything either in extenuation or in derogation of the present regime in Greece, but I certainly agree with what the Senator says about the Greek people. In the population of Massachusetts there are many who were born in Greece. I know some of them very well. I have great faith in their love of liberty and love of democracy and in the high price they set on human rights. I have noticed that in the Old World when a country has experienced the horrors of a dreadful war, with its destruction, devastation, and death, inevitably there ensue poverty and bitterness, and the country is quickly split up into two factions, neither of which gives one a great deal about which to enthuse; but as things get better, the constructive forces of the community usually get under way. I hope that will happen in this instance.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to my colleague.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like to ask my colleague one other question which perhaps may have already been

answered. As a member of the committee, who listened to the testimony before the committee, does my colleague entertain any feeling that there is involved a moral or an implied commitment to afford military or economic or any other kind of aid to any other country in any other section of the world, if we now commit ourselves to extend assistance to Greece and Turkey? In other words, will not each case be considered by itself afresh?

Mr. LODGE. Certainly there is no commitment at all to go outside the terms of the bill, and I do not think there are any hidden meanings in the bill. Every Senator must decide for himself, but so far as I am concerned this particular case stands on its own merits, and other cases that come along will have to stand or fall on their own merits. That has been our policy right along.

Take the question of military missions. We have sent military missions to Latin America, to the Philippines, and to China. We have not made any classification of places or areas where we would or where we would not send them. I think that is the realistic, intelligent way to go about it.

So far as I am concerned, this is not a doctrine in the sense of the Monroe Doctrine at all. This is a continuation of our effort toward self-preservation, a continuation of our effort to help create world conditions in which people who respect the Christian concept of the dignity of man will have a chance to live.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I plan to vote for the loans to Greece and Turkey. They can be and should be effective in pushing the possibility of war farther and farther away. Those who deny the possibility of war are living in a dream world—a dream world from which twice within the memory of every man on the floor of this House we have had rude awakenings. We must not dream again. We must keep awake. We must be alertly awake. We must be actively awake. The proposal we are considering requires alertness and gives an opportunity for highly useful activity.

While the loans will have my vote—and I believe a vote of the majority of my fellow Members of the Senate—the support which we give them should not be uncritical. Our restraining doubts and our hopeful suggestions should, both of them, be fully expressed. Not to express them would be unfair to the Chief Executive who, by our Constitution, is charged with the conduct of our foreign relations. Should he fail properly to estimate the temper and state of opinion of the legislative branches of the Government, he might well find himself at some point asking for authority which would be denied him. That is the negative service rendered by a free expression of opinion on this floor. In addition, there is the positive service which can be given to the future development of policy by the expression here of divergent opinions derived from wide ranges of experience.

The administration does initiate and execute foreign policy. For much of that foreign policy responsibility is shared with the Senate. At other policy levels

the responsibility is shared with both Houses of the Congress. While recognizing this I, for one, find it difficult to go all the way with the senior Senator from Michigan in his masterly presentation of this undertaking to the Senate 2 days ago. If I understood him correctly, he was suggesting a degree of subservience to administrative policy which was almost complete. He compared this particular situation with a request from the President that the Congress vote a declaration of war.

I submit that the two situations are not the same. A declaration of war comes after a long series of events of which the public has been continuously kept apprised. More and more the whole mass of citizens of the Nation have seen the inevitability of war in advance of the declaration. In our most recent declaration the steady build-up of public support was given a sudden definiteness by the event of Pearl Harbor. That crystallized a sentiment which already was becoming more and more definite.

This situation is different. We are embarking on a long, new adventure. We have set out to achieve peace actively, rather than enjoy it passively and precariously. We must shed on this long, new adventure every ray of light which can be gathered from every source. Those rays of light must be directed onto the dim, difficult path which lies ahead.

What is the situation we face? Putting it briefly, we are trying to halt the progress of a new totalitarian power bent on expanding its rule to the furthest limits possible and using communism as its principal means for so doing. This great power is telling its own people, and has been telling them for years past, that communism and free enterprise cannot live peacefully together on our globe. The limits of its expansionist ideals are the uttermost bounds of the earth.

Communism is not the primary enemy. It is only a tool for world domination; but it is a dangerous and effective tool. The possessor of this tool is seeking domination, so far as possible, by political rather than military means. Communism is the inexpensive, pervasive, destructive infection by which the great totalitarian power seeks to effect its ends.

Communism, as practiced by the great country of Russia, has undergone radical changes in the period between the two wars. It would not now, in fact, be recognized as communism by the old-time leaders who developed the doctrine. Old-time communism went out when Trotsky was banished from Russia. What is left is a national socialism of the type best adapted to military offense and defense. It is the ideal form of government for a militant nation.

What happened when Trotsky was exiled was shown by the experience in Russia of engineers employed by the company with which I was for many years connected until I resigned to take my seat on this floor. In the Trotsky-Lenin days our machine tools shipped into Russian plants were operated at an incredibly low degree of efficiency. Our engineers, sent over there to train Russian supervisors and workmen in their use, found that only a small per-

centage of the average workman's time was devoted to production. Every man in the plant was concerned with production but he had another important concern as well. He was a member of a committee which ran its part of an industrial establishment.

The problems of running such an establishment were very great. Decisions and policies had to be made by the workmen themselves. Hours of oratory and endless discussions were required for an agreement. Meantime the machinery stood idle.

Our men soon learned to use women operators on their machines. The women were patient, strong, and tireless. For generations they had listened to the endless conversations of their menfolks, while going about their work in the house or on the farm. They continued to go patiently on with their work in the factory, and were fully the intellectual equals of their more voluble mates.

Trotsky was exiled and conditions were changed. In an astonishingly short time the old industrial organization of Russia was reshuffled so that it was directed from the top. From the 5-year plan in Moscow the orders went out to the heads of different industries. From there they went to the individual production plants. From the head of each the word was passed down to superintendents, foremen, subforemen, and wage-earners. This is national socialism. It is more effective than the old communism. That old communism is retained for the export market and is not practiced at home.

Now let us look next at the situation in Greece. We have here a people who throughout their history have been willing to fight for their freedom. Their history is one which the world must admire, whether it be that of ancient times or the history of the last century and a half. The passion for freedom in Greece is a fierce passion.

Greece made, on our side of the war, proportionately greater sacrifices than those made by any other of our allies. She fought on her boundaries. She fought on her beaches. She fought on her plains. She fought from her rugged and inaccessible mountain ranges. She asked for and received no reward in new increases in territory. She fought for her own freedom and for the cause of freedom the world over.

The war ended and she found herself impoverished and disorganized. Much of her resistance had been underground in the cities and concealed in the ravines and caverns of the mountains. These groups, separated from each other, had hard work coming to a common understanding or working peacefully together with each other when freedom was achieved. There is nothing strange in this. It was the well-nigh universal experience in invaded and looted nations. A strong endeavor was made to find out the will of the people of Greece. Elections were held there about a year ago to choose a government which would bring internal peace and order. The elections were held by secret ballot under the administration of a foreign commission of which we were members. The

present Greek Government was elected by a large majority, with only the Communists refusing to vote.

Last fall a second election was held to determine whether the Government should operate as a republic or as a constitutional monarchy. The voting again revealed a heavy majority, and this time for the monarchy. In this election the Communists did not abstain. Much has been written and more has been said with regard to the fairness of this election. It was not held under the supervision of outsiders. It was held under the observation of other nationals. There are reports that the ballots were taken under conditions which rendered secrecy difficult. It is reported, for example, that voting for the monarchy could be done by making a simple mark, while the longer time required to write out an alternative form marked the voter as not having voted for the monarchy. It is also reported that the ballots were required to be put in envelopes, the walls of which were so nearly transparent that the will of the voter could be plainly observed. Yet with all of this, it is not unfair to assume that there was a strong sentiment for a constitutional monarchy.

It is not true that the people of Greece have had foisted upon them an undemocratic form of government. The form is democratic. The king reigns, but does not rule. It closely resembles the British model. So far as the form of government is concerned, the people of Greece can make it do anything which they agree on as being what they want.

The form does not assure the reality. Had the elections turned out in favor of a republic, the opportunity for that republic to become an oligarchical tyranny or a police-ridden and controlled state was just as possible—no less, no more—than is the case with the constitutional monarchy which was selected. Let us cast aside without hesitation the assumption that the form of the Greek Government precludes the freedom of the Greek people.

The trouble lies not in the form of government but in external and internal conditions which are the aftermath of the war.

Guerrillas infest the northern border—the mountainous range which separates the fertile fields of Macedonia from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. No one can doubt that these guerrillas are inspired by the Russian-dominated countries in their rear. There can be little doubt that they are financed and equipped by them. There can be little doubt that the intention is to disrupt the production of the most important agricultural region of the country and to extend the poverty and confusion which that country is suffering from, so that communism and its supporting great power may penetrate ever deeper and deeper into the unhappy lives of the Grecian people.

But there is another group of guerrillas who cannot so easily be classified as being supported and inspired from external sources. These bands control the central mountains. East of them are the plains of Thessaly, the only other rich agricultural region of the country. The evidence is that these bands are disaf-

fecting Greeks, not primarily or originally Communists but susceptible of becoming so. These bands are the remnants of irregular troops whom the whole combined might of Italy and Germany was unable to subdue throughout the long years of the war.

The endeavor to assimilate them has been put in military terms. That endeavor has reduced the democratic form of government of Greece to a close approach to what may be called a "police state," in which the rule is not by the duly constituted authorities but by a large police force acting on its own and directed from a centralized and irresponsible authority.

Almost all the news from Greece sustains this point of view. Reference may be had, for instance, to the article on page 6 of the New York Times for Tuesday, April 8. Raymond Daniell, a correspondent in Greece of that journal, writes:

Greece has the appearance of a democracy, but the appearance is deceptive. It would not be fair to describe her as a police state, but under the stress of domestic crisis and foreign threats a large measure of the freedom associated with a democratic state has been suspended.

But while the major leaders are unmo- lested, lesser persons who are followers, including many who are not Communists, are persecuted, terrorized, and deported without trial, and sometimes even killed. Not even liberal newspapers, let alone Communist ones, can be distributed in some areas where rightist sympathies are strong.

Under the security decrees now in force, open-air public meetings are prohibited without a permit, and citizens can be deported without trial on police denunciation. There is no protection against search and seizure without a warrant. The security police, which functions under Gen. Napoleon Zervas, Minister of Public Order, has used methods reminiscent of the Gestapo.

Members of the Government publicly deplore such conditions but assert that they are necessary for the present for the security of the state. However, the fires of civil strife are being fanned by excesses of both sides, including the extreme Right Wing, which seems to have immunity from punishment even when it resorts to murder, as it did recently in Gythion, where a rightist band, as a reprisal for the killing of a rightist leader, raided a jail and slaughtered thirty-two prisoners who were suspected of being Communists.

The spirit of intolerance seems to be increasing. The Government seems to tend to the belief that all who are not actively for it are its enemies. Consequently, the civil service is being purged of all dissenters, as the Army and the gendarmerie have been. According to Themistocles Sophoulis, Liberal leader, officers have begun to dictate what newspapers their soldiers can read.

Our task is complicated and difficult. We cannot indefinitely support the Greek population by donations of the necessities of life. They must be put in the way of gaining their own living through the normal processes of agriculture, industry, and trade. This, they cannot do until they are free to live and work on their land and in their villages. This in turn they cannot do until they are assured of security from attack or arrest in their homes and on their land.

What makes the task difficult is that in the present political atmosphere there is no hope this can be accomplished by arms alone, except at a cost and with a fullness

of military action on our part which we should not be willing to undertake. We might pour into the military situation many times the amount of the loan which is sought. There would still be no peace, no production, no relief from distress, no protection from the Communism which thrives in distress and no resulting safety for us or the rest of the world.

Is not our task of another sort than the simply described provision of relief and military assistance? Will we not have to interpose in the government of Greece? With the enormous good will which is our greatest asset in that unhappy country can we not bring about a cessation of hostilities between the Greeks themselves, leaving only the outside disturbers of the people on the northern border to be dealt with in a military way? We must change the attitude of the police. We must seek to heal rather than to liquidate. We must see to it that the amnesty offered is a real amnesty. We must insist that the government be composed of officials representing the whole of Greece and working together for its best interests.

We must make these internal reforms the price of our assistance. Our right to do so rests on the fact that our assistance has been asked for. Should we fail in effecting these internal reforms, we must recognize that our main task is beyond our powers. The promise of our administration that we will not concern ourselves with the political conditions of Greece is a promise based on shallow and untenable optimism. Wednesday, the Greek representative to the United Nations made constructive suggestions looking toward this necessity.

This undertaking is the testing point of our ability to intervene successfully in the affairs of the world for the good of the world. This testing ground presents no difficulties which are not present elsewhere. It has the great advantage of a population which looks up to us with faith and hope. If we fail here, we can win nowhere.

This leads us to another serious thought. Should we undertake the support of Turkey at this time? The case is by no means so clear. While her military organization is a heavy drain on her resources, she is not economically in anything like as serious a situation as that in which Greece finds herself.

Furthermore, and most important of all, there is no active band of invaders hanging on her borders, making forays into her thickly populated areas and threatening, at a moment's sign of weakness, to overrun the country.

Our support of Greece is logical and necessary. Our position with the United Nations in rendering that support, if given along the lines here suggested, is correct in every particular. It is made doubly so by the suggestion made by the chairman of our Foreign Relations Committee, that the United Nations hold a veto over our activities there.

Is the case anywhere near so clear so far as Turkey is concerned? Instead of appearing in the defense of a weak country actually in the initial process of invasion, we find ourselves furnishing mili-

tary support to a nation which is not being openly threatened. This, to my mind, comes dangerously near the border line of provocative military action. This is a dangerous invasion of a responsibility which we are morally bound to leave under the authority of the United Nations.

In view of this, should we not make clear our intentions in the Greek situation, indicate that they are applicable to the Turkish situation should similar occasions arise, and then hold ourselves in readiness to act, instead of rushing forward in advance of the actual necessity? If we do so, our record is that much more clear and, in the long run, the effects of our policies will be that much more sure and less costly. I leave this thought with the administration.

What about Russia? We are placing ourselves in open opposition to her. We must continue to do so on grounds which have the approval of that part of the world which is not dominated by Russia. She has certain great advantages over us in the pursuit of her policies. A principal one is the cheapness of her strategy in terms of money, material, and men. It is far cheaper to support guerrillas and foment disorder than it is to put down insurrection and establish peace and prosperity. She can cause far more trouble in the world as a whole, at far less expense, than we must incur in curing a single trouble spot which she has generated. It is the expensiveness of the direct action on our part which leads to the great necessity for us to deal so far as possible with the intangibles, with the methods of government, with the reservoirs of good will—the methods which are here proposed for dealing with Greece. Only thus can we compete in putting out the fires which even an impoverished Russia so easily can start.

It is also possible for us, at little expense, to organize an effective counterpart to Russia's pervasive ideological infiltration. We have no quarrel with the Russian people. Our interests do not clash. Our interests are identical. We both want peace. They do not know that we want peace. They are not allowed to know that we want peace. They are not allowed to know that we have no policies, no projects, no ambitions for anything that is not equally to their advantage and ours.

Rather than putting all of our defensive and offensive preparation into military terms, let us practice something of the economy of means which the Russians use to generate so much trouble for the world. Let us find a similar economy of means for reducing the hostility—for putting further and further off the prospects of war.

One means for doing this, at a minute fraction of the cost of military preparation, is by means of the radio. In the last months of the war and after its end, Russian soldiers looted every available radio in the territory which they overran and occupied. These radio sets were scattered all over that vast country. We have in them a means of talking to the people in the great cities, in the industries, in the provincial towns, in the villages and on the collective farms.

It would be useless for us to beam to them propaganda in the ordinary sense of the word. We can, with growing skill and wisdom, provide them with programs which will interest and inform them; which will give them a more clear picture, which will tend to bring our two peoples together rather than divide them. This undertaking is a part of our new project of waging peace as actively and skillfully as we wage war.

Waging peace is a new undertaking. We are having our first try at it in the endeavor to get in touch with the Russian people on one hand and to bring relief and economic and political strength to Greece on the other. If these projects are bungled, we will be led into an endless succession of enormous expenditures without useful results. Unless we can successfully carry out our present undertakings, we had better withdraw from them and conserve our resources for inevitable war. This is the terrible alternative.

We must not bungle this waging of peace. We must watch this critical enterprise. We must, on the floor, keep in touch with it and give it helpful suggestion and criticism. If it succeeds we must encourage it. We must be generous in support and praise.

To this project of waging peace must be brought every intellectual and spiritual resource of this Nation as well as her material resources. Men must be as ready and willing to go to distant places under disagreeable conditions and sacrifice themselves for their Nation's good as they were ready and willing to make these sacrifices in the waging of war.

If we can work out this problem successfully, we will have been working toward a strengthened and more effective United Nations, which, in the years to come, can carry a large share of the burden which the special circumstances of this time make it necessary for us to carry alone.

ARE THE POLITICAL PRODIGALS RETURNING TO STAY?

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, we have just witnessed in Washington a sudden and great mass political conversion. Not that there has been an old-fashioned soul cleansing, nor a serious confession of error, but from those highest in government down to the little "me too" boys there has come an admission that communism has entered into the sacred precincts of the innermost councils of our Government. These come-lately confessors charge that this infiltration has saturated the Department of State, the Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of Commerce. Their charges indicate that the doctrine of Stalin's totalitarianism has had a happy home in the executive branch of this Government, for these many years. I can add that there are some of us, in and out of Congress, who have long believed that this fifth column should never have been tolerated in our Government in the first place. Repeatedly we have shouted the alarm from the housetops.

Time after time I have warned the people of this Nation, over the radio, through the press, and on the floor of

the Senate, that this country was being destroyed from within; that our Government had been salted down with Communists and fellow travelers to the point where, should we be forced into war with any country supporting the communistic ideology, our whole defense activity could easily and quickly be sabotaged by insiders. The situation has become comparable to that of France when she was fatally crippled from within by a fifth column of Communists and Nazi sympathizers so Hitler could unleash his hungry war dogs to swarm across the Maginot line to pillage and murder helpless men, women, and children from Sudan to Dunkirk and the English Channel.

History informs us, Mr. President, that a mere handful of revolutionists overthrew the Czar and raised the red flag over Russia. Revolutionists are always a decided minority, but what they lack in numbers they make up with zealotry, and thus are able completely to destroy established government. In Russia today the Communist Party is but a trifle in numbers in comparison to the non-Communists, but the Communists have the guns and the determination to use them. They have killed millions of inoffensive Russian citizens; and the moment they seize power in other lands, they indulge in these terrible blood purges until they have wedged fear into the hearts of every human being within the sphere of their activity.

Mr. President, I did not rise especially to talk of the bestialness of the egomaniacal Communist doctrinaires, but, if you please, to welcome back into the ranks of those of us who love the United States Constitution, these brethren who strayed from the house of our fathers into strange and fearful byways. We who have kept the faith have often prayed long and soulfully that before it was eternally too late, these brethren would recognize the error of their way and would return to the fold, contrite and duly humble.

So, Mr. President, I want to inform this great deliberative body, the United States Senate, that when I read in the daily press that President Truman was to launch a campaign to dislodge the disloyalists from the Government pay rolls, a great peace of mind came over me, for I felt sure that we stood at the portals of the new utopia.

And then, day after day, the confessions came fast and in multitudinous proportions. They packed the daily press until, I am sure, every top hand in the executive department had made public his determination to rid the other fellow's department of all red termites. Today, these Government modern Diogeneses with their gum-soled shoes and lanterns are furtively peering into every crack and crevice of this Capitol's catacombs in search of that honest Communist who will admit he is the holder of a Hammer and Sickle card. If one of these subterranean gnomes flashes a lamp in your face, Mr. President, have no fear, for it is possible that he is simply putting on an act for the benefit of the press and radio. He may hiss and recoil from you, but be not afraid; he

will disperse into thin air, and you will see him no more.

So, Mr. President, today we have the prodigal sons of the New Deal trekking home after a long and fateful hibernation with the "pinkos," Reds, and all breeds of synthetic Communists. Of course, we like the fond father of Biblical times, bid them welcome home. But I am just wondering whether we should clasp them to our breasts with fond embrace ere we have been convinced that their contrition is sincere and not for the purpose of distracting our attention from some overt act they may have committed during their feasting and riotous living far from the parental roof.

Therefore, I suggest, Mr. President, that we take them in on probation. They should not be denied communion, nor should they be kept from our councils; but it might be well for us to keep one eye on them, lest they stray again. In the past they succumbed to political amnesia, and when in that sad state they fell easy victims to alien ideologies. We must watch over them tenderly and make every effort to guide them away from the shoals of wasteful spending and nonproductivity. We must remove from them all temptation to seek security from those who will sell out to the highest bidder. We must fumigate them and make them immune to Kremlin propaganda.

For years, those few of us who dared to stand here in these Halls and denounce such fraternization by public officials with the enemies of this Republic, were made objects of attack by the domestic smear bund of hate. Our names were held up for derision by collaborating columnists and radio blabbercasters, and our every act came under the attack of an occupant of the White House and his stable of propagandists.

Into the inner circles of the War Department, into the braid and brass of the services, were gathered the "pink" of the fellow travelers. They were placed in swivel chairs, propped up in front of typewriters, and leashed to microphones. Few, if any, crawled on their stomachs up Iwo Jima, or swarmed over the beach of Normandy, or rolled in the muck and mire of the Belgian Bulge. They fought the battle of the Pentagon or the battle of Hollywood, or gained a beachhead in the night clubs along Broadway. That is where these "pinkos" and fellow travelers bared their breasts. In Washington they hid behind the secret files in the executive department. They rummaged in top drawers and carted off State secrets; and for their treasonable perfidy they received a citation for bravery and were admonished "to go and sin no more." In Russia, the country for which they were stealing, for such an offense they would have been purged and their ashes thrown to the winds of the Steppes.

Mr. President, I am sick and tired of hearing American citizens continually refer to the Communists as a miserable minority, and not dangerous to our way of life. I say to you that they are dangerous. They are extremely dangerous.

Mr. President, a few days ago a representative of the American Legion testified before the House Un-American Ac-

tivities Committee that there are at least 100,000 first-line Communists in this country. It may be said that that is not so many for a Nation of 140,000,000. That may be true; but when those 100,000 Communists are able to infiltrate every branch of this Government and intrench themselves in our labor unions to the point where they are in absolute control of some of our biggest unions, it seems to me it is high time that we in the Congress, the representatives of the people, should sit up and take notice. Remember that Hitler with 30,000 Nazis took control of Germany's millions.

Back in 1941 I thought it was time to take notice of the Communists and their treasonable activities. Even before that date, when I was Governor of Texas, I set about to bring into being legislation which would take care of Communists working inside labor unions to gain places where they could practice sabotage. Since coming to Washington I have continued my fight upon Communists and their comrades, the labor-leader racketeers of this Nation, but here my efforts have been blocked at every turn. I wish to say here and now that most of that blocking was done by some of our present ranting prodigals who now scream to high heaven, "Let's do something about the Communists." These prodigals, however, were not so vociferous on the side of "let's do something about these Communists" when the late war President was opening the armed services to Communists and their fellow travelers, people who had, but a few short months before, denounced the President and the American Government from every quarter. In fact, some of them even picketed the White House bearing signs denouncing the late Franklin D. Roosevelt as a warmonger.

About that time the Daily Worker, the leading official Communist publication in the United States, called upon the comrades to join the armed services to fight for the democracies, which, of course, meant Russia, England, the United States, and all our allies. Ponder, Mr. President, the ridiculousness of placing Russia, England, and the United States in the same category, when Russia is a totalitarian nation if there ever was one, and England was then slipping into a totalitarian socialism.

The Daily Worker has often admonished the Communists to join up with the armed services so that they could take revolutionary control and conduct propaganda and agitation from within the Army, Navy, and all branches of our military service. This miserable publication was the first to agitate a program to abolish disciplinary punishments and the necessity of saluting. What a different picture is presented when we turn to look upon the armed forces of Russia. There the strictest discipline is maintained. There is no fraternizing between officers and enlisted men. In addition to this, the Russian soldiers are poorly paid in comparison with the enlisted men of our American forces. The Russian soldiers do not enjoy the liberties granted to the men of our armed forces, yet the Communists infiltrate our armed forces to agitate for things for

which they would face a firing squad in the Russian service. The Communists have also infiltrated some of our veteran organizations. They have been rebuffed by the American Legion and other loyal groups. Yet we find them in control of alleged veteran groups whose main mission in life seems to be the destruction of all organized government and authority.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has warned against martyring these low-bred humans. I find myself in accord with the Hoover sentiment, for there is nothing a fanatic enjoys more than to be martyred. The "Commies" thrive on small martyrdoms, hence we should do nothing to heroize these hoodlums, but we should deny them fraternization with honest and upright men.

And, Mr. President, we should stop doing their bidding here in Congress. And here in Congress we should also speedily repeal all the communistic labor laws which have set up a super-kingdom which is more powerful than our Government and is ruled by the iron hand of communistic labor czars who completely control the production line of our Nation and hold the destiny of our people in the palm of their hand. If the returning prodigals are completely cleansed and sincere they will promptly join us in urging our statute books of this putrid un-American class legislation.

Our Republic is a government of laws, and not a government of men. The citizen is the master, the public official is the servant. We must repeal these labor slave laws and honor the working men and women of our Nation by elevating them to the position of master, and demoting their union officials to the humble status of their servant.

Yes, Mr. President, we need something more than a purge of Communists who have infiltrated our governmental departments. We need also to purge our lawbooks of all communistic legislation that has been enacted during the past 14 years by the left-of-center prodigal sons who are now returning for their share of the fatted calf.

According to published statements, the FBI has from time to time submitted names of various Federal departments and agencies where Communists and their fellow travelers hibernate. I have a file in my office which shows that these Communists are holding top jobs. One, I find, is a big-time attorney in the Rural Electrification Administration. These high-ranking jobs have been passed out to enemies of our Government in practically all the departments. What is to be gained by firing the little file clerks and stenographers who are caught in the act of reading the Daily Worker and retaining the big shots on the job to put other Communists in the places of those fired? It is a joke, Mr. President.

When I was a boy on a big cattle ranch I learned that I could not mess around with skunks without getting some of their highly perfumed musk on my clothes. I also learned that until I had thoroughly cleansed myself and had removed all odor I remained an outcast so far as my family was concerned. So should be, I

believe, our practice in dealing with our prodigals now clamoring for readmission under the parental roof. We should know positively that they have cleansed themselves of all stinkish-pinkish aroma.

I am unable to see the necessity for the enactment of additional laws to regulate the American Communist. Instead of enacting new laws, we should repeal the old ones. In the first place, no Communist, outside of a few who manipulate the party's machinery, will admit membership. To deny their affiliation is one of the tenets of their atheistic philosophy. So I say let us see to it that we place men and women in public office who consider their oaths to uphold and enforce the laws of this country as binding obligations. The treasonable acts of the despicable Communist ingrates can be easily traced. When found guilty they should be given the punishment that is justly due traitors.

Now that some of our prodigals are back at our front gate asking to be enlisted under the banner of constitutional government, let us first resolve to purge our Nation of all communistic sympathies. Let us further resolve to desert that famous track "just a bit left of center" which would surely precipitate us in a headlong pitch into the bottomless pit of bankruptcy, heathenism, and world war. Let us hear no more defense of an ideology that spreads the virus of imperialism across the face of the earth. Let none among us rise to exhort in defense of a nation that lives by chicanery, deceit, plunder, and murder, but let us unite in promotion of the virtues of constitutional government. Let us return to the fundamentals of our government as set up in the Constitution and be done forever with the foreign "isms" of those who promote only the rule of the sword.

If the returning prodigals are sincere, communism, like its counterparts, socialism, nazism, and fascism, is headed for the fate that overtook its counterparts. Molotov, the hammer head, and Joe Stalin, the sickle-grinder, are on their way to join their plundering pals, Hitler and Mussolini.

Our form of government has survived to this date because it has recognized the dignity of man and the supreme power of God Almighty. So, let us return to the fundamentalism of the Constitution, and live by its precepts. If we continue to run off after false gods, we will wind up in the same pitiable condition in which all Europe finds itself today.

We cannot be half Communist and half Constitutionalist. These ideologies will not mix. They are incompatible, and when brought together become highly explosive. So, I want Joe Stalin and his ungodly hordes to stay in Russia, and let peoples of other nations alone to choose the kind of government they prefer. We cannot appease Communists any more than Chamberlain was able to appease the Nazis. Let us stop appeasing, stop spending and wasting our resources, and begin now to build up our domestic economy so as to make ourselves invincible. This, Mr. President, I

believe to be the best example we can place before the people of the world as to why they should forsake the rule of the jungle for government of law—laws enacted for the people, by the people, themselves.

The most terrible threat to our existence as a Nation of free people, Mr. President, is not the atom bomb, but instead it is our lop-sided communistic labor laws, our confiscatory tax laws, our crushing public debt, and our habit of meddling in the affairs of other nations.

When President Truman asked for authority to send \$400,000,000 across the Atlantic to Greece and Turkey, it was reported we had discovered that Old Joe Stalin was pouring his sons of hate into those states and preparing to take over. England had sent our State Department word that even by using our money the load was too heavy and she was going to have to pull out of the Mediterranean-Red Sea area. Mr. Bevin's government expressed the fear that the instant England backed out Stalin would back in, buckle his belt around England's life line, and choke John Bull to death. So, it looks as though the United States will go on guard in the Mediterranean to keep the Communists pushed back beyond the Black Sea.

But hardly had the ink dried on the press release from the White House before the people of the United States began asking the question: "Yes, Mr. Truman, but if it is good to check atheistic communism in the Balkans, how about checking atheistic communism on the home front?" Mr. Truman came up promptly with the right answer. We would fight communism on two fronts—at home and abroad. It was then, Mr. President, that we began to see the prodigal sons returning to the fold. Also, in bitter anguish these prodigals cried out against their former chums. Now they want no more of their former Red pals, either in high places of state or in the councils of the party. But let us be cautious. Are they sincere, or are they only fooling?

I say, let us examine the record and ascertain whether or not there has been a true confession by these backsliders from the faith of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson, before we trust them out of our immediate sight.

Followers of the Kremlin line are afraid of a "witch hunt," when and if the administration begins to hunt out the Communists. Well, I am not afraid there will be a witch hunt, but I am afraid that a few "Little Red Ridinghood" clerks and stenographers will be pitched headlong into the street while their sanctimonious superiors still hold down the red-plush seat jobs. What I am wondering about is, will the Army textbook writers remain at their posts pouring out literature designed to destroy a love for our American form of government in the hearts of our boys wearing the uniform?

Will we see an evacuation of the State Department by those titled boys with the stiff shirts and striped pants who spill

inside information to the left-of-center columnists—those gentlemen of the press who head the legion of smear?

Will the big-shot desk executives in the Labor Department, who spend an hour or so each day of the Government's time in reading the uptown edition of the Daily Worker remain at their desks to dish out a steady stream of anti-American propaganda?

Will the solons of the Kremlin-hue of this Congress, who get their orders from Moscow, be carefully investigated with the aim of severing the pipe line that flows their daily political diet to them from the heart of the Communist world?

These are some of the questions that should be definitely answered before our prodigals are received back into full communion by us who dwell in the house of the founding fathers. This is a serious proposition and should be treated as such.

Mr. President, I want my country to be friendly but firm in all its dealings with other nations, great or small. I want the United States to be so strong that no other power or combination of powers can successfully strike at us and escape a swift and merciless defeat. But we cannot have such a country if we keep wasting our substance upon alien people, who carry revenge in their hearts and look forward to the day when they can strike back at an adversary, even if in so doing they again plunge the world into war.

Theodore Roosevelt gave voice to a great truth when he said:

We cannot permanently shape our course right on any international issue unless we are sound on the domestic issues.

Now, before we take our truants back to a table loaded with the meat of the "fatted calf," let us be sure that they are not denouncing communism right now during the preelection season, only to backslide after the election is over and they are safe for another term. Such a scheme could degenerate this Nation into a complete collapse such as is now being experienced by socialistic England. Communism does not feed and grow and expand upon prosperity, but it does thrive and fatten upon the putrid carcasses of decadent nations, undermined from within by treachery. Therefore, I say we must be sure of ourselves and know that we are not being deceived by tricky politicians. Every move we make must guaranty the safety of our Republic and insure peace and tranquility for our people.

I say to you, Mr. President, we need no apologists for our form of government. There is no form of government on this globe that can surpass ours in any way, shape, manner, or form. It did not grow by accident, but it came to greatness because of careful planning by the wise forefathers who gave to us our Constitution and our Bill of Rights. It came to fruition because they believed in their own strength. They knew that it had integrity because they, themselves, possessed integrity. And, not until the coming of the soothsayers of the false

doctrine that "the Government owes every voter a living" did we swerve from the precepts of our founding fathers. The people of the United States want to get their Government back upon the Constitution, and only last November they spoke in no uncertain terms against the rule of bureaucrats, spendthrifts, and regimenters.

Constitutional government is the beacon light to the oppressed of the world. It has ever been so since its adoption March 4, 1787, and America will continue as the haven of free men if we will shun foreign isms of the Old World. But, if we continue sapping the resources of our land, tolerating defamation of our Christian philosophy, and continue ravaging our public treasury and mortgaging our unborn posterity, we will inevitably crumble and fall apart. President Washington never feared the foe from without, but he did express grave fears that some day we might bring about our own destruction through internal decay.

Several years ago internal decay started. Foreign ideology worms began to bore at the roots of this Republic. A second world war was thrust upon us and the communistic worms emerged from the underground roots and began boring into the innermost sanctums of high Government offices. This has long been known by our people and recognized by some Members of Congress, but we sat here in Congress and did nothing about it because we were outnumbered. We could have stopped this boring from within long ago if a majority of the Members had desired to do so. It seemed to be the popular thing to do, however, to take these worms of alien hate into our Government. Once in, they soon buried their filthy heads in every bureau and agency of any considerable importance.

When some of us protested against this infiltration we were scoffed at by most of the prodigals who are now proclaiming their anticommunistic protestations from stump, radio, and press.

If communism was good for us in 1941, why is it bad for us in 1947? I said in '41 that it would destroy our Nation if we did not clean house. I repeat, in 1947, communism will destroy our Nation if we continue to accept its missionaries in our governmental councils. Time after time I have inveighed against the New Deal's embracement of communistic and totalitarian ideas. A few other Senators also did; but where did we get? We got nowhere; and not until last November 5 did the people of this Nation get a fair chance to demand a house cleaning. They spoke then in no uncertain terms, and I hope that there will be no betrayal by those in whom they placed confidence. Yet, Mr. President, we see signs of such a betrayal, and I fear ere the cock crows thrice on election morn of 1948 there will be many, many more betrayals. If there be—and mark these words well, Mr. President—the house cleaning of last November 5 will be but a firecracker in comparison to the political bombs that will be dropped on November 2, 1948.

So I say let us welcome the return of our prodigals who ran off after false gods, welcome them back into the fold,

but let us not forget the fire and brimstone we have gone through because of their defalcations. I have a thorough distaste for anything or any "ism" that is un-American. I despise alienisms, regardless of name or brand. They all nurse the same milk, for they are of the same spawn. There is no place in constitutional government for such foreign "isms," but room only for Americanism. There is no place in American government for dishonesty, deceit, or deception, but room only for decency, honesty, truth, and justice.

Our constitutional government was founded upon God's word as contained in the Holy Bible. Therefore, the milk and honey which flows freely in this great Christian Nation will not mix with the Vodka of atheistic communism. Let us keep our Government clean from here on out. If we do this, our Republic will be safe, and will survive, God willing.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I rise to support Senate bill 938 which is described as a bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

All of us here in the Senate on both sides of the aisle are, I am sure, more concerned about keeping world peace than we are about any other single subject. Therefore, in whatever discussion we have in regard to these proposed aids to Greece and Turkey, I hope we will constantly keep that in mind. I hope that we will constantly keep in mind that we are all Americans seeking to preserve our national security by preserving the peace in the world. Whatever suggestions are made, or whatever amendments are proposed in regard to this aid, I hope we will, each of us, objectively apply two questions to each proposal. The first is, will that suggestion or proposal lead to a better chance of continued peace? The second is, will that suggestion or proposal lead to a better chance for national security?

I believe that by now we are almost all convinced that in this modern world we cannot isolate ourselves from other nations. As soon as war breaks out in any part of the world our own national security is immediately threatened because that conflict can spread to us through modern weapons with incredible swiftness.

As we all know, the United States has in the past gained a reputation abroad for having inconsistent partisan foreign policies. We have, here, tried in the last 2 or 3 years to make it clear to the peoples of the world that we are no longer going to act in international affairs as a Democratic Party or as a Republican Party—that we are going to act as a Nation.

This proposed aid to Greece and Turkey has come to be called by some the Truman Doctrine. I think that is the most unfortunate for two reasons. This should be presented to the people of the world as an American doctrine. More than that, it should be presented to the people of the world as a doctrine motivated by the American people through

their representatives. Therefore, I would like to propose that whatever action we take be hereafter known as the American doctrine.

I think there is another good reason for that. The original proposal by the President had in it some indication of lack of due consideration for the United Nations. The American people immediately made it clear to all of us that they were deeply concerned about that phase of the President's action. We, on the Republican side of the aisle, and I speak particularly of the senior Senator from Michigan, have proposed certain changes that shift the emphasis of this proposal—that make it clear that, not only are we interested in bolstering the United Nations to take over this obligation, but we are insisting that action be taken to give the United Nations greater authority and greater strength. I say we Republicans proposed those changes. I think they could have just as well been proposed by the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle, since they were the reflection, not of party thinking, but of American thinking. Therefore, because of the danger of the peoples of Europe misinterpreting our action in this matter as partisan, and so not taking seriously enough our intent, and because the President's original proposal has been fundamentally changed, I sincerely believe that it is to the best interests of all concerned that even the official name of this action be changed further to emphasize our unity and our determination.

As Americans we stand for freedom—for freedom of religion, and of speech, and of assembly, and of enterprise, and of opportunities. We believe that these freedoms belong as his right, to every man, whether he be born in America or in some other country. These freedoms belong to every man because they give to him his rightful dignity as a human being, as an individual, as a son of God. We do not strive to enforce our ideas about freedom upon the rest of the world by the strength of arms, of economic power, or intrigue. We do strive to perpetuate freedom, and all it means, by our own example of the rightful exercise of freedom. As we cherish it for ourselves, we hope that all men may achieve it. We believe that freedom, perpetuated through the processes of democracy, can make the world safe for peace.

This policy has, as its true basis, the preservation of our own independence and our own freedom. It recognizes the independence and freedom of all nations large and small. It has, as its purpose, the prevention of aggression and the keeping of the peace. It was in that spirit that we gave aid to Britain and to Russia. We did not question their internal institutions. Those institutions belong peculiarly to their people to maintain, or to change, as they might see fit. But we did want to preserve the sovereignty and independence of both Russia and England because we believed that preservation essential to peace—peace which is so essential to the world and to us.

The policy we have adopted with reference to Greece and Turkey is not new. We have always believed these things. The loan to Greece and to Turkey is merely an implementation of this basic American policy. For that reason alone we cannot call this policy anything but the American doctrine.

Another point that has bothered me about this proposed aid to Greece and Turkey is in connection with the danger of our becoming involved in local political disputes. It seems to me it would be very easy for us to get into the same position in Greece, particularly, that caused us to withdraw from China recently. For myself, I am prepared—right now—to say “a plague on both your houses” to the extreme elements in Greece. It seems to me we must give serious thought to insisting that the Greek Government show its good faith by demonstrating immediately its desire for civil peace. I am not prepared to see our money used for the relief of only those starving people who will agree to align themselves politically on the side of the monarchy. Nor am I willing to see our assistance used in the payment of interest on a national debt to some other nation or some other group, or for any other purpose that we do not intend. I do not go along with the philosophy that we can stop the spread of communism only by bolstering reaction. Neither extreme is consistent with our philosophy and republican form of government. Both seek to rule by minorities, and both seek to take away the rights and privileges of the people. If we seek to preserve peace, which is what we intend to do, we must also see to it that political conditions in countries we assist are such that a civil war is not either actively going on or pending.

Another point that bothers me about the proposed aid to Greece is in connection with the actual money. I do not propose that we should try to save money at the risk of war. But it seems to me that there is another consideration that we have so far ignored. I believe we will all agree that while this four hundred million will be given partially as humanitarian relief for a needy people, it is essentially and substantially a move calculated to preserve our national security and world peace. Which departments of our Government are concerned with national security? The Army and the Navy. Therefore it seems to me that we should inform the Army and the Navy that since we will provide them with a very large budget for the purpose of maintaining security, they are expected to use that budget for that purpose. I have great faith in our Army, Navy, and Air Force. But I think past history has demonstrated there is a great deal of unproductive spending, and I personally propose to do whatever I can to discourage that kind of spending. I believe, therefore, that we should extract from the budget proposed for the Army and the Navy about 10 percent, to be set aside for such purposes as Greek and Turkish aid. In the President's proposed budget approximately eleven and a half billion was provided for this purpose. Ten percent of that would be a little in excess of a billion dollars. From

that billion dollars, or from 10 percent of whatever sum is appropriated, should be taken the four hundred million for aid to Greece and Turkey, since we agree that this is a security matter.

It seems of tremendous importance to me how the mission to administer aid to Greece and Turkey is to be composed. Is it to be merely an executive agency? Is it to be an agency of the State Department alone? Is it wise to make it an agency of the Congress as well? The Congress must provide the money. The Congress must stand responsible before the American people for adopting this policy. The Congress must have all the facts. It seems to me, Mr. President, that Congress should choose some representation on these missions so that the report of the activities and effect of the mission may be made not only to the State Department, but to the Congress itself through the respective Committees on Foreign Relations in both the Senate and the House. If we are to take the leadership in world affairs which has come to us—indeed, which seems to have been thrust upon us—then we must develop a new technique, an American technique, in diplomatic dealings. We have seen the tragic failings of the old diplomacy in two World Wars in a generation. It is high time to deal openly and frankly, with all the cards on the table face up, as the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has already said. Since the lives and fortunes of all the American people are at stake in every war, and most assuredly will be at stake in any war to come, it is time that all the people of our Nation should have the opportunity of knowing what our purpose is, and what the program is to put that purpose into effect. We ask the same frankness and the same candor from all our neighbors in the world.

I believe that this development has opened our eyes to the lateness of the hour. It has made us uneasily aware that war can easily come again. Several hundred thousand American young men spent their lives on what may turn out to have been a futile effort to preserve peace. In gratitude we can at least do everything in our power to continue the peace. We have all agreed that the United Nations is today the only real hope for peace. Isolationism, appeasement, power politics, have all proven failures. We cannot afford another war; but another war will surely come if we and all other nations do not do more than talk about peace. I have been deeply impressed by the arguments of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS] who has proposed that we lay our cards openly on the table in regard to real international cooperation and then see who objects to continuing the game—and a deadly serious game it is. Moreover, there is a real danger of the United Nations building around itself a sealed wall and so becoming like the League of Nations—just another debating society. If the United Nations is to work, it must become a part of our daily living. It must become more important to us than any other matter we might discuss on the floor of the Senate. To keep ourselves constantly aware of its difficulties, its problems, and its de-

velopments, I believe that we must establish a closer liaison with the United Nations. We represent the people of America. We have had representatives assigned to the United Nations conferences, and I think their work has been eminently able. I say, in no disparagement of them, that we must have more regular representation and more frequent reports from the United Nations. The activities of the United Nations must become our daily problems if we are to prevent war through that Organization. We represent the most powerful nation in the world today. If we will take upon ourselves the responsibility of making the peace by enforcing the strength of the United Nations, other countries will follow the example set by us. Our strength, our size, give us that responsibility. I am far more concerned about failure of the United Nations to act in the preservation of peace than I am about the failure of most bills to pass in this body.

God give us the knowledge, the courage, and the faith to help a discontented and doubting world achieve freedom and peace.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I am anxious to speak this afternoon, but the Senator from Maine [Mr. WHITE] has stated that he would like to have the Senate take a recess at approximately 5 o'clock. I can speak for a while, hoping that I may again obtain the floor to complete my remarks when the Senate reconvenes.

Mr. President, when the Allied armies were beginning to beat down the wall of Hitler's Fortress Europa, Goering threatened that if Hitler and his men had to leave the scene, they would slam hard the door behind them.

This was one boast which the Nazi leader was able to make good. Europe today, almost 2 years after VE-day, remains a shambles. Her people are homeless and starving, families are scattered, and children wander the highways and the byways in search of lost parents. Hunger, ignorance, superstition, want, and immorality are everywhere.

President Truman has called our attention recently to the particular needs of Greece; and Greece certainly is a country whose plight deserves our consideration and generosity.

Insofar as the President's proposals are designed to alleviate that human suffering and to eradicate its causes, I am in full agreement. But his proposals go further than that. They would create a completely new doctrine in American foreign policy: armed intervention in the internal and external affairs of another country. They involve yet another grave departure from our present foreign policy. They would bypass the United Nations as the instrument for the settlement of international disputes.

I may say, Mr. President, that I do not believe that any amount of amending of this original proposal can remove the injury which has been done to the United Nations. Only turning this over to the United Nations can remedy the injury. In fact, I feel that amendments simply tell the United Nations what we will permit them to do; and I feel that

they should have higher authority. It is simply adding insult to injury, in my estimation.

They call upon us to take unilateral military and economic action rather than to use the machinery of the United Nations, which has already successfully solved similar disputes in Iran, Lebanon, and Syria.

I may say, also, Mr. President, that the United Nations did not do a great deal to solve those disputes. The fact that they were referred to the United Nations seemed to have almost in itself a magical effect. The parties concerned hastily put their houses in order, withdrew their troops, and ceased their meddling, simply because of the moral prestige of the United Nations. I hate to see our country take any steps now to undermine that moral prestige, because certainly the United States is the predominating factor behind the success or failure, the prestige or lack of prestige, of the United Nations.

I feel, Mr. President, that this new doctrine—call it the Truman doctrine or the American doctrine or whatever we will—will seriously weaken the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

Public opinion polls indicate that the American people are aware of this and strongly prefer action through the United Nations to unilateral action.

Frankly, Mr. President, I feel that the action which we are about to take may be the beginning of the end of all hope of reconciliation in the world. It may be the beginning of tensions in this atomic age which will eventually lead to the complete collapse of civilization in a great atomic holocaust.

Let me give my reasons for opposing this new foreign policy:

First, the State Department admittedly has as one of its purposes the preservation of the monarchy formerly represented by the late King George of Greece, and now by his brother, King Paul. I am opposed to that monarchy as are the people of Greece, his unwilling subjects. Paul, like his late brother, George, does not have one drop of Greek blood in his veins. He comes from one of Europe's perennial royal families which was foisted upon the Greek people in one of the typical intrigues which characterized nineteenth century diplomacy. The full family name is Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg Glucksburg. The late King George was deposed in 1923 because of his pro-German intrigues in the last World War. In 1935 with the help of British politicians and a sham plebiscite he was restored to the Greek throne. Again last year, after another sham plebiscite during which opposition forces were exiled, jailed, or intimidated, the crown was again placed upon his head.

In 1776 our forefathers fought for the right to govern themselves. Another George, George III of England, who also had German blood in his veins, looked upon them as ragged terrorists and irresponsible radicals.

How ironical, then, that the government which the antiroyalists of Valley Forge made possible should now use its money and influence to bolster a tyrannical twentieth-century monarchy.

I know from dozens of eyewitnesses whom I have interviewed in recent weeks—newspaper correspondents and American citizens who visited the country on relief missions for our Government, for UNRRA, and for the United Nations—that the present administration in Greece is corrupt, inefficient, and ruthless.

In an official report issued earlier this month the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations stated—and here I am quoting from that UN report:

Present Greek taxes fall heavily on the poor people and far less heavily, in proportion to their income, on the well to do. * * * Most local revenues come from commodity taxes.

The UN report continues:

Over four-fifths of the total tax revenues thus come from taxes which either reduce incomes to producers (especially farmers), or raise costs to consumers (mostly farmers and low-income city workers). Less than one-fifth of the taxes is of the type that bears primarily on well-to-do persons receiving large incomes. * * * The tax structure is responsible, in part at least, for the present exceedingly unequal distribution of wealth and income in Greece, far less equal than that in more highly industrialized countries. In every part of the country the great majority of farmers are poverty-stricken and destitute. City factory workers or public employees are not in much better shape. Yet it is on these two classes, farmers and low-income city workers, that present taxes fall most heavily. * * * At the same time that this widespread poverty exists the stores are full of all kinds of goods at high prices and the restaurants are thronged with well-dressed people, enjoying the good food and wine, who live very comfortably despite the poverty all around them. Yet the tax burden falls on them far less heavily in proportion to their incomes than it does on the low-income farmers and workers.

That is the end of the quotation from the official report of the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece.

I wonder, Mr. President, if we had a government in this country which permitted conditions like that to exist, and even nurtured them, how many people possibly would be violently against our Government. I do not believe they could all be called Communists, either.

It is obvious that the Greek Government has never evolved a modern tax structure because to do so would antagonize the British interests who own the great wealth of Greece.

It is the protection of those British interests which is at the heart of the British control of Greece. And there is one other factor which is equally important. Greece strategically controls the land, sea, and airways to the great oil fields of the Middle East.

Giant and powerful monopolies are interested in the acquisition of that oil. I, for one, am unwilling to send American troops to protect the interests of those oil monopolies.

It has been contended that the State Department's proposal is necessary to curb the spread of communism in Greece. But I say to you that for every Communist made in Greece by Russian propaganda a hundred have been made by hatred of the monarchy and its terrorist regime and the foreign governments which have imposed it upon an

unwilling people. By aiding a weak and inefficient government to suppress opposition by force of arms, we are eliminating the only real alternative to communism—a liberal, progressive government responsive to the needs of Greece. By eliminating a middle-of-the-road possibility of peaceful change, we force the Greek people to choose either the extreme of Fascist monarchy or the other extreme of revolutionary communism—we would leave them no other choice. That is not the effective way to stop communism in Greece.

The present Greek Government has driven many a conservative businessman in Greece to feel that, although he hated communism, he would accept any help that enabled Greeks to throw out the fascism of the monarchy.

An UNRRA worker recently returned from Greece told me of a conversation with a prosperous Greek who is the head of a large Greek shipping firm, who said, "I am an EAM because I feel as you Americans did in 1776. We want to govern ourselves. Do not want these foreigners pushing us around and enriching themselves on our country any more than you Americans did."

Mr. President, these are people who would not support a Communist Party in Greece or a Socialist Party in Greece. They are people who want a middle-of-the-road government. But they passionately insist upon self-government; and if we insist on supporting a monarchy which suppresses all opposition, we shall drive them to take the only alternative—the extreme revolutionary course. If we endorse the King's government as our concept of democracy, we shall have given Europe a false impression of our own great country, and shall have forever discredited our own philosophy in their eyes.

Mr. President, I think that when we give financial aid to Greece, we must insist that the money contributed by the American taxpayers is wisely used, and is used for the benefit of the needy people of Greece. It should not be controlled by the royalist members of the Greek ruling class who, as collaborationists, fared as well under the German occupation as they did under the British. Almost all qualified observers will state, as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization stated, that aid to Greece should be conditioned upon the adoption of a more efficient and more democratic government in Greece.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I should like to say a word about Turkey. It is often forgotten that half of the President's proposal is concerned with Turkey. Turkey has absolutely no relief needs. Not a single bomb dropped on Turkey. During the war it enjoyed one long, lush, uninterrupted war boom. It sold supplies to both sides; and both sides paid, and paid very well. The only purpose of aid for Turkey is a military one.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and I have introduced an alternative resolution, Senate Joint Resolution 93, to deal with this great problem. Briefly, our resolution would, first, appropriate funds for relief and rebuilding of Greece; second, provide for the administration of that relief by the United Na-

tions; and, third, request the General Assembly of the United Nations to institute a full-scale investigation with a view to resolving not only the Greek crisis but the problems of Palestine, the Dardanelles, and Middle East oil. I should like to point out that our joint resolution provides for immediate assistance through a stopgap advance of \$100,000,000 by the RFC. It does not delay this assistance until after the meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Our joint resolution is equally important for the things which it does not do. These are: First, it does not provide any funds for relief or military intervention in Turkey; second, it does not provide for the sending of American military forces into Greece; and, third, it does not provide for unilateral action by the United States or for bypassing the United Nations.

A momentous decision lies ahead of us, Mr. President. Upon it hangs the future of the great idea of permanent peace through international organization. Let us not abandon that great hope so soon after its birth.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I desire to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of two resolutions which were unanimously ordered to be reported favorably by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, let me inquire when the resolutions were ordered to be reported favorably.

Mr. BROOKS. The day before yesterday.

Mr. WHITE. I do not wish to object, but I would suggest to the Senator from Illinois that at the present time there is a rather small attendance in the Senate for the transaction of business.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I recognize the principle the majority leader

is trying to uphold, and I subscribe to it. So I shall wait until Tuesday to take up these matters.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I wish to thank the Senator from Maine, the majority leader, for the course he is following. There are not many in attendance on this side of the aisle at this particular moment. I also thank the Senator from Illinois for not pressing his request.

Mr. WHITE. If there is no other business to come before the Senate, I shall move a recess.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Before the Senator from Maine makes the motion, I wonder if he can tell us when we are to have another executive session.

Mr. WHITE. As I understand, there are only three nominations on the executive calendar. I shall move an executive session when the number of names on the calendar seems to justify it.

Mr. CHAVEZ. There is on the calendar the nomination of Gordon R. Clapp to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, on which the committee made an adverse report. I think the Senate should act on that nomination, one way or the other, at a reasonably early date.

Mr. WHITE. I quite agree with the Senator from New Mexico. The nomination has been on the calendar for some days. I agree with the Senator that at an early date the Senate should devote itself to the consideration of the nomination, and if I can further that end, I shall be most happy to do so.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I am sorry the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB], the chairman of the committee which considered the nomination, is not present at the moment. I am sure that he would like to get action on the nomination one way or the other as soon as possible.

Mr. WHITE. I shall cooperate in any way I can to get action on that and the other nominations on the calendar.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I thank the Senator.

RECESS TO TUESDAY

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate stand in recess until Tuesday next at 12 o'clock noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 2 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Tuesday, April 15, 1947, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 11 (legislative day of March 24), 1947:

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The following-named candidates for promotions in the Regular Corps of the Public Health Service:

SURGEONS TO BE TEMPORARY SENIOR SURGEONS (EQUIVALENT TO ARMY RANK OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL)

Hugh L. C. Wilkerson William J. Brown
Daniel J. Daley Luther L. Terry

SANITARY ENGINEER TO BE TEMPORARY SENIOR
SANITARY ENGINEER (EQUIVALENT TO ARMY
RANK OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL)

Maurice LeBosquet, Jr.

SCIENTISTS TO BE TEMPORARY SENIOR SCIENTISTS (EQUIVALENT TO ARMY RANK OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL)

Howard L. Andrews
Heinz Specht
G. Robert Coatney

SENIOR ASSISTANT SURGEONS TO BE TEMPORARY
SURGEONS (EQUIVALENT TO ARMY RANK OF
MAJOR)

Carruth J. Wagner Robert W. Rasor
William L. Hewitt George A. Shipman

SENIOR ASSISTANT SANITARY ENGINEERS TO BE
TEMPORARY SANITARY ENGINEERS (EQUIVALENT
TO ARMY RANK OF MAJOR)

Frank Tetzlaff
Albert H. Stevenson

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BALDWIN to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At
the end of the bill add two new sections as follows:

1 SEC. 8. The President pro tempore of the Senate and
2 the Speaker of the House of Representatives are each
3 authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such
4 persons as they may deem necessary to observe the admin-
5 istration and effects of aid furnished pursuant to this Act
6 and to make frequent and regular reports to the Senate and
7 the House, respectively, concerning the administration and
8 effects of such aid. The compensation and expenses of
9 such persons appointed by the President pro tempore shall
10 be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon

1 vouchers approved by the President pro tempore, and the
 2 compensation and expenses of persons appointed by the
 3 Speaker shall be paid from the contingent fund of the
 4 House upon vouchers approved by the Speaker.

5 SEC. 9. This Act may be cited as the "American
 6 Doctrine Act".

80TH CONGRESS
 1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BALDWIN to the
 bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
 Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
 Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BALDWIN to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

1 On page 3, line 25, strike out "appropriations made"
2 and insert in lieu thereof "sums made available".

3 On page 5, line 13, strike out "appropriated" and insert
4 in lieu thereof "made available".

5 On page 6, line 22, after the word "appropriation" insert
6 "from which funds to be made available".

7 On page 7, line 3, strike out all through line 8 and insert
8 in lieu thereof:

9 “(b) To carry out the provisions of this Act, the Presi-
10 dent is hereby authorized to utilize not to exceed \$400,000,-
11 000 out of a security fund to be set aside out of moneys

1 appropriated for the War and Navy Departments for the
 2 fiscal year 1948. The appropriations for the War and Navy
 3 Departments shall not be increased by reason of such author-
 4 ization. From funds made available under this authority
 5 there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Cor-
 6 poration the advances made by it under subsection (a) of
 7 this section."

80TH CONGRESS
 1ST SESSION

S. 938

AMENDMENTS

Intended to be proposed by Mr. BALDWIN to the
 bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
 Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
 Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the proper place in the bill, insert the following:

- 1 Nothing in this Act shall be construed to imply that
- 2 the Government of the United States shall be bound to
- 3 support private agreements made between American oil
- 4 companies and foreign governments or between American
- 5 oil companies and nationals of foreign governments.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 11 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 16, 1947
For actions of April 15, 1947
80th-1st, No. 70

CONTENTS

Committees.....	7	Lands.....	11	Subsidies.....	12
Economy.....	18	Lands, grazing.....	9	Taxation.....	17
Expenditures.....	19	Loans, farm.....	16	Trade, foreign.....	5,15
Flood control.....	6	Oleomargarine.....	17	Transportation.....	13
Foreign affairs.....	8,20	Regional authority.....	4	Veterans' benefits.....	16
Labor.....	3	Reports.....	10	Wildlife.....	9,14
Labor, farm.....	1	Small business.....	10	Wool.....	2

HIGHLIGHTS: House received conference report on bill to continue farm-labor program. House committee reported amended bill to provide for wool price supports. Rep. O'Konski commended FHA farm loans to veterans.

HOUSE

- ~~1. FARM LABOR. Received the conference report on H. R. 2102, to continue the farm labor supply program (pp. 3565-6). As reported by the conferees, the bill provides for ending the program on Dec. 31, 1947, with a 30-day grace period for foreign laborers to return to their country, and stipulates that the program shall not be construed to interfere with the functions of the USES or State employment services with respect to maintaining a Farm Placement Service; also includes the Knowland amendment providing that Mexican labor may stay in the U. S. as long as employed as such, but in no event after Dec. 31, 1947.~~
- ~~2. WOOL PROGRAM. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendments S. 814, to provide for price support of wool (H. Rept. 257)(p. 3568). The committee added an amendment imposing a tax of up to 50% on imported wool, voted to maintain support prices at the 1946 level (the Senate version would have permitted CCC to exceed 1946 prices), and included an authorization for CCC to sell Government wool below parity; and rejected a proposal that wool be made a basic commodity.~~
- ~~3. LABOR. Began debate on H. R. 3020, the labor-management relations bill, after agreeing to consider it by a 319-46 vote (pp. 3520-65).~~
- ~~4. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT. Rep. Lane, Mass., spoke in favor of creation of a Merrimack Valley Authority (pp. 3566-8).~~
- ~~5. FOREIGN TRADE. Received the President's message recommending legislation to authorize supervision of the exportation of arms, ammunition, implements of war, and related commodities, and the importation of arms, ammunition, and implements of war; to provide for registration of manufacturers, etc., of munitions; and to provide for more information on arms traffic (H. Doc. 195); to Foreign Affairs Committee (pp. 3531-2).~~

6. FLOOD CONTROL. Received from the War Department flood-control survey reports of the Wabash River and Mill Creek Valley (H. Docs. 197, 198); to Public Lands Committee (p. 3568).
7. COMMITTEES. Various subcommittees have been set up under the House Agriculture Committee. They are as follows:

Subcommittee No. 1. Andresen (chm.), Gillie, Simpson, Dague, Flannagan, Grant, and McMillan.

Subcommittee No. 2. Johnson (chm.), Hall, Gross, Goff, Cooley, Poage, and Worley.

Subcommittee No. 3. Murray (chm.), Hill, Fuller, Cotton, Zimmerman, Granger, Abernethy, and Fernos-Isern.

Subcommittee No. 4. Clevenger (chm.), Hoeven, Bramblett, Pace, Gathings, Farrington, and Bartlett.

Food and Agricultural Production Subcommittee. Andresen (chm.), Clevenger, Hill, Hoeven, Farrington, Pace, Poage, and Gathings.

Fertilizer Subcommittee. Johnson (chm.), Murray, Hoeven, Gross, Cooley, Grant, and Abernethy.

Foot and Mouth Disease Subcommittee. Gillie (chm.), Simpson, Bramblett, Granger, and Worley.

Cotton Subcommittee. Johnson (chm.), Clevenger, Hill, Bramblett, Goff, Cooley, Zimmerman, Pace, and Poage.

Fur Subcommittee. Murray (chm.), Hall, Dague, Cotton, Granger, McMillan, Abernethy, and Bartlett.

Crop Insurance Subcommittee. Hill (chm.), Hoeven, Simpson, Goff, Cooley, Pace, and Poage.

(The numbered subcommittees have no general assignments.)

SENATE

8. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey (pp. 3492-517).
- Sen. Martin, Pa., inserted speeches delivered by Sens. O'Connor (Md.) and Knowland (Calif.) on America's foreign policy (pp. 3488-92).
9. WILDLIFE; GRAZING. Received a Calif. Legislature resolution urging that action be taken to furnish a permanent supply of water to the grasslands in the western San Joaquin Valley to provide adequate grass for grazing and resting place for wild fowl (p. 3486).
10. REPORTS. Received the annual report of the Library of Congress for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1946 and the report of RFC's small business activities for Dec. 1946 (p. 3486).

BILLS INTRODUCED

11. LANDS. S. 1112, by Sen. Watkins, Utah (for himself and Sen. Thomas, Utah), and H.R. 3057, by Rep. Dawson, Utah, providing for the transfer of a part of Fort Douglas, Utah, to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture, and conveyance of part to the State of Utah, and public agencies of the State of Utah. To Armed Services Committees. (pp. 3487, 3569.)
12. SUBSIDIES. S. 1101, by Sen. Downey, Calif., "to amend Public Law 88, Seventy-ninth Congress," relative to certain RFC subsidies. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 3487.)
13. TRANSPORTATION. S. 1111, by Sen. Baldwin, Conn., to amend the act entitled

"An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes." To Public Works Committee. (p. 3487.)

14. WILDLIFE. H.R. 3058, by Rep. Granger, Utah, to provide for the establishment of a reservoir on Bear River, Utah, for the maintenance of water levels in the Bear River Migratory Bird Refuge. To Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. (p. 3569.)
15. COMMODITY EXPORTS. H.R. 3049, by Rep. Shafer, Mich., to continue in effect section 6 of the act of July 2, 1940, relating to the exportation of certain commodities. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 3568.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

16. FARM LOANS; VETERANS. Extension of remarks of Rep. O'Konski, Wis., commending FHA farm loans to veterans and urging provision of funds for that agency (pp. A1784-5).
17. OLEOMARGARINE TAX. Extension of remarks of Sen. Johnston, S.C., favoring repeal of the oleomargarine tax and including a South Carolina Farmer article, "Margarine and the Farmer" (pp. A1776-6).
18. NATIONAL ECONOMY. Rep. Thomas, N.J., inserted a Bergen Evening Record (Hackensack, N.J.) article "Managing Our Own Economy" (pp. A1790-1).
19. EXPENDITURES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Springer, Ind., urging reduction in Federal expenditures and including a Washington News editorial "Cut Spending First" (p. A1791).
20. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. A1773-4, A1789-90, A1803, A1803-5).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 16: H. Appropriations, USDA appropriation bill (ex.); H. (ex.) and S. Appropriations, deficiency appropriations; H. Agriculture, marketing agreements; H. Public Lands, Alaskan statehood (Krug to testify); S. Public Lands, reclamation matters; Joint Committee on Economic Report (ex.); S. Agriculture, committee calendar (ex.); H. Ways and Means, trade agreements; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; H. Appropriations, Government corporations (ex.); H. Foreign Affairs, aid to Greece and Turkey; H. Public Lands, Jackson Hole Monument.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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mous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. KEM:

S. 1097. A bill to incorporate the American War Dads; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. REVERCOMB introduced Senate bill 1098, to create a Department of Peace, which was referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. McCARRAN:

S. 1099. A bill to facilitate the investment of venture capital in new enterprises; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1100. A bill for the relief of Frankie Stalnaker; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DOWNEY:

S. 1101. A bill to amend Public Law 88, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved June 23, 1945; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 1102. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to call a convention of the Indians of California, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. GURNEY:

S. 1103. A bill to establish the Women's Army Corps in the Regular Army, and for other purposes;

S. 1104. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the Territory of Hawaii an easement for public highway and utility purposes in certain parcels of land in the district of Ewa, T. H.

S. 1105. A bill to amend the act of July 19, 1940 (54 Stat. 720, 34 U. S. C. 495a), and to amend section 2 and to repeal the profit-limitation and certain other limiting provisions of the act of March 27, 1934 (48 Stat. 503, 34 U. S. C. 495), as amended, relating to the construction of vessels and aircraft, known as the Vinson-Trammell Act, and for other purposes;

S. 1106. A bill to permit the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of War to supply utilities and related services to welfare activities, and persons whose businesses or residences are in the immediate vicinity of naval or military activities and require utilities or related services not otherwise obtainable locally, and for other purposes;

S. 1107. A bill to amend section 2 of the joint resolution approved November 17, 1941 (55 Stat. 764), relating to the arming of American vessels; and

S. 1108. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey to the city of Macon, Ga., and Bibb County, Ga., an easement for public road and utility purposes in certain Government-owned lands situated in Bibb County, Ga., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BALDWIN:

S. 1109. A bill for the relief of Szale Kacowicz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WILSON:

S. 1110. A bill to extend second-class mailing privileges to bulletins issued by State conservation and fish and game agencies or departments; to the Committee on Civil Service.

S. 1111. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes," approved July 11, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WATKINS (for himself and Mr. THOMAS of Utah):

S. 1112. A bill providing for the transfer of a part of Fort Douglas, Utah, to the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Agriculture, and conveyance of part to the State of Utah, and public agencies of the State of Utah; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. MAYBANK:

S. 1113. A bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to provide auto-

mobiles or other conveyances for certain disabled veterans of World War I or World War II; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

By Mr. MARTIN:

S. J. Res. 100. Joint resolution authorizing the erection in the District of Columbia of a memorial to Andrew W. Mellon; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce for appropriate reference a bill to create a Department of Peace, and I wish to state at the time of introducing it that an identical bill was introduced in the House of Representatives and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1098) to create a Department of Peace, introduced by Mr. REVERCOMB, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

REDUCTION OF INCOME TAX—AMENDMENTS

Mr. McCARRAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 1) to reduce individual income-tax payments, which was referred to the Committee on Finance and ordered to be printed.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to submit for appropriate reference an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the bill (H. R. 1) to reduce individual income-tax payments, and I request that it be printed and lie on the table.

This amendment would raise personal exemptions from the present \$500 per capita level to \$750 for a single person and \$1,500 for the head of a family. The allowance for dependents would remain at the present level of \$500.

This is the most logical step the Congress can take toward a reduction in taxes. Such an increase in the amount of personal exemptions treats all individual taxpayers alike—all benefit accordingly. Next, the raising of personal exemptions provides a measure of definite relief for the wage earner and other citizens in the low-income bracket. They are the ones who need tax relief most.

A family whose income does not exceed an allowance of \$1,500 for a husband and wife and \$500 for each dependent cannot purchase more than the actual necessities required for a minimum standard of living. All their income is required for food, shelter, clothing, and other such necessities incident to a minimum standard of living. This is where tax relief is most urgently needed and where relief will provide the most benefit to the greatest number.

We are all anxious to see a general tax reduction, but we must maintain sound fiscal policies. That means it is of highest importance that we balance the budget and keep it balanced. When we shall have accomplished this, then there can be a general tax reduction across the board in proportion to the reduction we are able to make on Federal expenditures. If we are successful in substantially reducing the cost of Government, then general tax reduction can follow proportionally.

I have considered several levels to which personal exemptions might be raised. I first intended to propose an amendment raising personal exemptions to \$1,000 for a single person and \$2,000 for the head of a family, but found that these figures would bring about the removal of between eighteen and twenty million people from the tax rolls and would reduce Treasury receipts from five to six billion dollars annually. The amendment which I now propose would remove only about 9,000,000 taxpayers from the rolls and would decrease Treasury receipts from two and one-half to three billion dollars. In my judgment, this reduction in revenues would not jeopardize national income or sound fiscal policies and would provide tax relief where it is most needed for the greatest number of people.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendment submitted by the Senator from Arkansas will be received, printed, and lie on the table.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia:

H. R. 492. An act to authorize the juvenile court of the District of Columbia in proper cases to waive jurisdiction in capital offenses and offenses punishable by life imprisonment;

H. R. 493. An act to amend section 4 of the act entitled "An act to control the possession, sale, transfer, and use of pistols and other dangerous weapons in the District of Columbia," approved July 8, 1932 (sec. 22, 3204 D. C. Code, 1940 ed.);

H. R. 495. An act to amend the Code of Law for the District of Columbia;

H. R. 1448. An act to amend section 7 of an act making appropriations to provide for the government of the District of Columbia for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903, and for other purposes, approved July 1, 1902;

H. R. 1997. An act to provide seniority benefits for certain officers and members of the Metropolitan Police force and of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia who are veterans of World War II and lost opportunity for promotion by reason of their service in the armed forces of the United States;

H. R. 2659. An act to establish a program for the rehabilitation of alcoholics, promote temperance, and provide for the medical and scientific treatment of persons found to be alcoholics by the courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

H. R. 2846. An act authorizing and directing the removal of stone piers in West Executive Avenue between the grounds of the White House and the Department of State Building.

MEETING OF JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee may be given permission to meet at 2 o'clock in the old Inter-oceanic Canal Committee room for the purpose of considering the nomination of Joe B. Dooley to be United States district judge for the northern district of Texas.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, permission is granted.

MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Labor and Federal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations be author-

ized to meet at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, permission is granted.

MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that one of the subcommittees of the Committee on the District of Columbia may hold a meeting at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR VANDENBERG BEFORE PAN AMERICAN UNION

[Mr. WHERRY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "Pan-American Day," delivered by Senator VANDENBERG before the Pan American Union on April 14, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT BY POPULAR VOTE—EDITORIAL COMMENT

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Majority Rule," published in the Woonsocket (R. I.) Call of April 1, 1947; also an editorial entitled "Why Not?" published in the Worcester (Mass.) Labor News of April 4, 1947, which appear in the Appendix.]

JEFFERSON DAY ADDRESS BY GAEL SULLIVAN

[Mr. McGRATH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Jefferson Day address delivered by the Honorable Gael Sullivan, vice chairman and executive director of the Democratic National Committee, at Providence, R. I., April 13, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

PRESIDENT TRUMAN AND HENRY WALLACE

[Mr. LUCAS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Truman and Wallace," published in the Washington Evening Star of April 15, 1947, and an editorial entitled "No Cause for Hysteria," published in the Washington Post of April 15, 1947, which appear in the Appendix.]

MARGARINE AND THE FARMER—ARTICLE BY MRS. CORRIE T. PLYLER

[Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Margarine and the Farmer," written by Mrs. Corrie T. Plyler, of Columbia, S. C., and published in the South Carolina Farmer, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESSES BY SENATOR KNOWLAND AND SENATOR O'CONOR BEFORE THE PITTSBURGH AMEN CORNER CLUB

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, last Saturday night in Pittsburgh, Pa., a very important dinner was held by the Amen Corner Club, and it was addressed by the distinguished Senator from Maryland [Mr. O'CONOR] and the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] and also by the Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately I do not have a copy of the remarks of the Governor of Pennsylvania, but I do have copies of the addresses delivered by the Senator from Maryland and the Senator from California, and owing to the fact that they are so much in keeping with the problems we are now considering and discussing in the Senate, I ask unanimous

consent that they be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

ADDRESS OF SENATOR HERBERT R. O'CONOR, OF MARYLAND

As free men, proudly conscious of our heritage of national and individual liberty, we like to think of ourselves as captains of our souls and absolute masters of our fate. When we pause today to contemplate the future of America and of the world, however, we find ourselves captives of the forces of fate, and faced with decisions which none of us want to make, and which few, indeed, ever thought we should have to make.

Through the years we Americans have considered our country a world apart. We did not feel that it was necessary to concern ourselves with the problems of the rest of the world. Now it is a shock to find that we must so concern ourselves. The oceans which once were so potent to protect us from surprise attack have shrunk to insignificance. The world which only recently was so immense that we could pursue our way regardless of what happened to nations and peoples elsewhere, is now no larger by comparison than the crowded Europe of colonial days.

Atomic research has forced the world to acknowledge its oneness. One day the atom bomb will reduce it to nothingness unless all peoples, recognizing the portents, can bring themselves to forego age-old hates and rivalries and to dwell in peace and cooperation, or, at least, tolerance.

America, as a nation, has attained the fullness of its destiny. This was inevitable, though we sensed it not. Fabulously wealthy as we were with a profusion of Nature's bounties; endowed with unbounded initiative and enterprise, to enable us to make the most of these resources—it had to be simply a matter of time before American energy and know-how would place us in the forefront of the nations of the world.

Having attained to full maturity in physical development, America must now evidence a commensurate growth of mind and spirit if we are adequately to discharge our newly acquired responsibilities.

During the years of our national adolescence there were so many matters to claim our attention—the vast West to explore and conquer, the boundless wealth of forest and prairie and mines to utilize, the beckoning industrial empire to develop. Little wonder it was that our ancestors, looking upon America as the garden spot of the world, an Eden of complete self-sufficiency, found it beyond their ken to give thought to the troubles or quarrels of other nations.

Today, all has been changed. Facing the future squarely and realistically, we must accept certain facts. First, that America is today the No. 1 democratic nation of the world, with only one contender for world leadership; secondly, that Russia, the other claimant to world eminence, is violently and unalterably opposed to all those ideals and principles which are the very sinew and fiber of the American body politic.

The inevitable result is, that with World War II still fresh in our minds, World War III is threatened. The prelude to that possible conflict is already in evidence, in the struggle now in progress to capture and hold the minds of men. It is a struggle that finds the democratic nations and all who enthroned reason and individual liberty, ranged against the exponents of another ideology. I won't say it is a new ideology, because it is as old as time itself. But today it has been developed and strengthened to a point far beyond any previous progress in this field in all the world's history.

In the new nations which are coming into existence throughout the world, and in the

older, long-established nations as well, there are liberal leaders who look to the foremost of all democratic successes—to the United States—for guidance and good will. During the war, the American people learned their greatest lesson in geography and learned it well. We are now challenged to extend those lessons, to project the knowledge gained, into affairs of the world we hope will be peaceful. To pull our cloaks about us and to see no farther than our own immediate interests would be, today, both short-sighted and unwise.

We cannot wait until the shock of war startles us into a broad concept of world action. We are living in unreality, unless we recognize that starvation and plague, as well as corrupt and inept governments beyond the oceans, make rotten spots in a world in which we have a large share. Nothing these days is so far away that it does not come remarkably close to our own lives.

What does that mean for America? It means that at this very moment America, through no desire of its own, has to decide * * * to take the most important step in foreign policy in all its long history. It means that, in an effort to head off a third world war before it reaches the shooting stage, America must now give attention to the world-wide defense of democracy and call a halt to the ever-spreading threat of Communist expansion.

Our old outposts are gone. Down through the years, and particularly in the early days of World Wars I and II, the power and might of Great Britain was there, to hold back the pressure of alien doctrines and ideas, until America could arouse herself to the point where positive action could be taken. You now know that Great Britain no longer stands as the world's bulwark against disaster. Utterly exhausted by her heroic stand against the mighty Nazi hordes, Britain has "thrown up the sponge" of world leadership. Spent and weary, she has passed on the baton of leadership to America, the one nation capable of accepting such a vast commitment on behalf of freedom.

So today Fate presses upon us for decision. Shall freedom have a chance to survive in small nations everywhere, or are we to sit back, as France and England did in the days of Hitler's rise, and watch another mighty threat to world peace and integrity develop and expand before our very eyes?

This must not be allowed to happen. Thank God, it will not be allowed to happen. The American proposals for aid to Greece and Turkey, to save them from chaos and ultimate lapse into communism, reveal a definite recognition of America's new role in world affairs, and a readiness to accept the responsibility devolving upon such leadership.

After thorough consideration and study of the broad issues involved, I am firmly convinced that the policy of assistance to Greece and Turkey not only is vital to the security of our own country but also to the survival of the United Nations. Let me add too, that it is vital likewise, and in a very particular way, to the self-respect of the American people, many of whom are finding it difficult to live with their own consciences after our failure to insist upon the democratic principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter.

Coming directly from the Senate, I can assure you that when the President delivered his message to Congress, on March 12, proposing aid to Greece and Turkey, many of us had the gravest reservations as to the wisdom of his proposals. This was hardly surprising. What the President proposed represented a drastic change in foreign policy. It seemed to propel us into one of the trouble spots of the globe. Some thought we had dealt a serious blow to the United Nations by not approaching it first. Others felt that we might be preparing to prop up reactionary regimes in various part of the world. Still others feared it might lead to war with the Soviet Union.

These were grave fears. Congress could not ignore them. Committees in both Houses have held hearings on the program. The members of the committees have given the matter unusually searching study. Partisanship has been conspicuously absent.

Let us cut through the fog of controversy which has settled around this question and do what we can to see its basic elements clearly.

Greece has suffered to an unimaginable degree from war's devastation. It is riven by civil war fomented, at least in part, from outside the country. The economic assistance rendered by the British and by UNRRA was scheduled to end on March 31. Greece seemed headed for economic collapse and political chaos, which would pave the way for totalitarian dictatorship, possibly under outside control.

Turkey, unlike Greece, is not destitute. But the Turks have been forced to keep their army fully mobilized in time of peace as they did in war, because of Soviet pressure for territorial changes on their borders and in the status of the Dardanelles. If the Turkish economy is to stand the strain of full military mobilization, it must be supported by resources from the United States.

The bill now under consideration in the Congress authorizes the President to extend financial and other assistance to Greece and Turkey when he deems it to be in the interest of the United States, and upon the request of those countries. Both the Greek and the Turkish Governments have requested such assistance. An appropriation of \$400,000,000 is authorized in the bill. The President may furnish financial aid to Greece and Turkey in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise. He may detail persons in the employ of the United States Government—civil servants—to these countries to assist them in meeting their problems. He may also detail a limited number of military personnel for advisory purposes only. Troops are not to be sent.

Essentially, the bill is an authorization to the Executive to render emergency aid in the interest of this country. It is not a threat to anybody. It menaces no one. It is to be used to prevent economic and possibly political collapse in a highly strategic area. A collapse in that area would have incalculable results. If, through misery and want, the population of Greece is reduced to utter destitution, and if, through infiltration from outside, Communist agents gain control of the country and wipe out free institutions there, the effects will be felt in all the countries of the eastern and central Mediterranean.

We cannot, and we would not, attempt to tell the peoples of any country how they should govern themselves. But we can see to it by every appropriate means that they retain the power to make a free choice in the matter. We do not think that the Greeks, or the Turks, or any other people of the near and middle eastern region—nor, for that matter, any nation anywhere in the world—should be pushed around. We do not think that they should be forced by outside pressure to abandon free institutions if they desire them. We know that, in a sense, their fate is linked with our own. An explosion which would put out the light of freedom in Greece or Turkey might start a chain reaction in many another land.

There has been considerable discussion over four problems having to do with the methods and the ultimate results of the program.

The first question is whether we are by-passing or weakening the United Nations by proposing to act on our own.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee made an exhaustive examination of this problem. It concluded that the President's proposal represented the only possible meth-

od of coping with the emergency situation which now exists.

What agency of the United Nations could do the job within the brief period of time at our disposal? The answer is that the United Nations can do, and is doing, part of the job; but that we are the only country which can do the rest.

The United Nations is equipped to deal with the more overt threats to the territorial integrity of Greece. The Greek Government has charged before the Security Council of the United Nations that armed bands operating within its territory are partly supplied, trained, and given refuge across the border in Yugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria. The Council has appointed a commission which has just investigated the Greek charges on the spot. It is writing its report, which will soon be presented to the Security Council.

This would deal with one of Greece's problems. But it would not be a substitute for the assistance Greece has asked from us. By itself, it would not halt internal disorder or prevent an economic collapse. What Greece needs in the immediate future is economic and financial aid to take the place of the UNRRA and British funds no longer flowing to that country. Only the United States could furnish the necessary aid in time to be of assistance.

On March 28, Senator Austin, our representative in the Security Council, gave a full description of the proposals to the Council. He stressed this point: That the aid we extend to Greece and Turkey is temporary emergency aid. It is designed to tide these countries over until the United Nations can act. Then, on a long-term basis, the new United Nations agencies would be expected to assume the burden of assistance.

As a matter of fact, what we propose to do to aid Greece will set the stage for United Nations action. It is the blood transfusion which will give Greece the strength to work out its economic salvation. It will give Greece the productive capacity to qualify as a good risk for a loan from the International Bank. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations has already prepared an extensive program of measures which the United Nations can take, over the long run, to rehabilitate the country.

To make assurance doubly sure on this score, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has added to the bill language directing the President to withdraw the authorized aid if a government representing a majority of the Greek or Turkish people so request; or if the Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable. Under the bill as it now stands, we are pledged to respect such a finding, notwithstanding any veto in the Security Council.

If this is violating the Charter or disregarding the United Nations, then words have lost their meaning.

The second important question which arose in the Senate committee hearings was whether this program would result in similar requests for assistance from other areas, with expenses which might become unbearable. Some suggested we might be starting a new gravy train for suppliant nations.

This policy, if supported by Congress, involves a readiness to help other nations under certain circumstances. But it is clear that each case would vary, and that each request for assistance would have to be handled on its particular merits. The Department of State has assured the Senate that it has no plans at present for the extension of aid similar to that proposed for Greece and Turkey to any other country.

This brings me to the third great question raised in the Senate. Will this program

endanger world peace? Will it force us into war with Russia?

The answer is "No." Let us not pull any punches in discussing so vital a matter.

Anyone who will take the trouble to examine the record of history since the war will be driven to the conclusion that Russian foreign policy is aggressive and expanding. This is true whether we consider the territorial gains made by the Russians as a result of the war, the progress they have made in dominating large areas in eastern Europe, or the activities of Communist agents in all parts of the earth.

The United Nations cannot survive, and the United Nations cannot be secure, if any great power pursues expansionist aims. When Adolf Hitler was having his heyday we discovered all too clearly where that type of policy leads if it is allowed to proceed unchecked.

We discovered that you do not stop aggression by yielding to it. You do not stop expansion by turning a blind eye to the infiltration of subversive elements into a country.

That is not the way to obtain stability and peace.

The Greco-Turkish aid program does point the way to stabilization. It does not attack Russia. It does not disturb the Soviet Union in the enjoyment of any rights and privileges to which that country is entitled.

There are certain risks involved in any policy adopted by the United States today. But I firmly believe that the Congress and the people of this country are convinced that the most risky adventure, the most dangerous and irresponsible course, would be to do nothing.

This is the time to make our policy clear. I believe that our action in aiding Greece and Turkey, and its sequel—United Nations action—offer the best hope for reaching a real understanding with all other countries, including the Russians, for the maintenance of the freedom of all nations and the preservation of peace.

Let us now turn to the fourth important question considered in the Senate. Are we justified in extending aid to Greece and Turkey on the ground that we are aiding democracies? Are these countries as presently organized true democracies?

Who is qualified to judge in such matters? Perhaps their democracy is imperfect. So is our own. But both countries hold elections. Both have opposition parties. Both tolerate criticism. I believe that, if they can feel secure politically and economically, both peoples will continue on the road of democracy, on which they have already made such progress.

The choice we have to face is not a choice between a perfect democracy and an imperfect democracy. The question is whether there shall be any democracy in Greece or Turkey at all. If Greece succumbs to the armed minorities which threaten its political and economic stability, if Turkey cannot support the weight of full and prolonged military mobilization, then free institutions and human freedoms would disappear in these countries and the way would be paved for further Communist inroads into Italy and possibly France, in the Near East, and in Africa.

As we face this new crisis in a world fairly bristling with uncertainties it is imperative that we stand united in what we do. We can ill afford to be divided. We can ill afford the luxury of partisan politics. Last Tuesday I was thrilled when Senator VANDENBERG rose to magnificent heights to support the President's program of assistance to Greece and Turkey. He and Senator CONNOLLY have been working together as a team. At San Francisco, at London, at Paris, at New York, and in Washington these Senators have stood shoulder to shoulder in their battle for world peace.

Nearly 2 years have elapsed since the Senate, by the overwhelming vote of 89 to 2, ratified the Charter of the United Nations. On that day Democrats and Republicans alike pledged themselves to help make the United Nations an effective instrument of world peace. On that day the Senate voted not as Republicans and Democrats—they voted as Americans. And the spirit of the Congress today is to continue along that road of bipartisanship.

To effectuate our goal of world peace I submit, we should commit ourselves to the following program:

1. We must scrupulously abide by the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter and insist that other members of the United Nations do the same. These principles and purposes are the ten commandments of the United Nations and unless they are respected by all, the organization will wither away and the vision of world peace will become a mirage.

2. We must support to the hilt the social and humanitarian work of the United Nations and thus help lay a solid foundation for lasting peace. The war-torn lands of hungry Europe and Asia look more than ever upon the United States as the symbol of their hopes and aspirations. They feel that only through our leadership will the human rights and fundamental freedoms envisaged in the Charter be realized.

3. We must support unequivocally the projected International Trade Organization and its efforts to reduce obstacles to world trade. We might just as well face the facts; it is no longer possible in this shriveled-up world to have political peace unless we have economic peace as well. A freer flow of goods and services across national boundary lines for the economic well-being of all must be our goal.

4. We must insist upon the speedy conclusion of the agreement providing for the armed forces which the Security Council needs to maintain world peace. For more than a year now the Russian members of the military staff committee have dalled and delayed. As a result, the Security Council, like a policeman without his club, remains without the power it needs to enforce the law. We must leave no stone unturned to convert the Council into that powerful guardian of world peace it was planned to be.

5. We must push to conclusion plans to eliminate from national armaments both atomic and other weapons adaptable to mass destruction. Obviously, this calls for the creation of an adequate system of inspection and controls at the international level. The alternative is a terrified world, already bled white by two major wars, cringing in the deepening shadow of the atom bomb.

6. We must strengthen the regional peace machinery of the Americas and make it an integral part of the United Nations system. In the Act of Chapultepec the 21 American Republics agreed that an attack against any one of them would be considered an attack against all. But that was only a wartime expedient. We must now put the act in permanent treaty form, thus transforming it into one of the enduring cornerstones of the United Nations.

7. We must ratify at once the agreement placing our mandated islands in the Pacific under United Nations trusteeship. Very recently the Security Council approved the agreement which would permit the United States to fortify the Marshalls, the Marianas, and the Carolines, but would make us responsible to the United Nations for the welfare of the people there. The measure will soon be before the Senate. We should place our stamp of approval upon it without delay and demonstrate once more our confidence in the work of the Trusteeship Council.

8. We must conclude and ratify, with all possible speed, the peace treaties both with the satellite countries and with Germany, Austria, and Japan. To a very great extent,

the success of the United Nations will depend upon the kind of peace that is established in Europe and in Asia. Of this much I am sure; the peoples of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Austria cannot breathe freely again until Russian troops have left their soil and the iron curtain is drawn back. These are the first conditions for a stable world order.

One of the heartening things that has stood out in all emergencies of American history has been the availability of adequate leadership to enable us to cope with any emergency. In the War of the Revolution, George Washington was the rock around which the forces of freedom rallied. In the War Between the States, Abraham Lincoln, majestic in his simplicity of mind, stood firm for the right and integrity of America. So, too, in all succeeding crises there have been leaders at hand, ready and capable. Today we are similarly blest.

One has but to read the news reports from Moscow to realize that in Gen. George C. Marshall America has the ideal Secretary of State to check Russian aggression. He is the perfect example of the calm, judicial, unperturbed leader. Convinced of the justice of America's position, he stands like the Rock of Gibraltar, an unyielding exponent of democratic ideals, a symbol of hope for all who are threatened by Russia's aggression.

Why has it fallen to America's lot to champion the cause of world freedoms? It isn't solely because of our military might, our vast economic resources. There are moral causes as well. By our very nature, by the consecrated blood of our forefathers, by all our creeds and covenants, we are the moral enemy of all tyranny. We are the moral opponents of any nation or any government which sets itself up as master of mankind.

For it is our national faith that men shall be free, and not slaves; that they shall be equal before their fellowman as they are equal in the sight of God. We are the spiritual antagonists of racial hatreds and religious intolerance, of all who would trample and destroy the dignity of man the wide world over.

Nor are these moral issues by any means one-sided. Our dislike for oppressors is as nothing compared with their blood-hungry loathing of us. For as long as America stands she is a beacon in the sky, a promise in the heavens to all down-trodden peoples of the earth. As long as the torch of liberty burns in our land, there is light upon the earth, there is hope, and there is incentive to rise against the oppressor.

There is no denying these moral enmities. There is no dodging the responsibilities entailed. Even if we wished it, America could not avoid being the symbol of world-wide hope. We have been just that for 300 years and more. It was to the new world that the victims of old oppressions looked back in the 17th century. It was to the American colonies that the exponents of democracy first came and established constitutional, responsive governments.

It was on this continent that the first great and enduring union of free peoples was instituted. It was to this country that the fugitives from oppression migrated in search of what they could not obtain at home.

Small wonder, indeed, if the eyes of oppressed people everywhere still turn, instinctively, toward America. We, of this generation, must keep faith with our forefathers. To do so not only must we preserve the nation they founded, and pass on to our descendants the same democratic form of government and the same individual liberty and freedom which have been our heritage but, God willing, we must be ready to answer when victims of oppression clamor for our aid.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, Governor Duff, distinguished guests, and members of the Amen

Corner, it is good to be with you here in the great State of Pennsylvania whose cities and towns are a major part of the epic of America.

As a boy in the schools of California the name of Philadelphia brought to mind the Declaration of Independence, the Liberty Bell, the Constitution and the early days of the Republic; Gettysburg meant the high water mark of the rebellion, one of the world's decisive battles and Lincoln's immortal address while Pittsburgh brought forth a panorama of the industrial productivity of twentieth-century America.

From the State of California whose political and economic growth has been so greatly contributed to by sons and daughters of Pennsylvania I bring greetings and symbolic "hands across the continent" pledge of friendship.

It took the "forty-niners" and the early pioneers who followed them many months by covered wagon to make the long trek westward. Now we fly the same distance in half a day.

Yes, we of this generation live in an accelerated age. In the nineteen hundred and forty-seven years since the birth of Christ the annihilation of space has been largely concentrated in the last 47 years. The radio, airplane, television are inventions of this century. There must be added the mass production of the automobile which while invented earlier did not reach maturity until after the eighteen hundreds passed into oblivion.

Not yet to the halfway mark of the nineteen hundreds we have already entered, for better or for worse, the atomic age. Within our hands we have the power to destroy civilization as we know it or to contribute to the opening of a new golden age.

A year ago I made a 30,000-mile trip around the world as a member of the War Investigating Committee. While in Japan I had the opportunity of seeing Nagasaki, where the second atomic bomb had dropped. During the war I had seen much destruction in England, France, Belgium, and Germany, but never such destruction as in that Japanese seaport.

The community looked as though it had been put through a coffee grinder and the remains scattered over the landscape.

As far as the atomic bomb is concerned there are three things we must keep in mind:

1. It is a weapon hitherto unknown by mankind.

2. There is no known defense against it.

3. No nation can have a permanent monopoly. What one nation and group of scientists can discover other nations, given time, industrial productivity and the resources, can discover.

What we do have is an element of time. It may be 2 years or it may be 10. Somewhere in between that narrow range other nations will have what we now like to think of as exclusive possession.

There can be no tranquillity for ourselves or our children in a world which has embarked upon an atomic armament race. The Pearl Harbor of the future will not be a torpedo bomber attack upon a few sitting duck warships in a distant Pacific harbor. Rather it will be rocket-guided-missile atomic attack upon every industrial and communications center in America on the same day and perhaps at the same instant. Pittsburgh, Detroit and San Francisco will almost certainly be on the some would-be aggressor's priority list.

Hence the need for using the relatively short time which remains to us to establish a system of international law and order within the peace of the world will be secure to ourselves and our children. In addition to adequate controls it is essential that no potential aggressor be able to block collective security by the use of the veto.

As a Member of the Senate of the United States and of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee of the Congress I wish to make crystal

clear that until and unless such adequate controls are established I am unalterably opposed to the surrender of our atomic secrets to any other nation on the face of the earth.

Yet atomic power is not all-restrictive by any means. In the field of industry and medicine it offers great possibilities. Within 7 years atomic power will be used for generating electricity and to power ships. What significance will this have on the coal fields of Pennsylvania or the oil fields of both of our States? An adult cannot return to childhood by pushing back the hands of the clock.

To meet the problems of the atomic age we need to streamline our governmental and economic facilities. Yet in so doing we must not cast off from the solid truths that neither time nor space can change. The multiplication table has not changed by the transition from the horse-and-buggy generation of our grandfathers to our jet-propelled era. Two and two still make four in spite of the utopian theories of squirrel cage thinking that has sometimes prevailed in high places. So too, freedom is better than slavery behind the iron curtain.

Nor is security a good substitute for freedom. The most secure man is the inmate of the State penitentiary who has his food, clothing, and lodging guaranteed for life.

There is no doubt that the great economic and political problems that confront us can be solved in one way or another. The challenge we face is to solve them under our constitutional form of government and within the framework of the American system of personal liberty and free enterprise.

We are faced with postwar problems of no less magnitude than some of those which confronted us during World War II. The intelligence we use as a people in the solution of these problems will determine the future of our Republic.

We need some of the same patriotic cooperation on the part of our people that we had in winning the war. It is no time for narrow partisanship. The stakes are too high. If we fail here there is little hope for liberty or free enterprise elsewhere in the world.

One of the greatest contributions we can make to world peace is to maintain a sound national economy and a solvent Federal Government. Both are essential if we are to meet our commitments at home and abroad.

Our national income approaches \$170,000,000,000 per annum. To keep our employables employed, to enable the Federal Government to meet necessary commitments at home and abroad and to keep both small and large enterprise functioning there are significant indications that the national income must approximate \$150,000,000,000 a year.

But such a huge national income may allow the inflationary forces to get out of hand unless the Nation maintains a high degree of productivity. Work stoppages and slowdowns are not a constructive approach to the problem which is of vital concern to every man, woman, and child in America. At the same time both industry and Government have a responsibility to encourage a rising standard of living for all of our people through increased purchasing power and lower consumer costs which can best be achieved by more and not less productivity.

For the security of our economic and political system what we desperately need now is for labor and management to pull together instead of pulling apart.

If they do this I am convinced that we need not fear the communism of Russia or the socialism of any other section of the world. The American system of free enterprise will lead the way. It is also my very strong belief that the best defense we have against communism and the best medium of propaganda for our way of life is to make certain that the American system functions at a high rate of efficiency. Also our people must understand

that they have an expending stake in the preservation of our free-enterprise system.

Congressional mail indicates that there is a considerable amount of disappointment that the Eightieth Congress has not already solved most of the problems facing us. I can fully understand the viewpoint of the person back home who is impatient at what he considers to be the lack of adequate progress.

However, I wish to point out that for the last 14 years the Government of the United States has been dominated by the executive branch. During most of that time we were either in a state of emergency growing out of one of the major depressions with which this Nation has been confronted, or out of the dislocations caused by the beginnings of World War II and our own later participation in that conflict.

During that entire period of time, on many occasions, bills were proposed by the executive branch of the Government and hurriedly passed by both Houses of Congress. This, of course, made for action. In some instances, such hasty action was justified by the critical problems which faced us.

But too often bills were sent up and passed with alacrity because strong pressure by the executive branch of the Government prevented or discouraged mature consideration by the Congress. This tendency led to the criticism that Congress in those days had degenerated into a rubber stamp for the executive branch of the Government, which, indeed, to a considerable extent, it had.

This, of course, is not in keeping with our Constitution. Representative government, by its very nature, requires time to process bills through the committees of both Houses of Congress and through the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States. Provided that there is not unnecessary delay, I firmly believe that in the long run, when given due and serious consideration, better legislation results and, as a result, the fundamental liberties of the people are more secure. Compared with the lightning-like speed growing out of congressional activity under executive pressure, I am frank to admit that the Eightieth Congress has not passed to date as large a volume of legislation. However, this is the price we must pay unless we are to surrender our representative form of government.

During the time that I have been in Washington, I have had the opportunity to discuss this problem with Members of both Houses of Congress, with representatives of the press and with many individuals in and out of public life. Almost without exception they agree that the Eightieth Congress has accomplished in the same length of time more than any normal peacetime Congress in the Nation's history. The Members of both the House of Representatives and of the Senate, Republicans and Democrats alike, have worked hard in committee and on the floor and have devoted their efforts to meeting the tremendous volume of postwar problems with which we are now confronted.

In the first place, when the Eightieth Congress met we were faced with the need for the complete reorganization of the committee system which grew out of the passage of the La Follette-Monroney Reorganization Act by the Seventy-ninth Congress. In the Senate, the number of standing committees was reduced from 33 to 15. The number of standing committee assignments for each Member was cut down to two in the Senate and to one in the House of Representatives. This meant a complete reshuffling of committee assignments and responsibilities that had grown up during the period of many decades. Since all legislation must pass through the committee process, this meant that there was a delay in the start of committee hearings.

The record clearly shows that since the committee reorganization was accomplished the Members have been hard at work. Many hearings have been held and much valuable information gathered. Several of the com-

mittees have now closed the public hearings on some of the major legislation and are in the process of drafting or redrafting bills to be presented to the two Houses of Congress.

In the final analysis, the real test as to the capacity of the Eightieth Congress to do its job must rest on its final record. I firmly believe that it will be an exceptionally good record.

The Congress will make a substantial reduction in the Federal budget and will do this without endangering the national defense or the essential governmental services.

Provision will be made for a substantial reduction in the Federal public debt which now amounts to over \$259,000,000,000. Certainly during relatively good years, prudent judgment would dictate that governments as well as individuals should reduce their indebtedness when they have an excess of income over expenditures.

The Eightieth Congress will pass tax-reduction legislation. While this will not be, in my opinion, as large a reduction as some Members of the House have advocated, it will amount to a real saving to the taxpayers, and at the same time will not undermine a sound fiscal policy. It is quite possible that tax reduction will be made in two parts. A moderate reduction at this session and another reduction next year after we have determined what the final budget figures will be and after we have seen what progress the world has made toward peace and economic stability.

Each House of Congress has already passed a so-called portal-to-portal bill growing out of the Mount Clemens decision. The bill is now before a conference committee. Without such legislation, the economic existence of many industries would have been in jeopardy. The failure of an industry in turn means a loss of jobs to workers and the loss of revenue to the Government.

The Congress has also initiated a constitutional amendment limiting the Presidential term to two elective terms plus not more than 2 years of an unexpired term. This constitutional amendment was made necessary by the fact that for the first time in the history of the country we had a clear demonstration that the "no third-term tradition" was not a sufficient guaranty against a President being elected for four terms which involved a period of 16 years. Already this constitutional amendment has been ratified by eight States.

Within a very short period of time, labor legislation will be passed by both Houses of Congress. It is my belief that such legislation will firmly establish the fact that with power must go responsibility. There is every indication that at a minimum such legislation will make contracts between employers and employees equally binding on both parties, will outlaw jurisdictional disputes, and will place substantial restrictions upon the use of secondary boycotts. In addition, the Wagner Act will be amended so that employers and employees are on a more equal footing with the Government acting in the general public interest rather than as a partisan of one side or the other. In addition, I believe that the Congress will make it crystal clear that no man or group of men will ever again have the power to strangle the economic life of 140,000,000 Americans on any pretext whatsoever.

During this same period, in addition to meeting the problems growing out of reconversion from war to peace, we have had to formulate some important policies governing our foreign relations. As one of the victorious powers, we have assumed certain responsibilities which we cannot and should not evade or avoid. My colleague, the Senator from Maryland, has discussed some of the problems in that field.

It is my firm belief that the functioning of our representative republic is largely dependent upon having a fully informed electorate at home. They must recognize both

the problems involved and the necessary steps that must be taken for their solution. The long panorama of history clearly shows that freedom is not something that once achieved can be thereafter taken for granted. Not continual adolescent dreams of easy solutions, but rather hard work and sacrifice are required if we are to preserve our institutions and fulfill our destiny.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair will state the parliamentary situation. The question is on agreeing to a series of amendments submitted by the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] to Senate bill 938. Inasmuch as all the amendments constitute one united purpose, namely, that of eliminating Turkey from the pending bill, without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc. Therefore, without objection, the pending question is on agreeing to the series of amendments submitted by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. TAYLOR obtained the floor.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. TAYLOR. The Senator from New Jersey informs me that he must attend a committee meeting, and that he desires to make some remarks on the pending bill. If it is agreeable to the Senate that I may have the floor when the Senator from New Jersey concludes his remarks, I shall be happy to yield.

Mr. WHERRY. Is the Senator asking unanimous consent that he may have the floor at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. TAYLOR. I ask unanimous consent that I may retain the floor after the Senator from New Jersey shall have concluded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, that order will be made, and the Senator from New Jersey will be recognized.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I wish to express my appreciation for the courtesy of the Senator from Idaho in permitting me to address the Senate for a few minutes without prejudice to his right to the floor.

Before I proceed with my remarks, I ask unanimous consent that the members of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be excused from attendance on the session of the Senate at this time, as they are engaged at the moment in completing the labor bill.

I further ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of my remarks I may rejoin the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I desire to state my position as clearly as I can with regard to the pending legislation which provides emergency aid for Greece and Turkey. The passage of the bill involves issues comparable in importance with the ratification of the United Nations Charter by the Senate in June of

1945. Every Member of the Congress must pass on this proposed legislation after the fullest consideration of all the implications of the pending action. The responsibility is particularly on the Senate of the United States, because we are more immediately concerned with matters of foreign policy. This responsibility applies particularly to members of our Foreign Relations Committee, which has had the duty of considering the proposed legislation in the first instance, and reporting to the Senate thereon.

The distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has so ably presented the arguments for the passage of the pending measure that it is not necessary for any of the other members of the committee to deal further with the details of the bill. There are, however, some over-all considerations which we must all face, particularly as there is inherently involved a new extension of the foreign policy of the United States.

I feel it is my responsibility, as a Member of this distinguished body, to report to my constituents and to explain the development of my own thinking which has led me to support the program involved in the proposal before us.

President Truman's message of March 12 to the joint session of Congress, asking that Congress pass the pending bill providing for aid for Greece and Turkey, came as a profound shock to me and to many others who felt that we might be entering into new and untried experiences for our great country, and who felt that these new adventures should only be undertaken after full and prayerful consideration.

The proposals of the President called primarily for relief for Greece and Turkey in order that their economies might be stabilized and that they might be helped to help themselves in recovering from the dreadful shock of the war.

But beyond mere rehabilitation relief, which we can all heartily support in principle to the extent of our national financial ability, the message presents a new doctrine of foreign policy for the United States. In connection with both of these important approaches to the existing world chaos, many questions arose in the minds of our people, including, of course, the press and the many Nation-wide organizations that have been supporting collective action for the preservation of the peace and the development of the spirit of the United Nations.

As has been stated by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, these issues were of such importance that our committee felt it wise publicly to ask questions concerning problems that were involved in the new proposals, and to have those questions publicly answered. As has been stated, some 400 questions were propounded by Members of the United States Senate, representing their various constituencies, and ultimately 111 consolidated questions were presented to the administration with regard to the new program.

Out of these questions there emerged what I feel are a number of key questions, such as:

First. The precedent that might be set by the relief program.

Second. What is the so-called Truman doctrine? Is it an extension of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the continent of Europe? Is it inconsistent with the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine?

Third. Why does the United States take unilateral action in matters of such profound importance without submitting the entire program first to the appropriate organs of the United Nations?

These are intelligent questions, and deserve the most serious consideration.

It has been deeply gratifying that there has not been the slightest evidence of any attempt during the discussions to approach these issues from a partisan political standpoint. So far as the Foreign Relations Committee is concerned, all of its members, Republicans and Democrats alike, have asked these questions together and have found the answers together. Together we are supporting the President's policy, implemented, as I shall try to point out, by the step-by-step developments since March 12, the date of the President's appearance before the joint session.

Immediately following the delivery of the President's message, the most significant reaction was the raising of the third question which I have mentioned above, namely, Why was the United Nations Organization bypassed? On further study, the Truman message indicates the answer to this question and lays the foundation for what might be called a new application of policy rather than a new doctrine. Let me quote a few significant paragraphs from the President's address:

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

A little later in the President's address he used this significant language which begins to give form to the policy:

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members.

Further emphasizing this same principle, the President said:

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

And finally in line with the same approach, the President used this pointed language:

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

Every true American would of course endorse these principles so forcefully expressed by the President. My only concern, when I first heard his address, was that any action we might take should be in full and complete accord with our representatives on the UN.

As the discussion of the President's proposals proceeded, Mr. Austin, the United States representative at the seat of the United Nations, became a key figure in the deliberations. On March 28, 1947, Mr. Austin, speaking before the Security Council, made a very significant announcement with regard to the facts and objectives of the President's proposals. In the course of his address, Mr. Austin said:

The proposed program of assistance has a specific and direct bearing upon the central objectives of United States foreign policy—to strengthen the United Nations and to advance the building of collective security under the United Nations.

Later in his address, after referring to the responsibility of the Security Council for the Greek border situation and recommending that a continuing Commission to observe the border situation be established by the Council, Mr. Austin said:

Action along these lines by the Security Council, combined with the proposed emergency program of assistance by the United States, would advance the prospects of peace and security in that part of the world.

Without such measures, each supplementing the other, there is grave danger that the situation which is now before the Security Council might deteriorate.

Finally, Mr. Austin pointed out clearly that the action by the United States is of an emergency and temporary character, and he stated that ultimate responsibility is with the United Nations. In this connection, he said:

The program of economic assistance contemplated by the United States is of an emergency and temporary character. The United States believes that the United Nations and its related agencies should assume the principal responsibility within their capabilities, for the long-range tasks of assistance required for the reconstruction of Greece.

Summing up Senator Austin's address, two important facts are brought out:

First. The program presented by President Truman is completely within the spirit of the United Nations Charter; and

Second. The program is temporary in purpose and will be discontinued when and if the United Nations Organization is prepared to accept its responsibilities in the matter.

But, in addition to the development of the policy as evidenced by both the address of the President to the joint session of the Congress and by former Senator Austin's statement to the Security Council, the Committee on Foreign Relations, in the amendments to the original bill which it reported to the Senate, takes

certain additional implementing steps such as the following, which put the United States on record as authorizing the United Nations to determine when, in its judgment, the aid given by the United States should be discontinued. These amendments are so important that I shall read them:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

1. If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

2. If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto)—

That means a veto either by the United States or by any other power—

or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable; and

3. If the President finds that any purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment.

For example, if the World Bank should come to the rescue of Greece at that stage of the game, the United States could withdraw.

Mr. President, in view of what seems to be a clean-cut presentation to the American people of what this policy is, I am amazed over the shocking misrepresentation of his country by Mr. Henry Wallace in his recent statements in England. In telling the people of Europe that the United States is committed to a ruthless imperialism and a war with the Soviet Union, he completely misunderstands the spirit and purpose and, yes, the very soul of his country. And he renders his own people a great disservice at a time when our united American front in the cause of world peace is so vitally necessary. He would deny to his country the positive, aggressive position of leadership that we must take if the United Nations Organization is to live and fulfill its destiny.

Coming now to the consideration of my second question with regard to the consistency of the Truman doctrine with the Monroe Doctrine, let me emphasize at once that I feel that the expression "Truman doctrine" is not properly applicable to the present situation because such an expression suggests that the policy has some sort of analogy to the Monroe Doctrine and may or may not be consistent with that doctrine. What we are establishing is simply a reemphasis of our determination to put an end to the causes of war. We recognize that in the possible economic collapse of the smaller countries, especially such countries as Greece and Turkey, there is real danger of war.

There is no territorial doctrine involved because the problem is not localized and might present itself in other parts of the world. The new policy is not negative, such as the Monroe Doctrine was, but rather a positive, offensive one for the cause of peace in the world. We are simply saying that we will do all in our power to strengthen the

United Nations to handle these problems in the troubled areas of the world, and until they are prepared to act, we are willing to act in the emergency. There is no inconsistency with the Monroe Doctrine.

And let me consider for a moment the situation in Turkey and the Dardanelles. The distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], in his remarks in the Senate on Wednesday, April 9, discussed at some length this Dardanelles question. He endeavored to draw an analogy between Russia's desire today to control the Dardanelles and what would be our position if a foreign power or powers controlled or sought to control access to the Gulf of Mexico. The analogy, I submit, is not an apt one. We must deal with these problems as we find them in different parts of the world and in light of the historical background.

The Dardanelles has been an international danger spot throughout the centuries affecting many countries, and has been a subject of international control culminating in the Montreux Convention of July 20, 1936, which allowed Turkey to refortify the Straits and eliminated the International Straits Commission, thus giving Turkey full control. This whole situation was considered at the Potsdam Conference of 1945, where it was agreed that each of the three interested powers—United States, Great Britain, and U. S. S. R.—should discuss the subject individually with Turkey. The United State immediately took the position that the Black Sea Straits should be controlled by international authorities, which led to the proposals by the United States of November 2, 1945. In those proposals we recognized clearly Russia's interest in the Dardanelles. We insisted that there should be a revision of the Montreux Convention, and we laid down four principles as a basis for the international revision of that Convention. A brief summary of the United States proposals indicates our sincerity of purpose and our friendly interest in helping to get this vexing international problem straightened out.

The revision which the United States suggested is based first on the opening of the Straits to the merchant vessels of all nations at all times; secondly, on the opening of the Straits to the transit of warships of Black Sea powers at all times; and thirdly, on the denial of passage through the Straits to the warships of non-Black Sea powers at all times without the consent of the Black Sea powers, except when they are acting under the authority of the United Nations. Clearly that is a proposal to protect Russia as much as the other countries concerned with this important area of the world.

Russia was not interested in these proposals, and she made it apparent that Moscow thinks the statute of the Dardanelles, in spite of the world convention governing it, is purely an issue among the Black Sea nations. What Russia desires is a control by the so-called Black Sea powers, which means Russia and her two satellite countries, Bulgaria and Ru-

mania, would clearly have Turkey at their mercy.

The American policy, therefore, is not denying Russia an equitable adjustment of the Dardanelles controversy, but is simply indicating that we propose to maintain the status quo in the Dardanelles area until Russia is willing to cooperate with the United Nations in settling this problem.

Mr. President, at this point in my remarks I desire to review some of the circumstances, as I understand them, which have led to the recommendations of the President that we take the proposed action. As one of the leading nations in the dramatic series of events leading to the ratification of the United Nations Charter by 55 nations, we have been most eager to bring about wholehearted and sincere international cooperation in the determination of all postwar issues. This includes the setting up of the various intergovernment organizations, including the completed development of the United Nations Organization itself. It also includes the creation of the atmosphere of "one world" and the frank facing of all problems that might endanger the peace, by honest discussion at the conference table.

Let us recall again the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations:

We the peoples of the United Nations determine—

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind; and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small; and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

And for these ends—

To practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors; and

To unite our strength to maintain international peace and security; and

To insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest; and

To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples

Have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

The Charter was signed by 55 nations, including Russia.

Unfortunately the spirit and purpose of the Charter have been obstructed by the attitude of Russia, one of its authors as well as one of the great powers, whom we had hoped would cooperate wholeheartedly in these endeavors. We have felt that Russia has abused the so-called right of veto; she has opposed the effective organization of the Security Council by an unwillingness to agree to the setting up of the necessary armed quotas to give the Security Council authority; she has been unwilling to assist in the writing of the peace treaties in the spirit of what we believe was the intention of the Charter to protect the freedom and self-determination of the peoples involved; she has not joined in the International

Bank. Russia, in short, has seemed to be more interested in what might be called destructive divisiveness than in cooperation. This has planted the seeds of disintegration and chaos in many of the smaller border countries.

Russia, as I have indicated, has consistently vetoed every attempt to bring the United Nations together and has adopted stalling tactics while through the back door she has been strengthening her hold on her satellite countries and trying to penetrate into other countries. It is not a question, as Mr. Wallace has suggested, of Russian imperialism against United States imperialism or British imperialism. It is a question of whether we, as a member of the United Nations, are going to tolerate in this world the domination and exploitation of weaker peoples by stronger nations. The totalitarian approach, whether nazism, fascism, or communism, is one of suppression of freedoms. This issue has been the cause of all important wars, and especially World Wars I and II. There is no hope for peace in the world unless this subtle movement is nipped before it gets further strength.

We of the Western World and the United States in particular, throughout our long history, have believed that fundamentally human beings can survive together and find common grounds for progress if they can be free and united. One of the miracles of history is that a wilderness settled by peoples of so many different national and racial strains has succeeded in demonstrating that out of diversity can come unity. This evolution in our history, which was not fully premeditated but was the expression of the yearning of the human heart down through the centuries, brought us to this profound realization. Our Civil War was really fought that our Union might be preserved because we knew that if we were divided we would fall. We Americans have come to revolt instinctively against divisiveness because divisiveness is a threat to freedom.

This American vision is engendered in every one of us from birth. Fundamentally the reason why we engaged in World War II was because we recognized atheism and divisiveness in the Hitler-Nazi doctrine of race supremacy and in the complete disregard for the rights and dignity of the individual.

And now we feel the same resistance to communism, which again divides, aiming to array class against class, and having as its objective the same atheistic conception—the complete disregard for the rights and dignity of the individual. We would deny our heritage of freedom if we permitted the "creeping paralysis" of totalitarianism, in whatever form, to destroy the sacredness of the individual human soul.

This is what troubles the conscience of America today, and this is why the peoples of all countries are looking to the leadership of our great country to demonstrate that human freedoms can survive.

This is opening for us a new chapter in our destiny. As the strongest survivor in the late war, we are being called upon to unite the world. We oppose

Russia today, not fundamentally because we covet the material things that Russia covets but because communism, of which Russia is the symbol, is divisive and is not the champion of freedom. We believe that the state was made for man and not man for the state, and so we clash with Russia.

As we face this great responsibility, we must make sure that our people, dedicated to unity, shall not be torn asunder by any internal divisiveness which could threaten both our powers of leadership and our very future survival. We have two problems then. One is to set our own moral house in order and reunite our own people. The other is to let Russia know our real purposes, and that we are prepared to implement them with concrete action where necessary. Otherwise, small nations all over the world may justly accuse us of failing to practice what we preach.

We want the cooperation and assistance of the Russian people to work with us and with other nations to protect them, as well as ourselves, against the dangers of a divided world. We want their cooperation in the writing of the peace treaties, and in the activities of the United Nations organization. We have no desire to take over the control of any other country. We do not want a rule of force even to maintain the peace. What we do want is a peace built on the rule of justice and sanctioned by a voluntarily united world.

If the Russian people desire within their own boundaries to retire behind an iron curtain, that is their privilege, much as we regret it. But we must say to the Russian people with a definiteness that we mean, that the iron curtain cannot be extended into other quarters of the world where it may mean the suppression of fundamental freedoms inherent in the United Nations.

Mr. President, I will therefore support the pending legislation with the implementation of the doctrine as developed in our debates and in the amendments which our committee has proposed. I shall support this legislation because I feel it very definitely reflects the spirit and purpose of the United Nations.

In supporting this legislation, I am aware at the same time that it is not possible, even for us, with all our vast resources, to relieve the suffering of the entire world and to continue to help peoples of other countries with an endless chain of financial appropriations. Not only it is not possible, but if we are to work toward a united world, all the members of the United Nations collectively must take their full share of the responsibility to relieve world distress.

In conclusion, the destiny of America is to help bring unity to the world. We must prepare ourselves to meet this challenge. We should be rejoicing at home over the great victories that we and our allies won in the late war, and in the fact that we were saved from the devastation that other countries of the world suffered. At the same time we should close our ranks and forge a united front so that we may demonstrate the power of a free people to produce and to share the product of their enterprise for the win-

ning of the peace as effectively as they ever did for the winning of the war.

I cannot help but feel that many of those who first settled this great continent of ours amid the hardships and sufferings of the early days were led by something that was deeply spiritual and were pointing a direction for mankind which might be a light in the darkness.

If this is true, then we have much more to give to Greece and Turkey—and, yes, to Russia—than mere temporary material aid. Through our representatives in foreign countries, and especially the Commission which we set up to carry out the purposes of this legislation, we can give to these other despairing people something very real that we have inherited from our forefathers. That something is the true soul of our united America which has evolved through the years of our history and which at its best, it seems to me, has been the expression of the eternal purpose of Almighty God in the evolution of the human race—the brotherhood of man. And this indeed is the goal of the United Nations.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, this is a critical moment in our nation's history.

This week the Senate will vote upon the proposal for military assistance to Turkey and Greece.

Its decision will affect the future course of our nation's foreign relations, and in the long run, as you know, the question of foreign relations boils down to a question of peace or war.

Since this proposal to Greece and Turkey was first advanced, I have done my utmost to warn the American people that it involved a dangerous course, that the Greek and Turkish Governments were corrupt, fascist tyrannies that did not deserve our support, and that the best way to avoid the threat of Communism was not by armed suppression, but by offering something better to the people. And, above all, I warned that the new doctrine would by-pass the United Nations and would weaken the prestige and authority of that great body, for which all of us hold such high hopes.

The American people, Mr. President, share my concern. Twice the Gallup poll has asked the question: Do you think the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the United Nations Organization?

On March 28, 56 percent of the people questioned said, "Yes"; that is, that it should be turned over to the United Nations. Only 25 percent said "No."

Last Sunday the "yes" vote in the Gallup poll on the same question went up from 56 to 63 percent, that it should be turned over to the United Nations, and the "no" vote fell from 25 percent to 23 percent. Fourteen percent said they had no opinion.

I could only wish, Mr. President, that the Congress had a mind as open as the American people seem to have and could be convinced on this matter. I hold small hope of changing the votes by my remarks, but I feel that the matter is sufficiently important so that it should be thoroughly discussed, even if I have to do most of the discussing myself.

I should like to read the report accompanying the latest Gallup poll, principally for the reason that the takers of

the poll have seen fit to edit the results and give them a slant not warranted by the figures themselves nor by the question asked.

The heading is "Nod to UN popular."

I think that is very significant. It states the facts of the case. Everything which has been done here simply amounts to this, that we have given a nod to the United Nations, and now we are going to slug it out to suit ourselves. It was their job originally, but we took it over and acknowledged their presence with a nod; and now we are going ahead.

Then the article proceeds as follows:

Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG's proposal to bring in the United Nations on our program to aid Greece closely reflects the present attitude of the American people.

Ever since the discussion of helping Greece began institute surveys have found the people anxious to see that the United Nations was not entirely bypassed. The Vandenberg amendment would give the UN power to review our actions in Greece and Turkey.

The first Nation-wide survey by the institute found that a substantial majority of voters wanted the problem of aiding Greece turned over to the UN as reported March 28. This did not mean that the country opposed having the United States take the initiative in giving aid to Greece.

Judging by an analysis of the ballots, it simply meant that people felt Washington should consult closely with the UN and should not take actions which a majority of UN members might disapprove.

A subheading says: "Proportion mounting."

The latest survey, just completed, finds that an even larger proportion of voters feel this to be the proper course. In short, there can be little doubt that the Vandenberg amendment is endorsed in principle by the majority of the country.

Do you think the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the United Nations Organization?

That is the question: Should it be turned over to the United Nations? There is nothing in this question with reference to consulting them or giving them a veto power or anything of that nature.

The question is very plain, and on March 28, 56 percent answered "Yes." Last Sunday about 63 percent said that this matter should be turned over to the United Nations. On March 28, 25 percent answered "No," as I have previously stated. Today the percentage has fallen to 23.

The "No opinion" vote on March 28 was 19 percent. Today it is only 14 percent.

The people are making up their minds. A considerable number of those who previously wanted to bypass the United Nations or to ignore it have now reformed their thinking and want the matter handled by the United Nations.

I read further from the analysis by Mr. Gallup:

Under the Vandenberg plan, the United States would keep its initiative in Greece—

Mr. President, that means we would hang onto the ball—

While at the same time giving the United Nations the right to call a halt if the members so decided.

The great loyalty of the American people to the United Nations, which has been demonstrated by the discussion of recent weeks,

is not surprising in the light of the recent past.

I am still quoting from the Gallup poll:

The idea of having an international organization to handle squabbles between nations was strongly approved by the American people as far back as the earliest days of World War II. Consistently, in every poll taken by the institute, overwhelming majorities backed the idea of a United Nations organization.

After the United Nations had begun to function, the American people were by no means satisfied with the progress it was making. As recently as January 1947, polls found 39 percent satisfied with the progress of the UN up to that time, 33 percent dissatisfied, and 28 percent without opinions.

Mr. President, let me digress at this point to say that to my mind that certainly does not indicate that the people want to scuttle the United Nations. If it indicates anything, it seems to me it indicates that the people want the United Nations strengthened or they want a much stronger organization—possibly a world government with powers to enforce the edicts of its legislative bodies and judicial organs.

I return to the analysis of the Gallup poll, as prepared by Mr. Gallup:

But this did not mean that the public had any desire to see the UN abandoned.

He agrees to that.

Other surveys found the country just as strong as ever in its belief that peace for the United States lies in cooperating with other nations, rather than in returning to the isolationism that characterized the 1920's and early 1930's.

Mr. President, I submit that the step we are about to take in Greece is isolationism, because to be an internationalist in the true sense one must have regard for the opinions of other countries and other peoples of the world. In this instance, I do not believe we are in that position, as I can substantiate by newspaper clippings from newspapers published in foreign countries, relative to the position we are now taking toward the United Nations.

I return to the analysis in the press report from which I have been reading:

It is mainly because of that belief that the country today is so anxious to avoid bypassing the UN in the aid to Greece proposal.

Mr. President, here is another instance in which the Gallup poll's editors run off at a tangent from the facts collected by its poll takers. It asked the question: "Do you think the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the United Nations Organization?" It found that 63 percent of the American people thought that the problem should be "turned over to the United Nations Organization" as against 23 percent who did not. The poll also reveals a substantial increase in sentiment for United Nations' operation of the aid plan since March 28. That is the fact. Mr. Gallup then proceeds without any basis in fact to argue that the "Vandenberg amendment is endorsed in principle by the majority of the country."

The Vandenberg amendment does not turn over the Greek-Turkey aid program to the United Nations. It does not even

commit the United States to taking any step within the United Nations which would give the United Nations the power and support required to handle this program. It merely gives the United Nations a veto over our program. I believe the American people should know that the only legislative proposal now pending which actually turns over to the United Nations Organization the aid to Greece program is Senate Joint Resolution 93 introduced by the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] and myself in the Senate, and by Representative BLATNIK in the House. That measure directly authorizes the appropriation of American money for the relief of Greece through an appropriate United Nations Organization. American representatives to the United Nations would be required to take the initiative in the United Nations toward the establishment of the appropriate operating agencies.

My quarrel with Mr. Gallup is not that he interprets and editorializes on the figures developed by the poll takers. I argue only that the editorial comment should be fair and accurate. If Mr. Gallup's figures mean anything, they mean that a substantial majority of the American people prefer the Pepper-Taylor bill to the Vandenberg amendment.

Mr. President, we stand at a crossroads in history. This is the most portentous moment since Japan was allowed to invade Manchuria in 1931. That was a unilateral action, taken in defiance of the League of Nations. It undermined the League, which then gradually disintegrated into the old power blocs, and finally into war.

Today, in the terrible age of atomic power, and with the scars of the last war still disfiguring the earth, we of the United States are asked to take the first—and most destructive—step toward dissolution of mankind's last hope for peace: the United Nations. We are asked, after delivering a formal bow and some pious humbug to the United Nations, to take unilateral action in the traditional tinder box of Europe: the Balkans. On various pretexts of sympathy and false morality, we are asked to commit this Nation to a course from which there is no turning back—a course that has never in the history of Europe failed to end in war.

Yet, strangely, Mr. President, we are told that there is no time to discuss this question; that we must decide in a matter of days, if not minutes; that if we do not act instantly to place American dollars in the hands of those who have squandered \$200,000,000 in the past year, if we do not place American bayonets in the hands of King Paul's soldiers so that they may kill fellow Greeks who disagree with them about the privileges of the monarchy, then all will be lost.

We are told that the 13,000 Greek guerrillas will sweep down on Athens; and the 120,000 men of that arch Fascist, King Paul, aided by 10,000 British troops and equipped with the latest British arms, will be helpless before them.

We are told that the 13,000 will defeat the 130,000, and will establish a Communist dictatorship in Greece—even

though it is admitted that most of the 13,000 guerrillas are not Communists.

All that, in the language of the theater, Mr. President, is pure hokum.

So was the attempt to railroad through this War Department bill on the grounds that British relief to Greece would cease on March 31. That fateful date has come and gone. Nothing happened on that all-important day. No one even mentioned that that was the day. The British stayed on.

Mr. President, it reminds me of the college boy who wired his father, and said, "Dear Dad: Please send \$100. I am starving." But his father was out of town, and did not get the young man's wire for 2 weeks. Then he wired back, "Just got your wire. You must have starved by now, so I'm not sending the \$100."

However, the Siamese twins which our War and State Departments give evidence by this action of having become will not let us forget this matter so easily. The heat is still on.

I must say, Mr. President, that our foreign policy is certainly bipartisan. Every way we look we find the figure "2." Literally our foreign policy has become a veritable Noah's Ark.

The War and State Departments cook up the mess—and this crisis would indicate the War Department has more to do with our foreign policy nowadays than has the State Department.

After this unholy amalgamation has cooked the unpalatable, unilateral, red-rot tamale, it is served by the bipartisan hierarchy of the GOP and Democratic Parties.

The ingredients, of course, are two also: Greece and Turkey.

They try to hide the Turkey with the Greece, but it will not work because there is just as much Turkey as Greece, and the Turkey smells worse.

Mr. President, simply because a proposition is bipartisan does not make it a wise policy. Many suicide pacts are bipartisan.

But to return to this phony date of March 31—and I apologize to my wife for speaking so disparagingly of the day because it happens to be our wedding anniversary—the British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. McNeil, announced that Britain would discontinue "substantial" subsidies after that date, but he made it clear that there would be no sudden withdrawal of aid.

Mr. President, it has been well established that the Greek emergency and the British position were known to our militaristic State Department long before March 12. This is no sudden development. Why has this most important decision of our times been placed before us on a quick take-it-or-leave-it-but-do-not-talk-about-it basis?

Is not this a rather transparent device on the part of those who would have us compromise our country's future without looking twice?

Can we not detect a rather oily smell here?

The contention that oil reserves of the Middle East are a basic element in the

Greek-Turkish aid plan has been persistently denied.

However, an official Navy document recently distributed to members of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate strips from the proposal its cloak of relief to war-harassed peoples. I have the document here. It states that it was prepared by the Office of Naval Intelligence, and that it is based on statistics furnished the Navy Department by the United States Steel Export Corp.

However, the passage I regard as most significant needed no statistics. The fact that the passage appears in a document prepared by the Navy Department and distributed to a committee of the Senate by W. John Kenney, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, is significant enough. Here is the statement, couched in most undiplomatic language:

Realistically, all wars have been for economic reasons. To make them politically and socially palatable, ideological issues have always been invoked.

Then this Navy document nails down the plank. It continues:

Any possible future war will undoubtedly conform to historical precedent.

In other words, the future war will be for economic reasons, and the people who are trying to get us into war will bring in ideological equations.

There is no doubt in my mind that the proposal before us is a long step toward war—atomic war.

Certainly, every effort has been made to render this proposition "politically and socially palatable," to quote our friends of the Navy Intelligence Office. And certainly ideological issues have also been invoked.

The Office of Naval Intelligence has given us the inside thinking of the militarists who dominate our State Department. If we blindly and blithely proceed on down the path to war we cannot say that we were not warned.

This document which I hold is entitled "United States Imports of Strategic Materials—1938." It consists mostly of huge charts showing the large imports of various metals and minerals vital to the Nation's entire economy.

In its preface, the Navy document continues with these words:

The purpose of the presentation which follows is to create in your minds an acute awareness of what might happen should we fail to protect and guarantee our raw-material sources and the lines of communications between those sources and our shores.

That phrase, "lines of communication," is a significant one, I think, with regard to this matter of military intervention in Greece and Turkey.

Insofar as the position of our War and Navy Departments is concerned, the Greek-Turkey program is merely a tactic in the power-politics strategy of securing our lines of communication to the great oil reservoirs of the Middle East. And does it not become increasingly clear every day that the position of the Army and Navy carries decisive weight in the shaping of our foreign policy?

This policy, formulated in the dark corridors of our combination War and State Department, is not an American

policy. It is not hard to see in it the hand of the big oil monopolies, who would like to perpetuate the status quo in the Middle East in order to hang onto their enormous profits there—profits recently mentioned by James Moffett before the Senate War Investigating Committee. But it is the people—not the diplomats or the oil millionaires—who pay for foreign adventures, in taxes and in blood, and it is the people, in a democracy, who should make foreign policy, and certainly the Gallup poll demonstrates that the people do not favor the policy upon which we are now embarking.

We are acting in the name of democracy. We have the right—and the duty—to demand that our aid is not used to promote fascism.

We are asked to underwrite backward regimes, intervene in a civil war, and jeopardize the peace of the world—mainly on the basis of hints and innuendoes, broad generalizations, and half-truths; but very few facts.

We have certainly not been given all the facts at the disposal of our brass-bound State Department; because reputable newspapermen present a very different picture. Obviously certain quarters hope that the Senate of the United States will be so panic-stricken at the mention of the words "Soviet expansion" that we will renounce our powers of judgment, and reach for any half-baked formula offered us.

I personally do not believe this body is so weak-kneed, so paralyzed by fear of the Kremlin, that it would have us hide behind the skirts of any petty tyrant who came along, just so long as he promised faithfully to fight communism.

Of course, there is that other very compelling reason for voting for this delayed-action declaration of war, for this strange disparity between the will of the people and the stand being taken by the Members of Congress. That reason is the fear of being classed as a Communist, or accused of following the party line. It is all a part of the hysterical witch hunt going on at the present time.

I might say, Mr. President, that there have come to me from the departments several people who I know are not Communists. They are liberals, no doubt, but they have been fired. Somebody said he saw them at a meeting sometime where there were some Reds, and so they have been fired. They cannot ask who said this about them. They do not have the privilege of facing their accusers. They do not have the opportunity to say one word in self-defense. They are out, and it makes no difference how much seniority or any other advantage they may have had.

A situation that would be funny if it were not so tragic came to my attention a few days ago. A gentleman who happened to know someone I knew came into my office and said he worked in one of the departments, that he had been there for quite some time, and he said, "Senator TAYLOR, I am through. They have discharged me. I am through Monday." He continued, "Senator TAYLOR, I am a conservative man, but the men above me are radicals, and are using

this witch hunt to fire me. They have accused me of being a Communist and kicked me out, and I cannot even have any redress, or ask who testified against me, or anything of the kind." So it looks as though this witch hunt backfired, at least on occasion.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. As a member of the Committee on Civil Service, let me inquire, Would it be possible to get that man's name?

Mr. TAYLOR. Would the Committee on Civil Service be equally interested in liberals who have received the same treatment?

Mr. BALDWIN. I am asking the Senator from Idaho, with all due deference, if it would be possible to get the name of the man to whom the Senator just referred?

Mr. TAYLOR. If the Committee on Civil Service demonstrates to me that they are interested in the welfare of all civil-service employees, even though they are liberals, if they are not Reds, then I shall be glad to give the Senator the names of all the people who have come to me; but I will not give the committee the name of one man.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I want to assure the Senator that the Committee on Civil Service is interested in all employees of the Federal Government. We should like very much to have the name of the particular man to whom the Senator has referred.

Mr. TAYLOR. Can the Senator assure me that all the people who have come to me will be accorded a public hearing at which they can face their accusers, or that as much will be done for the others of them as would be done for this man?

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I cannot speak for the whole committee; but if the Senator will yield further, I may say that any Federal employee who feels he has been aggrieved has a right, under the Civil Service System, to take an appeal; and he certainly has a right to present his case to the Committee on Civil Service, or to his Representative in Congress or Senator. Certainly I think it is a matter of importance. We should like very much to have the name of this man.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, surely the Senator from Connecticut realizes that the Committee on Civil Service could not begin to hear the pleas of the people who are going to have the accusing finger pointed at them by somebody lower down in the scale who would like to have a job—somebody who simply says, "I saw that man at a meeting once at which a Red spoke, and I want him discharged." The committee cannot hope to review all those cases. If they would set up machinery to review all the cases, I should be glad to tell the people who come to me that they have a court of last resort. They do not have it now. But I say to the Senator: No; I will not give the name of one man simply because he happens to be a reactionary caught in their own trap; I will not give that one name, to make a special case of him.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I should like to have it appear for the benefit of the RECORD, if I may, by way of suggestion, that under the civil-service laws of the United States any employee in the civil service who is discharged has redress, through the prescribed methods of appeal, and an opportunity to present his case.

Mr. TAYLOR. Under the Red hunt that is going on?

Mr. BALDWIN. I should certainly think so, sir.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is not the way I understand it. At the present time an accused civil servant has no right to a bill of particulars; he has no right to confront the witnesses against him or to cross-examine them; he does not have the safeguards which the accused always enjoys in American criminal trials in spite of the fact that the sanction is much greater than that in many criminal cases.

Mr. BALDWIN. If there is no such remedy, there certainly should be provision made for it under the law.

Mr. TAYLOR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BALDWIN. I should like very much to have the Senator furnish me with this man's name, or the name of any other man whom the Senator believes to have been aggrieved.

Mr. TAYLOR. I agree with the Senator. Certainly this is an undemocratic procedure on which we are embarking. I think I read in the press recently that bills were being introduced to extend to industry the privilege of discharging a man with no explanation given, merely on the strength of a statement that he was a Red, with no proof. If that is done of course labor unions will be wrecked, because anyone who starts to organize or agitate for a labor union in any way will immediately be called a Red, and kicked out.

No; I am willing to go as far as anybody to see that our democratic rights and civil liberties are maintained, but I am not going to favor one class of people over another, reactionaries over liberals, or liberals over reactionaries.

Mr. President, the Associated Press stated recently that few Senators would dare vote against this measure for fear of being called Communist. Let me read from an Associated Press dispatch clipped from the Washington Star of March 16. Here is what it says:

President Truman's request for \$400,000,000 to help Greece and Turkey looks as though it will slide through Congress without too much trouble. The only possible danger is a filibuster in the Senate, which could delay aid for weeks beyond March 31—

Would it not be terrible, Mr. President, if there should be a filibuster in the Senate delaying action on this proposal until after March 31? We know how serious that would be—beyond March 31, when British aid stops.

That is a dogmatic statement by the Associated Press. They do not say that anybody said it was going to stop; they say it is going to stop.

But Capitol Hill veterans doubt a filibuster will materialize.

Any one who stood out against Mr. Truman's request would be in danger of appearing to favor communism.

The United States News went them one better the other day, and in discussing this Greco-Turkish proposal, said that the Democrats would be forced more or less to go along, because it was Trumans' proposal, and that Republicans would be taken care of because it was unlikely that there would be a Republican-Communist axis on this measure.

They got the Democrats into such a position they could not vote against it, and the Republicans could not vote against it for fear of being a part of the Communist-Republican axis. I think it is a sad state of affairs, Mr. President. I am not proposing that we turn our backs to the world once again.

That is impossible in this age. We must begin to play a role commensurate with our power instead of drifting aimlessly, or tagging along behind the British Foreign Office. But it is the earnest desire and the fervent prayer of the American people that we exercise our strength within the framework of the United Nations. If the UN cannot work—and I am unwilling to admit that it cannot—then let it be clear to the world that it is through no fault of ours; that we have exhausted every effort to make it work, and that our national conscience is clear.

Mr. President, I may say here that to my mind the saddest thing about some men who attain high positions of great responsibility is that they forget we are all children, older in years perhaps, but with the same mental processes primarily, if we would listen to the fundamental urgings of our consciences.

A few days ago I read an article in the Washington Post describing an interview with a number of kindergarten children in New York. The children were asked what they would do with the international situation. Every one of them said, "Well, I would sit down and talk to the man about it, or I would find out what he was mad about." Not one of them said he would go down to the man's front gate and stand there with a shotgun and then try to talk to him about it. That is the strange thing about grown men. They become involved in a crisis like the present one, and instead of sitting down and calmly thinking, "What should I do about this matter? What is the right thing, the honest thing, the straightforward thing for me to do?" They say, "Well, I am a man, I am a great statesman. I want to handle this as statesmen do. I remember reading that Napoleon did so and so, that Charlemagne did so and so. They are now remembered in history. Pretty soon history will record that Hitler did so and so. In situations similar to the present one these men did so and so. What they did does not look exactly reasonable to me, but they did it and as a result received considerable space in the history books, so they must have been pretty smart men, they must have been great statesmen."

Mr. President, I feel that the problems of this world could be solved if statesmen would examine and study each problem and before acting would first ask themselves the question, "What is the right thing to do about this prob-

lem?" instead of trying to figure out something clever to do. If we do not think before we act we will simply outsmart ourselves in this Buck Rogers world of ours and wind up with practically the extermination of civilization.

We have a tremendous responsibility. The position we adopt here will have repercussions in every corner of the earth. We must therefore examine carefully just how we exert American influence.

Shall we shut our eyes to existing historical forces and scatter our dollars, along with our bullets, to the winds? Or shall we throw our weight behind the United Nations and behind the traditional American ideals?

Are we ready to intervene in a complex and bloody civil war, and dispatch American planes and warships to be used against one side in that civil war, without the most thorough exploration of the issues?

Remember, Mr. President, although the War-State Department spokesmen are increasingly reluctant to mention the point, and although Mr. Austin's statement to the UN never once referred openly to military assistance for the Greek Royalists, we are being asked to send \$150,000,000 worth of arms and military supplies to Fascist King Paul. It is proposed that only \$150,000,000 worth of food and needed supplies shall go to Greece out of a total of \$300,000,000 proposed to be sent to Greece. One hundred million dollars would go to Turkey. I believe the total is \$400,000,000 altogether. Only \$150,000,000 of that amount is to go for civilian relief. The remainder of it is for war materials. The ratio is almost \$2 for arms against every dollar for bread.

Mr. President, nobody has even invented a neutral bullet.

We have been told numerous stories about the right of the present government in Athens to speak for the Greek people; about the wicked plots of the so-called Communist guerillas; about the urgent need for economic assistance in Greece; about the dangers of disorder in the entire Middle East, if the War-State Department plan is not carried out.

What we have not been told is the truth about last year's crooked and terroristic Greek elections, as testified to by Greek leaders themselves; the truth about these guerilla bands, whose membership is overwhelmingly non-Communist and in many cases anti-Communist, and whose real solidarity lies in opposition to Greece's imported Danish King; the truth about the fantastic corruption that made it possible for Greece's Royalist millionaires to get richer last year, while the population was starving; and the truth about the appalling social conditions in the Middle East, which are the real ally of communism and which the War-State Department asks us to help perpetuate, instead of allowing the UN to solve.

What about these free and democratic elections of a year ago in Greece?

The War-State Department told us that American and British observers sent to supervise the polling, reported practically no disorders or intimidation on election day.

The War-State Department made no attempt to describe the conditions that

existed in Greece, particularly in the provinces, in the weeks before election day, before any of our men arrived on the scene.

It is of some interest to know that almost none of our observers spoke Greek, and very few of them had any background in Greek affairs.

Our Government did get some reports from its military branches concerning the terror which existed during that period, but for some curious reason these reports have remained permanently secret. Perhaps the War Department never passed this information on to its civilian mouthpiece.

Fortunately, however, I am able to provide the Senate with some testimony on this subject from a most expert source: No less a personage than the man who was then Prime Minister of Greece, Themistocles Sophoulis. Mr. Sophoulis, I should like to point out, is no wild-eyed Communist. He is the old and respected leader of the Liberal Party, which represents the political center in Greece. He has never been identified with either the monarchists, on the extreme right, or the leftist coalition of EAM, which includes Communists, Socialists, Agrarians, and others.

This is what Prime Minister Sophoulis had to say on the eve of the elections last year:

The conditions for a free election do not exist in Greece, particularly in the countryside.

One week before that Mr. Sophoulis announced over the Athens radio:

I have no intention of concealing, or of representing as normal, the irregular situation prevailing in the countryside.

Later in the same speech he referred to the "lamentable situation in the countryside," and said his Government had been prevented from establishing "equality of treatment of all citizens" because of interference by Royalist gangs.

This is what the Prime Minister had to say about the Royalists, who are today in undisputed control of the Greek Government:

The extreme right is an organized violence and terrorism, supported by the tolerance as well as the active backing of the state organs.

These statements by Mr. Sophoulis are a matter of record; they can be read in the public library, in the March 1946 reports of our Government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

Sophoulis was talking about the Royalist campaign of terror which preceded the Greek elections and which had the full connivance of the British occupation forces.

I have the word of one eminently qualified American observer as to just what conditions prevailed during the Greek elections. Jerzy Neyman, professor of mathematics and director of the statistical laboratory at the University of California, was a member of the Allied mission to observe last year's Greek election. This is what he had to say upon his return to California, as reported by the University of California daily newspaper:

The proposal of a loan to the Greek Government is based on the premise that the Greeks have a democratic government and

that it was put in power by the majority of the Greek people in reasonably free elections. I am convinced that this premise is wrong.

Mr. President, those are the words of an American observer at those elections. Professor Neyman's report continues:

While in Greece I witnessed fraud and terrorism on the part of the Royalist group surpassing everything I could imagine. To whoever chose not to close his eyes, it was clear that both the terrorism and the fraud were highly organized.

In one village I personally found that 30 voters out of a sample of 38 were fake.

On the upper level it was established that the number of registered voters—only males—exceeded the number of living Greek males by roughly 50 percent.

On the question of communism in Greece, Professor Neyman had this to say:

The position in Greece is described as a division between the anarchistic "reds" and the rest, headed by the king.

When I was there the division was different. On one hand there was a small group of royalists supported by the British and on the other was the rest of the population. They had a great confidence in and admiration for the Americans. Wherever we went we were greeted with ovations.

After we go ahead with this foolhardy course which we are bound to pursue, it seems, and have firmly fastened Fascist King Paul upon the rebellious Greek people, giving the Greek Government ammunition to kill off all those who have minds of their own and are able to think and leave the opposition, I wonder how well the Greeks will love us then? What kind of ovations or greetings will we get when that sad state has come to pass?

I continue to quote from Mr. Neyman:

On my return I expressed my opinion that, should the Allies uphold the elections, there would be trouble in Greece.

He was right.

I expected that the ordinary man in the street with a basically moderate attitude—but opposed to the king—would be driven to the left and that the struggle against the king would drift into a social struggle.

Thus far this prediction seems to be correct. Should we persist in supporting the regime hated by the population, the results could not be attractive.

That gentleman held a very responsible position at the University of Southern California, and he was over there himself.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. I have not heard all the Senator's speech, but has the Senator commented on the fact that the Russian Government was asked to send observers to the election which he criticizes, and that it sent no observers?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; I have not commented on that fact.

Mr. McMAHON. Is not the Senator aware of the fact that the Russian Government was asked to send observers to look over this election, and that it did not do so?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; that does not alter the nature of the election as reported by Professor Neyman.

Mr. President, this is just the sort of thing our press complains so bitterly about in Poland—threats, intimidation,

murders—exactly the same pattern of preelection violence, making the election outcome inevitable.

But apparently where Britain is concerned—as in Greece or Palestine or Egypt—we have different standards for what constitutes justice.

It has never been a secret that Britain was determined to bring King George back to Greece, whether the people wanted him or not. This modern Greek tragedy has developed from that single fact. It began the day that British troops marched into Athens late in 1944. They did not waste a minute to show where their sympathies were.

The Greek Army, the police force, and the provincial gendarmerie were promptly loaded with Royalists, regardless of their past records regarding collaboration with the Nazis.

Even today the head of the Athens police, Evert, is the same man who performed the same job so efficiently for the Nazis. The present Greek Minister of Public Security, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, held the same job during the German occupation.

The British Foreign Office has just publicly admitted that 228 former security police who worked for the Nazis now hold active commissions in the Royalist Greek Army. If someone were trying to force such a regime upon the American people, I would wager that what is going on in Greece would look like a Sunday-school picnic compared with what would take place here in America.

The British Member of Parliament Lyall Wilkes, who fought in the Near East from 1942 to 1945, claims that the actual number of former collaborators now in the Greek Army is nearer 1,000. But even the figure of 228 is far greater than the number of former resistance fighters now in the Army.

The coddling of collaborationists has not stopped there. It is a fact, known to the authorities of our Government, that in the months preceding the Greek elections any bloodthirsty monarchist in the country could obtain a special police badge and a British Army revolver, and go on a rampage against Republicans in the countryside. All he had to do was join the so-called X-ites, a gang of Royalist cutthroats whose crimes have never been surpassed even in the bloody Balkans. I have the word of reputable witnesses that men were murdered by X-ite gangs during those preelection months for no greater offense than the refusal to shout "Long live King George."

This, then, is what the Greek Prime Minister meant by "illegular" and "lamentable" conditions in the countryside. This is why he begged the British Government to postpone the elections—a request that was ignored. This is why 30 percent of the Greek people stayed away from the polls—a fact that has been conveniently overlooked in all this hypocritical talk about free elections.

This is why the late George Kafandaris, another Greek moderate who has never been accused of Communist leanings, declared in March 1946 that it was "a mockery" to send Anglo-American observers to the elections, since their outcome had been determined in advance

by the beatings and murders carried out by the Royalists.

These are the free and democratic elections so glibly held up by Mr. Acheson and others as the reason we should demand no change in the government of Greece.

As to the Greek guerrillas, to begin with, we have been told that they constitute a "militant minority" under foreign direction. This is a staggering statement, if only because of its flagrant disregard of the United Nations Organization, which we profess to uphold. At the very moment when a UN commission, whose creation was suggested by the United States, is attempting to adjudicate this highly complex question, we gratuitously insult the United Nations by announcing we have already reached a decision.

The hearings are still in progress; an international body, on which we are represented, is attempting to ascertain the facts about Greek border clashes.

I wonder if that might not be another reason for the great hurry. Senators remember March 31. The world was going to fall to pieces if we did not get this thing through by then. That date has come and gone. I wonder if they are not trying to hurry this through before we hear from the United Nations Commission, which has our own representatives on it. We all know that an attempt has been made to discredit it. We have read stories in the newspapers as to who some of the members are.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I am happy to yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. Is it not true that under this bill, if the Commission should report to the United Nations, as it is undoubtedly required to do, and should recommend that American aid be withdrawn, under the amendment to the bill a majority of the Security Council and a majority of the Assembly could require the United States to withdraw?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is a fact; they could, but it is very, very doubtful that they would, Mr. President. The United States being the most powerful nation in the world, exercising the great influence which it has over many other countries, and having an atomic bomb at its disposal, I am afraid that Mr. Trygve Lie, of the United Nations, is in perhaps the same position as that in which my father used to find himself. He was a minister of the Gospel. He was a good minister. He could wring tears out of a turnip, and he converted and baptized thousands of sinners, but he could not hold a job, for this reason: He would go into a community, and it would not take him long, of course, to find out who the scoundrels were, who it was that had an interest in the bawdy house down the street, who it was who was foreclosing on widows and orphans. Frequently those big shots, with a great amount of money, would be pillars of the church, heavy financial contributors, just as we are to the United Nations, Mr. President. It is the same predicament in which Trygve Lie finds himself. Is he going to criticize the heaviest financial contributor, the pillar of the United Nations, and

take the consequences? He will probably get booted instead. They are branding him as a Red and trying to bait him because he spoke up very mildly the other day—sort of slapped us on the wrist a little bit.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. BALDWIN. I understand that the Senator believes in strengthening the United Nations in every way he can?

Mr. TAYLOR. Absolutely.

Mr. BALDWIN. Does he not think that the remarks which he has just made cast very serious aspersions upon the seriousness of its deliberations and the good will of its intentions?

Mr. TAYLOR. I do not think so. They are deliberating very seriously, and I imagine a good part of their deliberations is devoted to the question of what will happen to them if they try to tell us where to head in.

What I started to say about my father is this: I have a high regard for Trygve Lie. If my father were in his place, I know what he would say. In the church he would get up and point out a scoundrel and say, "Brother So-and-So, you own a share in this house down the street. You had better change your ways or you are going to hell."

Next Sunday my father might be looking for another place in which to preach, but he would not stop speaking God's truth. But when it comes to the practical diplomats in the UN, we cannot be self-righteous and blame them if they want to stay preaching where they are.

Yet, we have the boldness to pronounce a unilateral judgment.

In a lesser matter, this might be contempt of court; here, it is open contempt for the United Nations.

What urgency could possibly prompt this flouting of every American tradition of justice, this savage blow at a young world organization that desperately needs our help?

That kind of undermining cannot be compensated belatedly by pious resolutions reaffirming our faith in the UN.

When you hit a man on the head, it is no good to tell him you do not really mean it.

The act is what counts, not the conversation.

And if it be argued that there was no time to wait a few weeks for the UN verdict, I would remind the Senate once again that mythical date of March 31 has come and gone with no dire consequences and besides Britain has specifically said it would not discontinue all aid to Greece after March 31, but has merely said it could not vote substantial appropriations after that date. In other words King Paul and his rowdies will have to get along with fewer bullets.

Apart from this, there are some facts the Senate ought to have about the Greek guerrillas, before we send American planes and bullets to be used in slaughtering them.

Because—make no mistake—that is what the War-State Department program proposes that we do.

Mr. President, the name War-State Department which I earlier gave to what used to be two separate Departments of

our Government is a little confusing, so from now on I will refer to it as the State of War Department.

American military equipment, if placed at the disposal of King Paul and his British military advisers, would be used to kill dissident Greeks.

We Americans would be in the moral position of waging war against the Greek left.

It seems to me that before we embark on this very serious business, we ought to know what kind of people we are shooting at.

It might be very tragic indeed if it turned out we were contemplating the execution of people not very different from ourselves—antimonarchists, believers in democracy.

Such a course would be not merely immoral, but politically suicidal—we would in effect be turning our guns on ourselves.

We all recognize that guerilla warfare is not necessarily criminal. That depends on circumstances. The American Revolutionists used it against British mercenaries, and democrats all over Europe used it against the Nazis.

We cheered it, then.

It should certainly give us pause when, on examining this question, we see that today's guerilla fighters in Greece are made up largely of the same people we admired so greatly when they were fighting the Nazis.

During the war, Allied leaders repeatedly applauded the mountain fighters of the EAM, the Greek leftist coalition, for its operations against the Nazis.

British Gen. Sir Maitland Wilson publicly acknowledged that Rommel's defeat was made possible largely by guerilla operations in Greece, which cut the rail lines along which German reinforcements were being sent to Africa.

Now suddenly we are told that these picturesque heroes have become villainous bandits; that our aid is needed in exterminating them; that they stubbornly refuse to lay down their arms and trust to the mercies of the X-ite gangsters, because Joe Stalin tells them not to.

I am afraid, Mr. President, that the truth is not so simple.

At the time of Greece's liberation, the proportion of Communists in EAM was estimated by American intelligence agents at a possible maximum of 20 percent—one fifth of all the guerilla fighters.

We have the word of the former finance minister of Greece, Constantine Rendis, that today "the countryside is filled with partisans who are not Communists." My source is the Government monitoring service again.

Rendis said all sorts of opponents of the royalist government were taking to the hills to avoid deportation.

We have a report by a qualified American observer, John Donovan of the National Broadcasting Co., who made a tour of the fighting areas and then wrote:

The Government is recruiting converts for the left by its oppressive measures.

Mr. Donovan continued:

A lot of well-meaning people who refuse to be pushed around by security battalion stooges—

Mr. President, that means men who served as stool pigeons and informers for the Nazis, and are now in the Royalist forces—

are joining the guerrillas. There is a strong Communist clique, but there are many who are not Communists and would in all probability fight communism in the future.

Are these the people against whom we want to send American bullets?

Again, the New York Times of March 16 confirmed that only the "hard core" of EAM is Communist, and all the rest are simply people who are tired of being hounded by the Government.

Are we, Mr. President, going to help the Royalists of Greece shoot down all those who disagree with them politically—we, who had our own revolution against Royalist dictatorship 170 years ago?

Are we not impressed by the fact that, shortly after the State and War Department policy was announced, Greek Royalists broke into a prison in Lakonia and massacred eight alleged rebels who were supposed to be released that day?

Do we really expect anybody to have faith in an amnesty offered by these Royalists?

Must we close our eyes to dispatches like the following from William Laurence to the New York Times:

There is little hope of lasting peace in Greece without considerable more bloodshed so long as the present government is in power, and follows policies which—inevitably will increase the forces of resistance.

Mr. President, would we not be wiser to insist on peaceful termination of the Greek civil war and genuinely free elections as a condition of our economic aid?

The well-known newspaperman, Leland Stowe, for instance, called the elections of March 1946 "phony and a farce." He pointed out that the "electoral lists in Greece have not been revised. They are still filled with the names of persons long since dead."

The present situation in Greece cannot be honestly portrayed if we neglect to mention that the British waged a full-scale war against the Greek resistance movement, the EAM, in Athens, in December 1944. The EAM, according to the then British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, in April 1944 constituted 75 percent of the underground forces fighting the Germans. There can be no question that the EAM represented the Greek people.

The correspondent of the London News Chronicle wrote of the British battle against the EAM:

Make no mistake about it, our soldiers are fighting the Greek people. It is a barefaced lie to pretend either that they are fighting a "gang of Communist revolutionaries" or that they "are preventing civil war between two equally matched factions."

This war ended in the Varkiza agreement which provided that the resistance movement lay down its arms and that the government purge its ranks of fascists and grant political amnesty. The resistance forces kept the agreement; but the government, according to Thomas E. Healy, correspondent of the New York Post, and others, almost immediately arrested 18,000 of these people. In Jan-

uary 1946, the right-wing extremists began an organized terror campaign which according to Mr. Healy, was to "prepare psychologically" for the elections.

The terror was so great that the Deputy Premier Kaphandris resigned, stating that under color of legality an attempt was being made to strangle the will of the people. Several other ministers also resigned. The then Foreign Minister Sophianopoulos warned that the fake elections would intensify civil war. In England, some 70 members of Parliament declared that efforts to create an honest election register had failed. The London Times wrote on March 8, 1946, that "it should be clear to the British Government that free elections cannot be held March 31."

The anti-Fascist parties of Greece agreed that free elections were impossible in the midst of the terror, and they refrained from voting. The royalists under Constantine Tsaldaris claimed victory. Immediately, in the words of Mr. Healy, "they set about obliterating their opponents as a political force, pursuing the 'Communists,' which became a generic term covering any democrat who was against the King."

It has gotten almost that bad in this country. Anyone who does not think as the National Association of Manufacturers does is called a Communist, in this country.

American correspondents reported that the plebiscite held in September was conducted with terrorism and oppression, which made free voting impossible. What, then, is this democracy in Greece that we are asked to defend?

The New York Herald Tribune correspondent, Seymour Freiden, in a cable from Athens, September 16, 1946, gave the answer. He wrote:

The fury and hysteria attendant upon the Greek Government's campaign to efface the opposition to the restoration of the monarchy are cutting entire communities off from food, wrecking the UNRRA antimalaria program, and consigning thousands of innocent women and children to prison.

In their intense fear and desperation, moreover, the Government leaders have permitted the most spurious slogans and propaganda against the concept of democracy to ride rampant, so that among the majority of a politically bewildered people and among the most impressionable youth the word "democracy" is becoming synonymous with death and slavery. * * *

Not only northern Greece but virtually the entire nation is being deprived of the UNRRA antimalaria program because the Government has systematically removed trained workers on charges that they were Communists. * * *

The Ministry of Hygiene, which supplies the workers for training and which like all present Government bureaus consider all nonroyalists Communists summed up the situation with this pungent statement: "Greece has had malaria for a thousand years. It is more important to get rid of communism."

That statement reminds me of one made the other evening by a Republican Member of the House of Representatives. I was on a radio program, and after the broadcast we had a question-and-answer period. The question of the Red

witch hunt in the United States came up. I made the statement that under the guise of hunting Communists, we were going to legislate ourselves right out of our civil liberties and all of us would lose our civil liberties. That Republican Representative then said, in effect, "Well, we may lose our civil liberties, but we are going to get the Communists."

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGrath in the chair). Does the Senator from Idaho yield to the Senator from Kentucky?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield for a question.

Mr. COOPER. A moment ago the Senator from Idaho stated that on a radio program a Republican Member of the House of Representatives said that they would "get the Communists," even though in doing so civil liberties would fall. Is that correct?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is what he said.

Mr. COOPER. I do not know what the Senator meant to imply by that statement, but I could gather from his remarks that it was a Republican movement to do away with civil liberties, or to do so along with attacking communism in this country.

Mr. TAYLOR. No; on the program were some Democrats who were sympathetic with him. He happened to be the one who said it.

Mr. COOPER. At this time I should just like to remind the Senator from Idaho, for the sake of the record, that the proposal about which he is talking is the proposal of the President of the United States; is it not?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. COOPER. And the proposal which has been made to outlaw the Communist Party is a proposal of the Secretary of Labor; is it not?

Mr. TAYLOR. That is correct.

Mr. COOPER. I merely wanted to remind the Senator of the source from which the proposals came.

Mr. TAYLOR. I continue reading from the cable of Mr. Seymour Freiden to the New York Herald Tribune:

Among communities visited in Thessaly and Macedonia, here are some of the pithiest slogans which also are mouthed constantly by government officials: "Democracy equals murder," "Democracy equals the hammer and sickle," and such signs as a skull and bones with the caption, "That is democracy."

Although declared pariahs politically by the government, the Communist Party is profiting by the terror and injustice being inflicted upon the rank and file Greeks who are interested only in establishing a sound republic and hoping to get a little more to eat. * * *

As a high Allied intelligence officer said: "These people, most of whom are not Communists, are being driven to fight in self-defense."

Those are the words of a responsible American correspondent who was on the spot, Mr. Seymour Freiden, of the New York Herald Tribune.

In a dispatch dated September 19, 1946, Mr. Freiden again emphasized that in the eyes of the Greek Government everyone not a monarchist is a Communist today.

The New York Post correspondent, Mr. Healy, reported October 19:

Six months of Tsaldaris' administration finds Greece under repression such as is associated with totalitarian rulers. Civil liberties and rights are withdrawn, replaced by brutal persecution of the political opposition which, far from abating, is being intensified and will be further intensified until the conscience of nations calls a halt.

It seems, Mr. President, that our conscience has been aroused and we are about to bring the earliest possible end to this persecution and murder of anti-royalist Greeks by supplying the King's men with plenty of arms so they can kill all objectors quickly and have done with the unpleasant and embarrassing business.

The New York Times columnist, Arthur Krock, in his column March 31—there is that magic date again—quoted an informed and trained American observer as reporting:

All responsible and reasonably disinterested Americans with whom I have talked in Greece felt that our money would go down a rat hole unless political stability accompanies economic stabilizing and that any stability is simply unobtainable under the present government and possibly not without new elections following a general amnesty.

This observer, Mr. Krock, of the New York Times, also reported—and remember, Mr. President, this was after we had launched this great program—

In one 3-day period after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professionals—doctors, lawyers, etc., and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint. There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' 3,000 wealthiest citizens whom the Government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation. And the rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the center is almost as traitorous as the left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the Government.

Mr. President, it seems that the Greek Royalists are getting almost as irresponsible in classing all opposition as Communist as are our own reactionaries here at home.

Mr. Krock reports that the observer concluded with the statement that, much as he detests Communists he would "go to the mountains" if he were a citizen of Greece.

So, when we are told that we are going into Greece to fight the Communists, we must remember that these so-called Communists are simply all those people who oppose the monarchy. In other words, we are, in actual fact, going into Greece to destroy democracy and the Greek democrats.

We are going to give money and supplies and weapons to the Greek army. Yet the core of this army, as was reported in the New York Herald Tribune, March 16, consists of the Royalist Mountain Brigade and the German-trained quisling security battalions, which took an oath to Adolf Hitler.

Mr. Lyall Wilkes, the member of Parliament to whom I have already referred

as having fought throughout the war in Africa, Italy, and Greece, reported in a British publication recently that:

These security battalions were not only used for the hunting down and execution of resistance men, but were also used to round up and organize the deportation of Jews from the Athens railway station to the extermination camps in the north.

Let us send them more guns, Mr. President. They are experienced men. They know their business. Let us help them out.

He said that almost a thousand former members of these battalions hold active service commissions in the Greek army. It is to such men that we propose to give additional arms so that they may kill Greeks who oppose the monarchy.

The present chief of the Greek Army general staff, Spiiotopoulis, served the Germans as colonel of the gendarmerie during the occupation, and Mr. Wilkes reports that not a single quisling of officer status has been executed. The prisons of Greece, however, are so overflowing with anti-Fascist prisoners that unused factories and mansions have had to be improvised as jails.

Every attempt has been made to present the choice now before us as one of two alternatives, namely, the "State of War Department" policy, or Soviet domination of Greece and the eastern Mediterranean. Existence of the third course, the middle-ground democratic course, which would bring stability to Greece and would not imperil the United Nations, has gone unmentioned—one can only think, deliberately. Are there forces who are anxious to present this to the American people as a program which we cannot escape, who are anxious to develop this theme of American resistance to Soviet aggression, and who would only really be satisfied if we declared war on the Soviet tomorrow?

It is hard to find any other explanation for the deliberate campaign of misrepresentation regarding Greek affairs, the deliberate snubbing of the center political forces. I see where Mr. Charles Lindbergh, who so bitterly opposed our fighting Adolf Hitler, is heart and soul behind this new venture.

Of course, Mr. President, it has been argued that we cannot insist on free elections in Greece as a condition of our aid because that would be interfering in the internal affairs of a foreign country. If that be true, it is to my mind merely another very good reason why this whole thing should be channeled through the United Nations.

Mr. Acheson has appealed to our sympathies. He says the Greek treasury is practically empty. He has been less eager to explain how it got that way—how the Government dissipated the \$800,000,000 poured into Greece by Britain and America in the past 2 years. He has not pointed out what a tiny part of that relief got into the stomachs of the Greek people for whom it was intended, and how much got into the pockets of the Greek millionaires—the same boys who run the Government and are so anxious to get their hands on more American dollars today.

In fact, statements have recently been emanating from official sources in Greece suggesting that we should attach no

strings to our aid, but should continue to pour money down a rat hole in order that some rats might continue to grow fat.

Let us look at the record. In January 1946, the Greeks had two hundred millions in foreign exchange. The country, except for a handful of merchants and industrialists in Athens, was starving. The drachma was inflated sky high. How did the Greek Government meet the crisis? Did they impose a tax program, tighten up on the black market, control their currency and their imports? They did just the reverse. Imports in recent years have been completely uncontrolled. Luxury goods were brought into Greece, while the people went begging for necessities. The black market boomed. The shops of Athens were full of fancy clothing, while the farmers went barefoot. The rich grew fatter with unheard-of profits, and the people grew leaner.

But that is not all. This "free and democratic" Government of Greece made sure that the rich would not be stuck with any bad Greek currency. They announced a year ago that they would sell gold, pounds sterling, and dollars over the counter to anybody who wanted to get rid of his drachmas. The Greek millionaires who took advantage of this were able to ship their money out of the country. They did not have to worry about taxes, either, the way we do. There is no income tax in Greece, and the Royalist government has not bothered to create one. Why should they, as long as American taxpayers are willing to carry the load? They have got a good deal, they figure; they scream, "Down with communism," and eat their caviar—and we pay the bills.

I have forebodings that this is going to be the pattern all over the world. The Royalists, the dictators, the Fascists, and just plain exploiters will cry out that they are threatened by communism, and move up to the trough.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. May I suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. TAYLOR. I shall appreciate the Senator doing so.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Holland	O'Connor
Baldwin	Ives	O'Daniel
Ball	Jenner	O'Mahoney
Bricker	Johnson, Colo.	Reed
Brooks	Johnston, S. C.	Revercomb
Buck	Kem	Robertson, Va.
Byrd	Knowland	Robertson, Wyo.
Capper	Langer	Saltonstall
Chavez	Lodge	Smith
Connally	Lucas	Taft
Cooper	McCarran	Taylor
Donnell	McCarthy	Thomas, Okla.
Downey	McClellan	Thomas, Utah
Dworshak	McFarland	Thye
Eastland	McGrath	Tydings
Eaton	McKellar	Umstead
Ellender	McMahon	Vandenberg
George	Malone	Watkins
Green	Martin	Wherry
Gurney	Maybank	Williams
Hawkes	Millikin	Wilson
Hayden	Moore	Young
Hill	Morse	
Hoey	Murray	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART], and the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] are absent on official business.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BUSHFIELD], the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] are necessarily absent.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] are absent by leave of the Senate to attend the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union.

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS], the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER], and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SPARKMAN] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Louisiana [Mr. OVERTON] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Seventy Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

(At this point Mr. TAYLOR yielded to Mr. MAYBANK, who addressed the Senate on the Grecian-Turkish aid bill and whose remarks, at his own request, appear at the conclusion of Mr. TAYLOR's speech.)

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, whatever pressures the royalists, the dictators, and Fascists may have been under to liberalize their government in any degree will vanish because of the support we shall be forced to give them.

Why has De Gaulle come to life so suddenly in France?

Is it because he recognizes that this is a golden opportunity to set up a military dictatorship over the hapless French people? If he can provoke violence in the name of fighting communism, there will be as much, if not more, reason for us to send him money and war material as there is for us to help Fascist King Paul or reactionary Turkey. De Gaulle knows he has not a chance by ballots.

But let us return to Greece. There are Greeks living outside the country, like Theodore Cozzika, of Cairo, Egypt, who could buy and sell any resident of Washington. Cozzika pays no income tax on his enormous fortune. Why should he? He supported King George for years—one good turn deserves another.

It is understandable that our "State-of-War Department" has not been anx-

ious to make this situation public. It was willing to tell some Members of Congress about it, but only through a so-called secret report. The House thought the whole country had a right to hear the story. So on March 24 the secret was out.

While we are on the subject of the House, Mr. President, I should like to call attention to another unusual procedural matter with respect to this bill. The House, of course, traditionally acts in greater haste. I do not know why that is, but in the case of many important bills the House has always acted first. Perhaps it is because the House restricts debate and otherwise limits the freedom of action of the membership on the floor.

Then, traditionally, the Senate has taken bills as they came from the House and has subjected them to searching committee inquiries and the unlimited debate which is our privilege in this body.

For some unexplained reason the usual procedure has been reversed in the matter of the Greece-Turkey proposal. We in the Senate are forced to consider this all-important measure first. It will then go to the House.

I hope the membership of the House will not be overly impressed by the one-sided vote in prospect here and that it will give this measure the careful consideration it should have had in this august body. They will have a little additional time to hear the voice of America which is growing louder each day in opposition to this ill-conceived measure.

Perhaps to the House of Representatives will go the honor and the thanks of the American people for saving our Nation, the United Nations and the world from the evil consequences of our haste and folly. Mr. President, here are some passages from our own Government's official release to the press:

The Greek Government has embarked on a disastrous program of across-the-counter sales of gold; this, combined with reckless and unsystematic licensing of foreign exchange transactions, has resulted in an almost complete exhaustion of Greece's foreign exchange resources.

Inefficiency and mismanagement have prevented the country from receiving the maximum benefits from United States credits already extended.

"We know how to handle this," says the "State-of-War Department." "We just send experts to keep an eye on the Greeks." I submit that when one finds crooks conducting an operation he does not hire detectives to watch them 24 hours a day; he throws the crooks out!

If we really want to help the hungry Greeks, the first and biggest favor we can do them is to put our weight behind the formation of a government they can trust—a government that will not cheat them or persecute them.

Our "State-of-War Department" has just refused to help the Yugoslavs on the ground that they have mismanaged the relief we have given them in the past. It is contended that the Yugoslavs have given our food only to those who support their government. If that is true, then we are perfectly justified in withholding further aid.

But, Mr. President, in Greece at the present time there is a Nazi-type dicta-

torship which we propose to aid. If, indeed, it is to be our policy to support any government, no matter how corrupt or wretched it may be, simply because it is anti-Communist, then we may be forced to agree with the confirmed isolationists of the Chicago Tribune stripe when they say that the greatest mistake we ever made was fighting Hitler in the first place. Why defeat the fascism of Mussolini and the nazism of Hitler and then turn around and start supporting scoundrels of exactly the same type, even though they may be of lesser magnitude?

Our "State-of-War Department" has an answer for that, too. We must aid Greece and Turkey, whether we like them or not, in order to prevent disorder in the Middle East.

We will back all comers, so long as they promise to fight communism. We do not even insist on investigating their definition of communism.

In Greece a Communist is any member of a guerrilla band, any agrarian reformer, any democrat who resents the imposition of a royalist dictatorship. In Spain the definition is about the same: if one is opposed to Franco, he is a Communist. We ought to be hearing from Franco any time now about a nice, big, fat American loan.

Then there is the whole miserable, disease-ridden Arab world, where millions of peasants are beginning to grumble against the feudal dynasties that rule them. Of course, all those peasants are Communists, we will be told; and if Uncle Sam wants to be sure they do not sign up with Joe Stalin, he had better send some cash along to the kings and sheiks and effendi—not much: just a couple of hundred million for a starter. After all, the more money we send, with perhaps a few tanks to cover emergencies, the harder these free democratic governments can sit down on the Communists.

It should not be long before we are hearing from the Japanese barons, either. I see by the United Press that a spokesman for General MacArthur has announced we will oppose communism "anywhere in the world".

That means a few millions for Japan—well, no; it might take more than that to suppress the trade-unions there and keep all the opposition parties quiet—and then we shall be ready for the grand finale; the resurrection of Hitler.

What is illogical about that?

After all, we could hardly find a more determined enemy of communism, and since we are willing to back anybody with an anti-Communist program, why not go back to the real expert at this sort of thing?

Why be satisfied with imitators like Franco and Peron and King Paul? Remember, the Cliveden set in British backed nazism on exactly that basis: it was the antidote to communism.

Is that not what we are suggesting when we say, as Maj. George Fielding Eliot said recently in the New York Herald Tribune: "The character of the present Greek and Turkish Governments has little importance."

Eliot has stated bluntly "what the State of War Department prefers to lather with hypocritical hogwash."

No one can pretend seriously that Turkey, any more than Greece, is a democracy.

All the things that we object to so strongly in Poland and Bulgaria, have been going on for years in Turkey.

One party runs the show there; not even a theoretical opposition existed until last year.

Secret police operate in every village.

The press is muzzled; no criticism of the government is allowed.

Trade-unions are prohibited by law; workers are not even permitted to meet in groups.

So it is not a question of saving democracy in Turkey.

Nor is it a question, in Greece, of our rushing in idealistically to save a legally elected government from overthrow by a minority.

If we were really interested in protecting legally elected governments, and enabling peoples to make a free choice, the case of Spain has been before our eyes a long time.

Franco seized power there. With the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, he threw out a republican government elected by the people.

No one has ever challenged the validity of those Spanish elections.

Let me read the words of a very wise man, a genuine expert in Balkan affairs, Stephen K. Bailey, who during the war was chief of Balkan Intelligence for our famous Office of Strategic Services.

Mr. Bailey writes in a recent letter to the New York Times:

I came to realize that the basic problem of the Balkans was the fact that long-overdue revolutions against feudal social and economic systems were occurring at a point in history when external powers were finding it expedient, power-politically, to control the governments of these volatile areas.

While worrying about the dangers of Russian expansion, America and Britain have placed themselves in the untenable moral position of clamping lids on the social and economic changes which alone can produce the conditions of democracy and world peace.

Anyone who views communism in the Balkans as the result of simple Russian machinations is overlooking the centuries of poverty and aristocratic corruption which have characterized those countries.

Instead of recognizing the revolutionary nature of the postoccupation Balkan peoples and attempting to channel their legitimate drives where we had the opportunity, Britain and the United States have backed the remnants of a decaying system.

We must make clear to all weak peoples who need our aid that we are fighting communism not with atomic bombs and strategically backed military dictatorships but with economic reform and social rehabilitation. We must search out those political leaders who until now have been crushed between the millstones of reaction and communism and give them power.

Mr. Bailey, like many other students of Balkan history, warns us against unilateral action in Greece.

He says such action is "bound to be interpreted by the Russians as an overt military challenge."

Then, Mr. President, we will have the whole vicious cycle again of big power meddling in the Balkans, until the day of explosion.

It was precisely to prevent such an explosion that the United Nations Organization was created.

Unilateral American action on Greece would certainly relegate the UN to a minor role; all the pious expressions of good will in the world would do nothing to change that fact.

It would usher in a period of dog-eat-dog power politics, and make peace an uncertain dream.

Is that what we want to do, Mr. President?

Idaho's most noted author and columnist, Mr. Vardis Fisher, says in a recent article published in *Statewide*, a news weekly published at Boise, that he believes this country has 565 generals devoting their time to planning the war with Russia. I may say, Mr. President, that Mr. Fisher is a very bitter political opponent of mine; so he does not share my liberal views on a great many things. Then Mr. Fisher says:

It is not my opinion that we could win it. It would rapidly become a war, not against Russia, but against Asia, and our allies would be a bankrupt Britain, a neutralized Australia, and a few squads from South America.

He has been just as harsh and even harsher to me in many articles as he has with the proposed Greek policy to which he refers in this article.

Then he says:

On the first World War we spent \$30,000,000,000.

On the second World War we spent \$342,000,000,000.

On the next World War we'd probably spend \$1,000,000,000,000, and end up bankrupt under a dictatorship, with our dollar reduced to a nickel or less and our standard of living about equivalent to that of a Mexican peon.

Then Mr. Fisher adds:

Even if we suppose that we could win a war against Asia's countless millions, nearly all of whom despise us already, what would we get? We'd get the job of managing the entire world—and we can't even manage our own country without so many Bilbos and Talmadges and Hagues that we have a bad odor that reaches around the earth.

I read further from Mr. Fisher's statement:

We have made a mess in Korea. We have made a mess everywhere we have troops stationed with the possible exception of Japan—and MacArthur wants to get out of there before an explosion blows him out.

We could no more manage the world than we could seize our bootstraps and leap to the moon. A Macedonian named Philip, and his son Alexander, set out to take the world over. They didn't. The Romans tried. They couldn't. Napoleon tried. Hitler tried.

So what do our brass and braid and our politicians think they are doing? If you ask Standard Oil of California and the Texas Co., they'll tell you we are protecting their huge interests in Middle Eastern oil. Some other big businessmen know exactly what they want. We talk out of one side of our mouth about four freedoms and ideals, and out of the other we establish military outposts to protect American dollars.

Russia has no military outposts more than 500 miles or so from her border. We have them from hell to breakfast. We have them in Europe, in Asia Minor, in Asia, in South America, in the South Seas—where indeed don't we have them except in Russia or the countries bordering on Russia?"

That completes the quotation from Vardis Fisher, who is generally a rather conservative sort of gentleman, and on the other side of the political fence from me.

Mr. Fisher could have added, of course, that if this committee bill is approved, we will shortly have outposts at Russia's back door—in Greece and Turkey. Last week I read in the press that we were going to supply heavy tanks and other weapons of war to Iran.

Let us examine, for a moment, the question of the Greek debts. These debts, accumulated for the most part between 1823 and 1898 under unbelievably onerous conditions, amounted by 1900 to some \$400,000,000. They are owed to British bondholders and banks in Britain and other countries and have borne an interest burden which has condemned Greece to perpetual poverty and political vassalage.

Every year one-third of the Greek budget has gone to pay interest charges to these foreign bondholders. Even during the world economic crisis in 1931 3,000,000,000 out of a total budget of 10,000,000,000 drachmas were paid in interest on these old debts. These debts have, in fact, been paid three and four times over, but the interest rate has been so high that the principal has not been cut down.

There was a time in the mid-thirties when the Greek Republic decided to cut down service on this debt, for it faced economic ruin and knew that economic stability was impossible unless this drain on Greek economy could be greatly reduced. This decision, however, was never carried out. The foreign bondholders raised a great protest and were instrumental in getting the late King George—who, by the way, was listed by the *London Times* as the sixth largest private depositor of funds in the Bank of England—back on the throne of Greece. The plebiscite in November 1935, which permitted his return, was reportedly held at bayonet point. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* describes it as having been most "irregular," with the King winning something like 97 percent of the vote.

King George soon installed General Metaxas as dictator, dissolved Parliament, took away the civil rights of the people, and abolished the constitution. Although not exactly a king of the people, he was, as a custodian of foreign interests, eminently satisfactory. Interest payments on the Greek debt were kept up, and the tax system was so arranged that the rich paid practically nothing at all, while the burden fell on the middle class and the poor.

When war broke out payment on the debts was waived. But toward the war's end the British Foreign Office presented to the Greek Government-in-exile a demand that it continue "to safeguard the rights and securities at present enjoyed by Greek external loans and protect the general interests of the bondholders and maintain unchanged the rights, privileges, and conditions of service which have applied to the Greek Government since 1898."

That was the British Government's ultimatum to the Greeks about their debts.

The bondholders' committee was as determined as Winston Churchill to get George back on the Greek throne, where he had served foreign interests so well before. George went back. His brother, the present King Paul, who headed the prewar Fascist youth movement in Greece, and had his picture in the newspapers giving the Fascist salute and all the trimmings, can be relied on to be equally amiable, as far as foreign interests are concerned.

We are entitled to know, Mr. President, whether the money of American taxpayers is going to be used—directly or indirectly—to pay off these old debts. The bill we are considering now has an amendment which forbids Greece to use our money to pay off the interest or principal of loans and debts owed to other countries. This amendment does not, however, afford any real protection against the indirect use of our money for this purpose. As long as the Greek Government has to meet this obligation it is just a matter of bookkeeping to say that our money will not be used to pay off this debt. The Greek Government can simply earmark other money for the debt payments and can use our money in place of that it assigns to the debt.

I very much suspect that a lot of this talk about a Greek crisis is put out by people who oppose any Greek Government other than the present dictatorial set-up, for fear that a Government representative of the people might force a cut in these debts or even repudiate them altogether.

This foreign economic tyranny has played a large part in Greece's economic ruin. There is another related factor equally important. That is the policy of the present unrepresentative regime which, with occasional shuffling of personnel, has ruled Greece since the British took over from the Germans in late 1944. Actually, much the same group of people held sway in the King George-Metaxas dictatorship, the quisling regime under the Germans, and the present regime under the British occupation.

The economic policy of this regime is revealed in the great disparity between wealth and poverty in Greece; in the fact that the rich pay no income tax at all, and that not a single new factory has been built since October 1944. Greece as a nation is very poor, but its rulers and their friends are very rich indeed.

American bankers estimate that private Greeks hold some \$50,000,000 in American banks and \$150,000,000 in London banks. In Greece itself, private interests have a hoard of some \$25,000,000.

By the end of 1946, Greece's foreign exchange was almost exhausted because the rich had been permitted to import luxury and consumer goods, to sell them on the black market at unbelievable profits, and allowed to convert their profits into foreign exchange and so enormously enhance their personal fortunes. Yet we now propose to give to these very same men, who pay no taxes and have profited by their country's misery, millions of dollars out of the pockets of American taxpayers. American bankers and businessmen have refused credits and loans to the Greek Government because it is too poor a risk.

Even the New York Herald Tribune has warned that we may find ourselves in the position of the bluejays described by Mark Twain in *A Tramp Abroad*. The jays, you will remember, worked very hard to fill a knothole before they discovered the knothole was in a roof and that they were actually trying to fill a house.

Foreign economic tyranny and the irresponsible greedy policy of the royalists are the cause of Greece's economic bankruptcy, and merely to state this fact is to prove that our concern for Greece is not primarily, if at all, to rehabilitate its economy.

Mr. President, I am particularly shocked at the conduct of the Senate majority leadership with respect to this bill. While the majority leadership supports the bill, it seems to be at great pains to absolve itself from responsibility for it. In effect it says, "We have no choice. The President has announced his position, and it is not for us to dispute him. It would weaken our national prestige to betray any lack of unanimity on this subject. So, while the course may not be a wise one, and while we had nothing to do with its adoption, we are forced to support it."

Mr. President, this is a clever political maneuver. But it will not deceive the American people. The people know that this is a Republican Congress, and that it can take no action that is not approved by the Republican majority.

They know, too, that the formation of our foreign policies by the State Department has been strongly, if not decisively, influenced by the Republican leadership on the Foreign Relations Committee, and they know that this was so even before the last election.

The able senior Senator from Michigan, in his very excellent presentation of his report a few days ago, specifically disclaimed any advance participation in the drafting of the Government proposal. But he cannot fail to realize, as all of us realize, that those who did draft the proposal asked themselves every minute of the day: "How will this sit with VANDENBERG? Will he oppose this? Does this follow the general policy pattern which he supports?"

They say, too, that we must present a bold and undivided front on international matters, that reports of debate on these measures will give heart to those who would fight us.

This, Mr. President, is a new interpretation of the old maxim that politics stops at the water's edge. I thought that that rule applied only to policies once adopted; I never before heard that it applied to policies in the process of formation. Certainly that is not the meaning attributed to it by the senior Senator from Michigan in 1940 and 1941.

Mr. President, I thought that our democratic process was the pride of our country. I thought that the give and take of this great body was regarded as the inspiration of the world. Are we then suddenly to remove foreign policy from the scope of Senate debate, and to settle it in dark silence behind the hideous renaissance facade of the State Department Building?

No, Mr. President; the majority cannot escape responsibility for this bill, nor can it escape responsibility for any policy of the State Department, whose very highest policymaker is the eminent Republican strategist and Wall Street jurist, John Foster Dulles.

But, Mr. President, the excessive modesty of the Republican leadership with respect to the authorship of this bill is certainly revealing. It reveals that the seasoned observers of the political scene who shape the majority policy have observed an important fact, that is, that this is a highly unpopular proposal. It is unpopular because the public fears that this is a bill which will lead to war. It is unpopular because the American people have come to know and love the United Nations, and to cling to it as their last bulwark of hope for a peaceful world. It is unpopular because the public resents the devious manner in which it is being presented—in the ill-fitting guise of a humanitarian aid proposal.

Let me warn my colleagues on the majority side that this is their bill as much as anyone's, that they constitute the majority party, which can accept or reject any proposal, and that the mandate of the people of last November, of which they remind us so often, carried with it the responsibility for congressional policy.

Mr. President, I shall never be able to forget the shock I received on the floor of the Senate on March 25 as I listened to the speech of the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY]. The former chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee was heaping scorn upon those of us who still, in our faith, were clinging to the hope that the United Nations might yet be saved from this devastating blow, when, with all the great irony of which he is a master, he said, as his words appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Mr. President, we face a reality. Shall we face it with courage, with patience, with determination, or shall we face it by beginning to trim and hedge and say, "Oh, no; wait a minute, this is not our obligation. This is the obligation of the UNO. The UNO what."

And then in parenthesis is the one word "laughter."

Mr. President, my mail would seem to indicate that the people of America are not ready to write off the United Nations with a scornful "UNO what." Ninety-five percent of the people writing to me plead that we do nothing to harm the United Nations.

I would that there were some way we could turn over this task of building a lasting edifice of peace to young men—men who have recently known the real and actual horror of wallowing in rain-filled foxholes for days on end—to men who have seen their closest friends die in the name of truth and justice. Yes, young men who have lost limbs, and been maimed, and had time to think, who have not as yet been overcome by the vast cynicism that so often fastens its coarse tentacles about otherwise able statesmen until they are reluctant to strike out boldly for fear of being called idealists or dreamers.

The peacemakers should be young men—and women—who have children to protect from the awful consequences of another war, young people with imagination, vigor, and a determination to establish lasting peace.

Mr. President, there comes a time in the life of nearly every man when he reaches that place where he has not the heart to look ahead to the rugged peaks that must yet be scaled, but, rather, he is inclined to look back upon the lower ground from whence he came, and survey with satisfaction the monuments erected there to his past successes and accomplishments.

It becomes so difficult to fight endlessly on against great odds when it is so easy to rest with honor among worthy deeds already done.

Men who have been to war long years ago eventually begin to remember the din and furor of battle as things of glory. The muck and vermin, blood and pain, become lost in the mists of time, and only the heroics remain, magnified and glorified by a thousand stirring orations. Fourth of July. Decoration Day. Armistice Day. High-sounding metaphors thundered to alternately weeping and madly cheering crowds. Glorious victory, supreme sacrifice, eternal reward, rest in peace, this mighty Nation, Old Glory, sovereignty.

Mr. President, I have said the pending bill sets a booby trap in the structure of the United Nations. Let me now hasten to say that I believe that among the Senators who will vote for this measure are many whose loyalty and allegiance to the UN is beyond question, whose hopes for the success of the UN are true and deep.

What, then, has blinded them to the danger this measure holds for the United Nations? Why do they ignore the voices of Americans in every walk of life who warn that the UN must not be bypassed?

Behind all the argument and rationalization, behind the afterthought amendments and the perfecting amendments to these afterthought amendments are an old fear and suspicion—suspicion of Russia and fear that her Communist system threatens our cherished democratic way of life. And this fear and suspicion stampede the supporters of the bill into irrational countermeasures and paralyze their ability to detect that the United Nations is being gravely undermined.

Mr. President, I have been talking about the various amendments which have been offered to this bill; the Vandenberg amendments and a number of other amendments. I do not think they serve the purpose at all. The matter is either to be given to the United Nations for handling, or it is not; and that ends it. It reminds me of something that happened yesterday. My 5-year-old son came over to visit me in the Senate Office Building. His mother took him down into the basement to get something from the stationery room. When she boarded the elevator coming back, the lad struck out up the stairs; he was going to run upstairs. He went one floor too many, and became lost. He did not show up for a long time. Finally, when he did,

he came running. He had a few tears in his eyes. We asked him what had happened. He said, "I thought I got to the floor all right, and I thought I could tell our office, because it has that big shiny can outside the door." He referred to the cuspidor, Mr. President, in front of the door. It is a handy landmark. I do not have to look at the door, I simply walk to where the cuspidor is, and I know I am at my office. The boy thought it would work for him, too. But he was on the wrong floor. He said, "I went in, and there was a man with a great big mustache." He was in the wrong place. That situation may be compared to one of the amendments which have been offered to the pending bill. It looks pretty good, the "cuspidor" is there, but it is not the same, when one comes right down to brass tacks. He said he went on up to the next floor; there was another shiny brass can, so he entered the door at that place. He said there was a lady with big thick glasses in that office. It looked almost like the real article, but it was not; he was in the wrong place again. We asked him, "What did you do then?" He said, "Well, I went out in the hall and I hollered 'Mamma' a couple of times. I thought maybe some lady that had a little boy would hear me and would come out, thinking I was her boy, and would help me find where I belonged." He said, "Nobody came."

We said, "Then what did you do?" "Well," he said, "then I went to the elevator and told the man to take me to the subway. When I got to the subway, I said, 'two floors'." So he went clear down to the bottom and started all over again. I think that is what we ought to do with this proposition—forget the whole thing, go back to the subway, start all over, and try to wind up in the right place.

If there are those who entertain doubts about the effect on the United Nations, they finally convince themselves they have calculated the risks and chosen the lesser of two evils.

I have already discussed the fallacy of fighting the Communist philosophy with bullets, of attempting to restore order and stability by strengthening regimes whose tyranny inevitably produces opposition, whose corruption inevitably produces the economic misery in which revolutionary protest is born.

Now I want to address myself to those who are genuine friends of the UN, but who support the pending measure. I want to recall to them the lesson—no, let us be blunt—the warning—that recent history affords. Only a generation ago the world that emerged from World War I bravely launched a new experiment to enforce the peace by the collective action of the nations of the world. There are men in this Chamber who helped to write the history of that League of Nations.

I am confident that the historians of the future will agree on at least one factor in the chain of events that brought on World War II—the failure of the League of Nations. And there will be little dispute that the two causes of that failure were, first, the repudiation by the United States Senate of Woodrow Wilson and the League; and, second, the bypassing of the League by the major powers,

their refusal to submit what they called their vital interests to the judgment of the organized conscience of mankind. If we want to know who killed the peace, we must see who killed the League.

Let us turn back the clock and review the events of 1919. We seem bent on retracing the missteps of that day; let us then see where those missteps led.

In 1919, as in 1947, the American people wanted America to join with other peace-loving nations in an organization to enforce the peace. The leader of the fight against President Wilson, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, acknowledged in 1919:

I think a majority of the people of the country desire a League.

A year earlier he had waxed eloquent about the infamy that would stigmatize America if it signed a separate peace with Germany and ignored the covenant of the League. He said:

If we sent our armies and young men abroad to be killed and wounded in northern France and Flanders with no result but this, our entrance into war with such an intention was a crime which nothing can justify.

Soon, however, a small but deadly clique was formed to oppose and kill the League of Nations. Its members included unreconstructed isolationists, Wilson-haters, and partisan politicians who placed political advantage above peace-making. They knew their followers were in a minority and that they could not defeat the League by a frontal attack. They fell back on the ancient tactic of "divide and conquer"—and the dividing was effected by the device of unilateral American reservations to the Covenant of the League, already approved by the major powers at Versailles. Of course, the clique protested its unstinting loyalty and devotion to the League idea, but they nibbled away at genuine support for the League by appealing to every isolationist and party prejudice. The world knows, to its sorrow, how well they succeeded.

What were those reservations? In essence they provided:

That the United States should be the sole judge as to whether it had fulfilled its obligations under the Covenant.

That the United States assumed no obligation to carry out decisions which it deemed to be beyond the jurisdiction of the League.

That no mandate could be accepted without the consent of Congress.

Consider, Mr. President, these reservations, which President Wilson called a "knife thrust at the heart of the Covenant," the reservations which prevented American entry into the League and shortened the life of the League. Are they not an attempt to retain freedom to act unilaterally? Are they not a refusal to submit vital American interests to the determination of a League that may not always agree with us? Are they not a demand for a preagreed American bypassing of the League? Are they not, therefore, Mr. President—these reservations that kept America out of the League—dangerously similar to the policies we have now announced concerning the United Nations? And is not that why the sound instinct of the American

people has spurred them to protest against the bypassing of the UN?

The distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations did yeoman service in securing American participation in the United Nations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. May I ask, for what purpose?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I desire to make a statement respecting one phase of the pending question, that is, pertaining to oil. It will probably take 20 minutes.

Mr. TAYLOR. If I may resume the floor when the Senator from Colorado has completed his statement, I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from Idaho may yield to me, and regain the floor after I shall have concluded my statement.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is not going to object to one further performance of this character, but he thinks latitude has been extended about as far as it is fair to permit it to be extended in farming out the floor. The Chair is sure even the Senator from Idaho will agree with that statement.

Mr. TAYLOR. It is immaterial to me, I will say, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is sure the Senator will agree. The Chair does not believe it is sound parliamentary practice to proceed as we have been proceeding. He is sure that the Senator from Colorado himself would agree with that statement if he were asked whether he would agree.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I agree with that statement. However, it would be a considerable accommodation to me if I were permitted to make a statement on one phase of the pending question.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is not going to object this time, but he will suggest that from now on the Senator from Idaho continue and conclude his address.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I thank the Presiding Officer for the consideration he has shown me.

Mr. President, I have several amendments to the pending bill as is well known. The amendment I am now offering perhaps is not of major importance, but it does pertain to one phase of the pending question which seems to me requires some consideration by the Senate. For that reason I bring it up. The amendment I am now going to discuss is as follows:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments, or between American oil companies and nationals of foreign governments.

Mr. President, I am aware that an oil treaty is now pending in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. That treaty has not been acted upon yet by the Senate of the United States, and for that reason I desire to be certain that the status quo with respect to oil is not

changed by the passage of the pending bill.

President Truman in his message to the Congress on the Greek-Turkish situation stated:

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential for the preservation of order in the Middle East.

Further on in his speech Mr. Truman stated:

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek Nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority the effect upon its neighbor Turkey would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

That is where the oil region comes in.

Mr. President, I think that it is quite clear from Mr. Truman's own statement and from the testimony before the two committees of the House and Senate that our State Department and Mr. Truman in proposing the Greek-Turkish deal to the Congress are of the opinion that without such action the entire political and economic and military situation in the Near and Middle East will be made fluid, with the possibility that a chaotic situation there might very well jeopardize the Anglo-American exploitation of Middle East oil.

Since I do not believe that adequate time and opportunity has been given to the Congress to discuss the whole Near and Middle East situation; since I do not feel that the American people have been told the truth about the situation in the Near and Middle East; and since an international oil agreement is still pending before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate with its final outcome in doubt, I submit the amendment to Senate bill 938 which I have just read. If the amendment is agreed to it will, in my opinion, maintain the status quo.

In this connection, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement made by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], who in the last Congress was chairman of the Senate Special Petroleum Committee.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On February 2, 1947, Senator O'MAHONEY declared in part:

"These elements of the old Standard Oil Co. which was split up by decree of the United States Supreme Court in 1911 are again uniting in a joint venture by which they will be in a position to direct the production and distribution of petroleum and petroleum products throughout Europe and possibly throughout the world.

"This has been achieved by the unexampled efficiency of the American experts of the oil industry, and though it has come about in all probability by force of circumstance, nevertheless it illustrates the greatest danger that the capitalistic system now faces.

"The small independent enterprise is incapable of competing successfully with a combination like this which has the resources of capital and personnel upon

which many cities and most States cannot call. It dramatizes the fact that organized business beginning with a small corporation has now become so great that it enters into agreements with governments affecting the economic lives of millions.

"It is but a step from giant combinations of this kind to the authoritarian state. That is the fact which the people of America must realize if they intend to save the capitalistic system of private property

"An organization such as this new oil combination with four great corporations with more than 400,000 stockholders is a collective enterprise.

"The American way of life is founded upon individual enterprise. The authoritarian governments which are spreading over the whole world are collective political institutions. If the people of the United States want to preserve individual business and local business, there is no way to do it except to define the powers and responsibilities of the giant collective enterprises which have secured so dominant a position in our economic life."

On March 17, 1947, Senator O'MAHONEY said:

"The forthcoming hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the proposed loan to Greece and Turkey will involve questions concerning the control of the oil industry.

"A consideration of the Middle East crisis reveals the essential identity between self-determination in the political sphere and free competitive enterprise in the economic sphere. The State Department will be asked to give its version of the effect on the political situation in the Middle East of the oil industry agreements by which the vast oil resources of Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia are administered by a small group of large international oil companies.

"It will also be asked to state whether the Greek and Turkish loans involve any implication of a change of the previously announced economic policy of this Government by which it has been understood to desire to promote international trade free from the restrictions of all cartels and combines and to promote competition.

"Persian oil is handled by the Anglo-Iranian Co., which is dominated by the British Government. The oil of Iraq is handled by another international company in which the British, the French, the Dutch, and 2 American companies, the Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Company, are equal partners. The huge deposits of Saudi Arabia are handled by the Arabian-American Oil Co., which is owned equally by the Standard Oil of California and the Texas Co.

"Recently Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum signed a contract to purchase over a long period of years to come, 40 percent of the output of the Anglo-Iranian Co. At the same time they agreed with the Standard of California and the Texas Co. to purchase a 40-percent stock interest in the Arabian-American Co.

"The oil resources of the Middle East are vastly greater than those of continental United States and the disposition of these huge deposits is a question of such magnitude as to be inseparable from any effort to determine the future international policy of the United States.

"It will be observed that the British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Co. is selling oil to Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum, but the Arabian-American Co. is selling stock ownership, which of course involves ownership of the company as well as the oil.

"The representatives of all four American companies when they appeared before the Special Senate Committee on Petroleum declared their belief in competition and free enterprise. The control of oil, however, lies

at the very basis of the British Empire. The Government of Russia believes, as do all Communists, that business should be carried on by the state and our American companies dealing abroad are frequently required to carry on their trade with what are in fact state monopolies."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, an understanding with respect to Middle East oil is pertinent right now since far more than 50 percent of all the known world oil reserves are to be found in this area. Five giant American oil companies have been using our State Department as their errand boy for the past 28 years in the attempt to obtain rights and exclusive concessions for the exploitation of that oil. The attitude of the big oil producers toward our State Department is well illustrated by the testimony of Mr. Edward F. Johnson, general counsel of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, before the special O'Mahoney oil committee in 1945. Mr. Johnson's testimony begins on page 76 of the volume of hearings entitled "Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries," and he opens his remarks with the following statement:

At the outset it seems to me that it might be useful to state two underlying principles that I consider to be the foundations on which sound diplomatic policy in relation to foreign oil must rest:

1. The operating programs of American private companies engaged in the oil industry abroad should be in accordance with clearly defined policies of our Government, broadly conceived, consistently maintained, and based on complete understanding and cooperation between such companies and the Department of State. Such coordination is essential in view of the importance of oil to the economic well-being and national safety of this country and its relation to the peace of the world. The effect of operating programs of private companies on governmental policies and of these policies on such operating programs cannot be ignored. The objectives of the American oil industry abroad and of the Government's foreign policy cannot be separated into two different compartments without impairing the effectiveness of both.

2. The oil industry in its foreign efforts should receive the wholehearted backing of its Government. Since no degree of organization will help unless the men in the Department of State know the industry is worth helping, it is obvious that the industry must see that its conduct continues to be such as will warrant Government support. Not only is Government backing in itself important but the whole world ought to know that the industry has consistent and continuing governmental support.

I repeat the closing sentence of the quotation:

Not only is Government backing in itself important but the whole world ought to know that the industry has consistent and continuing governmental support.

It is natural, Mr. President, that the foreign holdings of big oil corporations should play a large part in American foreign policy. Of the total of eleven or twelve billions of American dollars invested abroad, more than two and one-half billion dollars are invested in petroleum reserves by the Big Five.

These five major companies are the Standard Oil of New Jersey, the Socony Vacuum of New York, the Texas Oil Corp. of Texas, the Sinclair Oil Corp., and the Standard of California. To protect their

\$2,500,000,000 invested abroad, the big five may be expected to bring constant, steady pressure upon the State Department to modify, change, or develop international diplomacy in a manner best calculated to be of direct assistance to them. That has been done and is being done.

Without question, petroleum is the basic consideration in American foreign policy for the Near East, and we find that the spokesmen of the "big five" demand that the State Department back up officially whatever they attempt because the "whole world ought to know that the industry has consistent and continuing governmental support." The Senate, I presume, will have adequate opportunity to study American foreign policy in terms of oil when the international oil agreement is presented to the Senate by the Foreign Relations Committee. However, since more than half of the known world oil reserves are to be found in the Near and Middle East, and since the President has stated that "order" could not be maintained in the Middle East unless funds were advanced to the Turkish and Greek Governments, the Senate is compelled to face the facts of oil here and now. We must determine the extent of the influence the "big five" have on our State Department with respect to our policy in the Middle East, and what effect have they had in the formulation of the Vandenberg bill providing assistance for the Turkish and Greek Governments.

In these circumstances the American people are entitled to know exactly what the connection is between the new Greco-Turkish policy and the exploitation of Middle East oil by private American companies. Therefore, to clarify the oily atmosphere of the Vandenberg bill, I have presented this amendment in order that no one shall assume that its passage in any way implies that the United States Government is obligated to support any and all private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments.

Since the President delivered his message and since he made it a part of the whole program of stabilization of the Middle East, and since the stabilization of the Middle East must necessarily be very closely connected with our private operations in oil, I believe that a clarification of this point is very important.

It is my suspicion that in many cases our foreign policy in the past has been affected by the private influence of these big oil corporations. The Congress will be confronted with accomplished facts and the American people forced, through their Government, to back them up with their lives and fortunes. Let it be understood now, by the adoption of this amendment, that the United States Senate does not imply by passage of this Greek-Turkish loan act that we in any way commit ourselves to support private agreements between the Big Five and foreign governments.

A few days ago I noticed in the press that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] made the statement, if I correctly recall the press report, that through our antitrust laws in this country certain great oil companies were dis-

solved, and now we find them united in the Middle East. The dissolution affected only their operations in this country. In the Middle East and in world petroleum circles they are just as much of a trust as they were before we required them to dissolve.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I am glad to yield.

Mr. O'MAHONEY. I think perhaps I am obligated to say that while it is true, as I have pointed out following studies of the Special Senate Committee on Petroleum, that some of our oil companies are becoming as large as some governments, and that in the Middle East three units of the old Standard Oil trust which was dissolved by a decree of the Supreme Court back in 1911, namely, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Socony Vacuum, and the Standard Oil Company of California, now are uniting in the ownership of a substantial oil concession in Saudi Arabia, I did not mean to imply by that statement that any of those companies was by that fact violating the antitrust laws, although it is clear that the companies are in a position to make restrictive agreements. I was pointing out the fact that in the modern world the process of organization has gone so far that many corporations have become much larger than most cities and many States, and that in Saudi Arabia and in the Middle East these companies have control of oil reserves much vaster than those of the old Standard Oil Trust.

In connection with the middle eastern oil situation, it may be worth while to point out that Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and Socony Vacuum have agreed to purchase about 40 percent of the stock of the Arabian-American Oil Co., which holds the Saudi Arabian concession, but have not carried out their agreement because of a lawsuit pending in the London courts. However, with the assistance of approximately 19 American banks, these same companies have undertaken to make a loan of \$102,000,000 to the Saudi Arabian Co. in order to enable it to build a pipe line across the Arabian peninsula to the Mediterranean. What struck me about that report was that it was evidence of the fact that these great corporations have become wealthy enough and powerful enough almost to be entitled to ask for admission to the United Nations. It is only fair to say that the companies have displayed the utmost frankness in discussing their plans with the committee of which I had the honor to be chairman.

Still, Mr. President, I am convinced that that has nothing to do with the question at issue here, namely, the loan to Greece and Turkey. I have found nothing in the investigation that I have made to give me any reason to feel that the loan to Greece and Turkey is anything more than evidence upon the part of the United States of a desire to continue its traditional stand as a defender of the right of self-determination by all peoples and all nations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair make a suggestion to the Sen-

ator from Colorado. The remarks of the able Senator from Wyoming are highly helpful in the RECORD. However, he was not present when the Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] yielded to the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON]. The Senator from Idaho yielded only for a statement. If it is to induce a general debate, the present occupant of the chair in his capacity as a Senator from Michigan will have to ask for the regular order, which is the right of the Senator from Idaho to the floor.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I assure the Chair I shall not permit any further interruptions until I have finished.

I am indebted to the Senator from Wyoming for making the statement which he made. I referred to the Senator from Wyoming in my remarks. It was entirely proper, and, as he stated, it was quite necessary, for him to clarify his position, for inadvertently I may have misstated the press report concerning what he had to say.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No; I cannot yield.

Mr. LUCAS. This is very important.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I promised the Chair that I would not yield further.

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to make an inquiry as to whether or not there is any possibility of voting on this amendment this afternoon. Several Senators have asked me about it, and as acting minority leader I wish to make that inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There is already an amendment pending which has been submitted by the Senator from Colorado. It is not the amendment which the Senator is discussing.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The amendment which I am discussing is brief, and I should like to read it once more so that the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] will understand exactly the point I am talking about. I stated in the beginning of my remarks that the oil question in the form of a treaty is now pending in the proper committee of the Senate, but, due to the general statement which the President made in his message pertaining to the whole Near East area, I felt that there should be some clarification now with respect to oil. So I have drawn up this amendment to the pending measure, Senate bill 938:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments, or between American oil companies and nationals of foreign governments.

I did not and do not want any of the oil companies to be able to fall back upon the President's message and say that the United States Government has committed itself to stabilize conditions throughout the whole Middle East in this program, and that is the reason I offer this amendment.

The Senator from Wyoming says he has examined the pending measure carefully, and that he has found nothing in it which in any way affects petroleum. I am glad to have his statement on that

question, because, frankly, I was troubled by it.

I have noted that Mr. Alf Landon, one of the greatly respected and properly respected citizens of the State of Kansas, has made several speeches. He made on the other day in Denver in which he wholeheartedly endorsed the program which is now pending before the Senate. Quite naturally he did not say anything about oil in his address, but I have noticed from long observation that where there is oil there you will find Alf Landon, and wherever you find Alf Landon you are pretty apt to find oil. I recall that Alf Landon did not have a word to say about our policy when Russia was coercing the people of Finland, when Russia was driving them to the wall, when she was taking the food out of their mouths. Nothing was said about that. I do not know that Mr. Landon had anything to say when Russia gobbled up Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania. I did not hear him say anything about it; I did not hear him complain about what was happening at that time. Of course, there is no oil involved there. There was oil in Rumania, but American and British interests, so far as I know, had no interest in the oil in Rumania. At least there was no American interest in it.

I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD at this point some statements, observations, and testimony found in the report on petroleum interests in foreign countries made by the O'Mahoney committee.

There being no objection, the statements, observations, and testimony were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN OIL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The purpose of this memorandum is to demonstrate that the State Department has fully and actively supported all efforts of American companies to secure concessions in the Middle East.

Iraq Petroleum Co. (formerly Turkish Petroleum Co.): After the last war the British Government took, in effect, the position that since the American Government had never ratified the Versailles Treaty, and had not become a member of the League of Nations, it was not entitled to participate in the development of the mandated territories. To this position the State Department took strong exception, and our foreign-relations volumes for the period 1920-28 devote considerable space to the long and protracted negotiations which took place between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain regarding concessions in Iraq. Throughout these negotiations our Government insisted on the maintenance of an open-door policy as far as concessions went, which would permit American companies to participate on an equal basis with those of other countries.

The American Government's position in this matter was very clearly stated in a telegram to our Embassy at London, dated September 20, 1922 (Foreign Relations, 1924, vol. 2, p. 233), namely, that "this Government has contributed to the common victory, and has a right, therefore, to insist that American nationals shall not be excluded from a reasonable share in developing the resources of territories under the mandate. * * *

"In Mesopotamia (now Iraq) the principle of equality of commercial opportunity

and of the open door should be maintained * * *"

After prolonged negotiations, agreement was finally secured in 1927, and an American company (the Near East Development Corp.) secured a 23¾-percent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Co. This was secured entirely as a result of the insistence of the State Department that American firms be given equal opportunity in obtaining concessions.

The field which has been developed by the Iraq Petroleum Co. at Kirkuk is one of the largest proved fields in the world. American participation in this venture would never have been secured without the strong, consistent, and frequently insistent pressure brought to bear by the Department.

Furthermore, as the Iraq Petroleum Co., itself or through subsidiaries, has spread its operations in other areas of Iraq, and the Persian Gulf, American participation in these new areas has been insured by the terms of the original agreement.

Bahrein concession: Because Bahrein is under British protection by virtue of a treaty which provides that its foreign affairs shall be conducted by the British, American companies desiring to obtain concessions in Bahrein were confronted with the initial difficulty that they were entering into an area in which the British had long been paramount.

The concession at Bahrein was originally obtained by a British group (the Eastern and General Syndicate) on December 2, 1925. On November 30, 1927, the Eastern Gulf Oil Co., an American corporation, secured two option contracts from the British syndicate, which covered the existing concession at Bahrein, and a concession as yet unsigned for the Kuwait area. Because of the so-called Red Line agreement (an agreement binding the participants in the Iraq Petroleum Co. not to singly seek concessions in roughly the Arab part of the former Turkish Empire), the Eastern Gulf Corp. (then a participant in the Iraq Petroleum Co.) was contractually prevented from holding the Bahrein concession, and on December 21, 1928, it transferred the Bahrein contract to the Standard Oil Co. of California.

The Standard Oil Co. of California then organized a wholly owned subsidiary, the Bahrein Petroleum Co., Ltd., and nominated it to receive the assignments of the concessions. To conform to the British political position in Bahrein, this company was registered as a British corporation under the laws of Canada.

In the meantime the annual payment of rental had become due, and this payment was made by the British syndicate in order to protect both the Eastern Gulf Co. and its prospective nominee, the Standard Oil Co. of California. However, by this time the British Government had become aware of the fact that the American oil interests were seeking to enter the Persian Gulf territory. On the date that the money was paid, the syndicate received notice from the British Colonial Office that it would agree to the extension only on certain conditions; these conditions not only threatened to annul the entire transaction but raised a question of policy which engaged the immediate attention of the Department of State. After consideration of all the factors involved, our Embassy in London was instructed in March 1929 to request a statement of policy from the British Government with regard to the granting of concessions, such as the one in Bahrein, in the semi-independent Arab states of the Persian Gulf. At the same time our Embassy was instructed to point out the liberality of our own laws in this connection.

In a note dated May 30, 1929, the British Foreign Office replied that it was prepared in principle to admit the participation of United States interests in the Bahrein concession, provided that it could be satisfied as to the certain conditions including those

under which American capital would take part.

At the suggestion of the British Foreign Office negotiations were then initiated between the American company and the British Colonial Office, which were carried to a successful conclusion. In May 1930 the first representatives of the Standard Oil Co. of California arrived in Bahrein, and the field has since been developed very successfully and refining facilities installed which have played an important part in the Allied war effort.

Here again the prompt and positive action by the State Department had secured results favorable to an American-owned company. By securing the entry of American oil interests into Bahrein, the way was paved for some American interests to obtain concessions in nearby Arabia.

Kuwait concession: Kuwait's political status is similar to that of Bahrein, and this shiekhdom has long been under British influence. On November 27, 1931, the Eastern Gulf Oil Co. formally called the Department's attention to the fact that the so-called British Colonial Office was insisting on the so-called "nationality clause" in the Kuwait concession. This clause in effect prevented anyone except a British subject or firm from obtaining a concession in Kuwait.

The Department's reaction to this information was prompt, and on December 3, 1931, the instructions were sent to our embassy in London to make representations with a view to securing equal treatment for American firms.

These negotiations were long, and were complicated at a later date by the fact that the British-controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Co. (now the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co.), which had previously expressed its disinterest in Kuwait, suddenly endeavored to secure a concession from the sheikh of Kuwait. Here, again, the Department insisted on the open door policy, and our Embassy in London was assiduous in its endeavor to expedite a settlement, and continuously and frequently pressed the British authorities for action.

Finally agreement was reached, and on December 23, 1934, a concession was granted to the Kuwait Oil Co., which was 50 percent British (Anglo-Persian Oil Co.) and 50 percent American (Gulf Oil Corp.). Thus, the continued representations of our Government had secured equal American participation in this important field, which otherwise might now be wholly British held.

Saudi Arabian concession: This concession was obtained in 1933 by the company now known as the Arabian-American Oil Co. (a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Co. of California and the Texas Corp.). While no intervention by the Department was necessary in order to secure equal opportunity for the American company interested in this concession, the Department's earlier efforts which had resulted in the Bahrein concession put the company in a favorable position in its negotiations with the Arabian Government. It is probable that the total absence of any pressure on the part of the American Government was one of the deciding reasons for the award of the concession to an American company. In fact, when extended concessions were negotiated in 1939 Ibn Saud awarded the concession to the Arabian-American Oil Co., even though this private company offered less than Government-controlled Japanese and German companies, whose diplomats at Jidda were extremely pressing with their offers.

This concession and its extensions give the Arabian-American Oil Co. one of the most promising fields in the world.

Realizing the American national interest in the concession, and the importance thereto of economic stability in Saudi Arabia, the Department in 1941 strongly recommended that a loan be granted to that coun-

try by this Government having control of funds.

Measures are now being taken, with the cooperation of the appropriate agencies of this Government, which it is hoped will help Saudi Arabia to establish a stable currency system. An agricultural mission has also recently been in Arabia, and the Department has done its best to see that the country obtains the necessary equipment with which to put into effect the recommendations of this mission.

Other concessions: American companies, or companies with a part American interest, have obtained concessions in Iran, Afghanistan, India, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Qatar. While no direct diplomatic intervention has been called for, these companies have kept the Department informed of their progress, and the Department's good offices have been used many times in straightening out minor difficulties which these companies were experiencing.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask Mr. Rayner, if, in the matter he has presented to us, he has covered all the phases of what he had in mind when he referred to a strong foreign oil policy.

Mr. RAYNER. I think I might add a little to that. The Department has recently appointed some 13 or 14 petroleum advisers or attachés who are located at the important points world-wide to assist the ambassadors in handling oil problems. The Department has very actively carried on its policy of assisting the American companies in securing concessions abroad and has been very much alive to the perpetuation of their interests insofar as they pertain to the national interests of this country.

Mr. RAYNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When was it presented?

Mr. RAYNER. February 10, 1944.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. So, you are presenting it now to be included in the record so that there may be available in one place the whole story?

Mr. RAYNER. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any matters in that addendum which ought to be developed now? I have not had an opportunity to read it.

Mr. RAYNER. I think not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you examined it, Mr. Fraser?

Mr. FRASER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any points which you think ought to be brought out?

Mr. FRASER. We could go into a lot more detail, if the committee wished to do so. This is rather a general history of the years involved in these different countries, and if it were desired to expand the detail that could be done. Of course, we might get into matters that were more or less confidential.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think it is necessary for us to go into matters of history.

(The addendum submitted by Mr. Rayner is as follows:)

"ADDENDUM—UNITED STATES FOREIGN
PETROLEUM POLICY

"(b) The active, energetic, and consistent support rendered by the Department of State to the United States petroleum industry in its foreign operations and problems.

"Both before and after 1920 the Department of State demonstrated that it was ready to intercede by diplomatic measures in protection of the legitimate marketing interests of United States oil companies. * * *

"3. The period from 1918 to about 1924 was characterized by widespread pessimism about future oil supplies in the continental United States and in nearby Latin-American producing areas. * * * Consequently, American oil interests began to look abroad

for sources of crude and in so doing found themselves from time to time in need of the diplomatic support of their Government. This period was remarkably similar to the present period. Examination of the record will show that the activity of the Department of State was prompt and firm. Reference should be made to the accompanying memoranda on the American oil interests in the Netherlands Indies, in the Middle East, and in Latin America. For a more detailed documentation of the activity of the Department during this period reference should be made to the State Department publication entitled 'Oil Concessions in Foreign Countries' (68th Cong., 1st sess., Doc. No. 97) and also to the diplomatic correspondence in connection with the Palestine mandate.

"4. About 1924 and thereafter, public interest in overseas petroleum reserves began to wane. * * * Nevertheless, in specific instances and upon request, the Department of State would employ its good offices to strengthen the hands of such members of the American oil industry as desired to acquire foreign sources of supply in order to facilitate their foreign marketing operations. Throughout the entire interwar period the Department uniformly insisted, in its diplomatic correspondence, on the open-door principle of equal opportunity for United States petroleum interests in areas newly opened to concession. Specific instances of diplomatic intervention are to be found in the record connected with the acquisition of concessions in Bahrain Island and in the Sheikdom of Kuwait.

* * *
"CHARLES RAYNER,

"Petroleum Adviser, State Department."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, in order that the Senate and the public may clearly understand that this question is not an incidental side issue, I have asked that the document submitted by Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser of the Department of State to the special O'Mahoney committee on oil, be included in my remarks. This document appears in the volume entitled "Petroleum Interests in Foreign Countries," beginning on page 19. Mr. Rayner carefully states that his paper in compact summary contains the record of: "The active, energetic, and consistent support rendered by the Department of State to the United States petroleum industry, in its foreign operations and problems."

Mr. Rayner carries us from one period of time to another, points out time after time how the State Department intervened, not just in the Middle East but throughout the world, in Venezuela, in New Guinea, in India, in every single place where petroleum is produced anywhere in the world, giving the constant, steady support of our State Department to the private activities of the big oil corporations. Mr. Rayner has a special section, Mr. President, entitled "American Oil Interests in the Middle East." This reading of the record written by the State Department itself, Mr. President, demonstrates without any question, that our State Department has acted as the advance and rear-guard agent, the protective agent of the Big Five for the past 20 years in their attempts to obtain oil concessions in the Near and Middle East.

The State Department through intervention in Kuwait obtained after years of protracted negotiations a most extensive and valuable concession in 1934 for the Gulf Oil Corp. Today the Gulf

Oil Corp. of America has a 50-percent interest in that rich field. In Bahrain, the Standard Oil Corp. of California was able to arrive at an agreement in 1930 after years and years of protracted negotiations by the State Department.

Once again with the help of the State Department, over British opposition, we heard much in the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations about Iran oil deposits. The British Government today has concessions for over 600,000 square miles of territory. Incidentally, the Big Five are urgently pushing the British to obtain equal shares in the oil reserves of Iran on the basis, I am told, that the American flag in that area would insure stability.

Of course that is a fact well known to all oil producers. I do not condemn them for that. But the American flag makes their investment in those areas very valuable indeed, and the Senate of the United States certainly cannot be criticized when it considers where the American flag shall fly and why it shall fly there.

The Arabian-American Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California, and the Texas Oil Corp., have today uncovered the greatest oil reserves so far discovered in the Middle East in Saudi Arabia. The Arabian-American Oil Co. has oil rights to 440,000 square miles—an area almost twice the size of Texas. This area alone is estimated conservatively to hold more than 20,000,000,000 barrels of oil.

As we here discuss the Greek-Turkish loan, the Arabian-American Oil Co. is in negotiation with the British Government in London. Within the past 6 months, Standard of California and the Texas Oil Corp. agreed to cut the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and the Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. of New York in on the Arabian-American Oil Co., but that agreement, now several months old, is delayed pending the outcome of current discussions and legal action in London concerning a group agreement reached in 1928 among participants in the Iraq Petroleum Co.

In 1928, after 8 years of State Department protest, the British finally yielded and agreed that the big American producers should receive a 23½ percent interest in the Iraq Petroleum Co. This achievement, as the State Department and the big producers will acknowledge, was entirely due to the pressure of the State Department. Five American companies sliced this melon.

For 25 years the State Department has actively protected, defended, and advanced the interests of the Big Five companies in the Near and Middle East. As we debate this policy here, these powerful international oil companies are meeting in London to decide policies over which we, the Senate, have no control, but which policies they expect our State Department to fully back up with economic, political, and, if necessary, military forces. Many, many commentators and newspaper columnists have reached the conclusion somehow that the Greek-Turkish so-called assistance bill is nothing short of an outright subsidy to the Big Five oil producers of

America. As the junior Senator from Maine has suggested, the whole situation has a strong odor of petroleum.

For 25 years the State Department has been aggressively forcing the British to cut the Big Five in on the oil loot of the Middle East. Now, with exclusive control over the world's greatest known oil reserves in Saudi Arabia, the big standard companies find themselves in a highly favorable bargaining position with the British. They will not permit the British to enter Saudi Arabia unless the British are willing to cut the standard companies in on the exploitation of the exclusive British concession within the nation of Iran. Do not overlook the important factor of the American flag in the negotiations. This is what concerns the international oil monopolists as they sit tonight in London making decisions for the State Department and the Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, on the evening following the appearance of Mr. Truman before the Congress, Mr. Charles Rayner, petroleum adviser of the Department of State, in a speech at Mount Vernon, Ill., said:

Oil has become more of a vital force in influencing peace and prosperity throughout the world, for its ramifications go far beyond those of other commodities. It reaches and brings its influence to bear upon the economic welfare of nations, and it involves political and military considerations of far-reaching potentialities.

Mr. President, Mr. Rayner goes on to point out that the Near East and Middle East have become the center of the world's oil industry, that half, and potentially much more than half, of all known oil reserves are to be found in this area; and he observes:

It is not difficult, therefore, to appreciate how important may be our political relationship with the various countries and the small sheikdoms that make up that part of the world.

Mr. President, Mr. Rayner makes quite clear that the big oil producers today are in the dominant position throughout the world. As a part of my remarks at this point, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Mr. Malcolm Hobbs, able Washington correspondent of the Overseas News Agency, be included in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR EXPANDING OIL INTERESTS
(By Malcolm Hobbs)

WASHINGTON.—The dramatic political developments surrounding the new United States foreign policy in the Near East have overshadowed recent economic developments in which America has strengthened its holdings in rich Middle East oil fields.

These significant and important economic steps have taken place coincidentally with the evolving of President Truman's policy to secure America's political frontiers in Greece and Turkey.

Two weeks ago, two important American oil companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil Co.—joined with Britain's Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. to form Middle East Pipelines, Ltd. The purpose of the new company is to construct another 1,000 miles of pipe line to connect the oil fields of Iran and Kuwait with the Mediterranean. Stock in the company will be distributed so

that Jersey will have 40 percent, Socony 10 percent, and Anglo-Iranian 50 percent. In return for financial backing, Anglo-Iranian has agreed to provide the American companies with "substantial quantities of crude oil for a period of years."

This represents the first return for American oil interests from the deal signed last December 26 in which British interests agreed to share with the Americans in the development of Middle East oil resources. This agreement culminated the uphill struggle of the Americans—started shortly after World War I—against the exclusive control by the British of Middle East oil concessions.

Three weeks ago, contracts were placed for the construction of another pipe line to be controlled by the Arabian American Oil Co., which has exclusive rights over Saudi Arabian resources. Arabian American is owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Co. Its pipe line is a big 30-inch project costing \$80,000,000, scheduled to be completed by the end of 1949. It will cross the Arabian Peninsula to the Mediterranean.

Completion of the two new pipe lines will give American interests a hold on three vital lines stretching into this rich region. American companies already have an interest in the line which carries oil from the Iraq fields to the Mediterranean.

On March 12 the Arabian American Oil Co. announced that an agreement whereby Standard of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum would join Standard of California and the Texas Co. as stockholders of Arabian American awaited only the satisfactory solution of certain British objections to the deal. An agreement in principle giving Jersey 30 percent and Socony-Vacuum 10 percent of Arabian American's capital stock had been announced last December. This arrangement will bolster Arabian American's financial structure by about \$227,000,000.

Another American oil company—Gulf—has joint control with Anglo-Iranian of the Kuwait Oil Co. Its fields are the newest in the Middle East, located at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The welter of developments in international oil serve to accent two facts: That American oil interests are increasing their international holdings and control by leaps and bounds; and that the American rise is coupled with a British decline. Up until the 1920's the United States had no significant foreign oil supplies. Diplomatic protests over Britain's monopolistic position in the Middle East secured a concession for the United States in Iraq. American engineers discovered the richest reserves in the world in Saudi Arabia after Britain had concluded that the region was unproductive. The recent deals with Anglo-Iranian have strengthened the United States position considerably. The two new pipe lines will bring Middle East oil direct to the Mediterranean, eliminating tanker shipments through the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Suez Canal, where the British have been able to collect a toll levy of 18 cents a barrel.

In contrast to the picture after World War I, American oil concessions abroad now equal, if not surpass, those of the British. There is added significance to this in that the United States is a big oil producer within its own borders, while Britain has relied completely on foreign oil for security since Winston Churchill's decision as First Lord of the Admiralty to convert the Royal Navy from coal to oil.

Today British companies have concessions in Iran, North Borneo, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, India, Malaya, Ceylon, Netherlands East Indies, Trinidad, Colombia, and Venezuela. Americans have properties in all these countries except India and Iran, with additional holdings in Canada, Bahrein, and Saudi Arabia.

In an unheralded but significant speech at Mount Vernon, Ill., on the 13th of this month, Mr. Charles Rayner, the State De-

partment's petroleum adviser, stated that United States interests now own or control 59 percent of the total known oil reserves in the world. He stressed "the increasing importance of our foreign reserves to our national economy."

In terms of the Middle East, Mr. Rayner said: "I cannot stress the importance of this part of the world too strongly. With oil reserves known to be in excess of the known reserves of the United States * * * it may well be that the Middle East will ultimately become the center of gravity of world oil production. It is not difficult, therefore, to appreciate how important may be our political relationship with the various countries and small sheikdoms that make up that part of the world."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Mr. Hobbs calls attention to the fact that two important American oil companies have just joined with Britain's Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. to form Middle East Pipelines, Ltd. The purpose of the new company is to construct another 1,000 miles of pipe line to connect the oil fields of Iran and Kuwait with the Mediterranean. Mr. Hobbs states:

This represents the first return for American oil interests from the deal signed last December 26 in which British interests agreed to share with the Americans in the development of Middle East oil resources.

I take it, Mr. President, that because of the powerful position which the Standard companies today occupy in the Near East and Middle East, the British have finally agreed to cut them in on the development of the vast oil fields of Iran over which the British since 1901 have held exclusive control.

Mr. President, I believe that the material that I have submitted in the discussion of this amendment raises certain basic questions in regard to the Turkish-Greek loan and to our Nation's foreign policy in respect to the Near and Middle East. First, I wish to call attention once more to the fact that an international oil agreement is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Second, I wish to raise the question of the propriety of having the Big Five dictate American Foreign Policy. Third, I wish to raise the question of why our State Department acts as a messenger boy, a front man, a salesman, a protector for whatever deals the Big Five attempt to negotiate with foreign nations. I raise now the question of an international oil cartel, a combination of the British Oil monopolies and the five major oil companies in America. What are the arrangements? What was the agreement of 1928 which has led to the discussions now under way in London; what agreement have they reached in regard to markets and the development of the oil reserves of the Near and Middle East? I question the binding nature of those agreements on our State Department and the American people. And what have the Standard Oil Cos. got to do with the pending measure?

Mr. President, I suggest that the Greek-Turkish deal has been proposed as a political insurance policy for the Standard Oil Cos. It carries out the pledge of the State Department to them that the American flag will continue to protect them and it demonstrates that American fortunes and lives stand ready to protect their interests.

In all good conscience to clarify this situation and in order that our State Department shall not become a way-station for the lobbyists and agents of the oil cartels, I urge the Senate to adopt the amendment I have offered. There is full and adequate time to discuss the effect of international oil cartels on our foreign policy when we debate the international oil agreement. At least now, in order to make clear to the American people that it is the actual poverty, hunger, and destitution of the Greek people which move the Senate, I urge that we adopt the amendment which I have proposed.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho has the floor.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield, to permit me to make an insertion in the RECORD?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho has been farming out the floor all the afternoon. The Chair has been very generous about it because he wishes to cooperate. But the Chair thinks both the Senator from Idaho and the Chair agree that he should conclude his address now without further interruption.

Mr. AIKEN. Very well.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I was discussing our reservations to the League of Nations. The distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee did yeoman service in securing American participation in the United Nations. I want to acknowledge my own admiration for the part he played in that matter. But I cannot conceal my disappointment to find that now, confronted with the opposition of the American people to the bypassing of the United Nations, he sponsors an amendment which, in its effect, is no different from the old League reservations. I recall that in 1919 he fought valiantly for putting reservations into our League adherence. I recall that as editor of the Grand Rapids Herald, he insisted that America, and America alone, should decide whether or not she had lived up to her international obligations, if she decided to leave the League. The Vandenberg amendment, the Vandenberg reservation to our participation in the UN, is more skillfully drawn. He would leave to the UN a veto over our Greek-Turkish aid plan, provided the UN sets up its own system of aid which makes our own unnecessary or undesirable. But was it not our duty under the UN Charter to take the whole problem to the UN from the beginning? Did we have the moral right to confront the UN with an accomplished fact, and then stand back and say that if the UN itself, without our aid, can match our own prodigious effort we will pull out? Are we not setting up a new kind of reservation to our participation in running the machinery of international cooperation. Are we not, therefore, following a tragic course parallel to our League action in 1919?

The League of Nations that began to function without the participation of the United States, the strongest power in the world, the power that had initiated the League idea and had renounced every selfish territorial demand at Versailles and had asked only for the universal

adoption of that idea, was off to a difficult start. But it did get into successful operation and it did settle a number of lesser international disputes that threatened to burst into large-scale war. It is not without its symbolic implications that one of the conflicts it settled was between Greece and Bulgaria.

What killed the League and, therefore, the peace? It was the decision of the great powers to act outside of the League instead of acting collectively within the League. Frequently the decision to ignore the League was not motivated by selfish aggrandizement, by sinister ambition, or ulterior motive. Frequently the bypassing of the League was done for the best of motives—for peace, for order, for stability, for justice. But whatever the motive, the bypassing of the League weakened it and helped to kill the peace.

Consider, for example, the Locarno Pact, signed in 1925 by the major European powers—all members of the League of Nations. The pact renounced war and guaranteed frontiers. Its objectives were beyond reproach. But listen to the testimony of Sumner Welles as given in his book *The Time for Decision*:

The agreements signed at Locarno were acclaimed throughout the world as a great achievement. * * * Yet, in retrospect, one is again bound to ask why the provisions of the Covenant of the League were of greater value merely because they were written at Locarno. * * * In reality, the only practical results of the Locarno treaties were to weaken gravely the authority of an already sadly undermined league.

But, of course, it was the sinister bypassing of the League—by Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Ethiopia, and Germany and Italy in Spain—which gave the League the death blow. And we might cite also the damage done by England and France in refusing to permit the League to take more effective action against the aggressors. Here is Sumner Welles' analysis:

In 1931, the international horizon was still further darkened by Japan's decision that the moment had arrived when her ambition to extend her hegemony over the Asiatic continent could safely be carried out. Her rape of the three Manchurian provinces, and her subsequent decision to abandon the League because of the mild reproof administered, brought the League face to face with its greatest issue. The Baldwin government in England refused to countenance any forceful action. Notice was thereby given to the rising forces within Germany and Italy that the League of Nations was impotent in the face of the most flagrant and brutal aggression.

The failure of the League to take action in this case was the chief cause for Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia; for the triumph of fascism in Spain; and for Hitler's decision to proceed with the creation by force of his "greater Germany." Never was any decision more fatal in its consequences than that reached in 1932 by the Governments of Great Britain and France when they permitted the League to be emasculated.

But why did France and England permit the League to be emasculated? The policy of League emasculation was another phase of the Munich policy of German appeasement. And both of these policies were motivated by a pathological hatred of Russia. The ruling

cliques in France and England at that time, supported by powerful commercial financial interests in this country, wanted a strengthened Germany turned toward Russia; they wanted Germany to destroy Russia after a great struggle from which Germany itself would emerge so weakened she would be incapable of turning westward. How futile that policy proved to be, we all know now. How immoral that policy was we are all agreed now. But how many lives were twisted, maimed, and destroyed before we learned those lessons. How much misery and heartache were sown for other generations to reap before we saw the light.

Yet what is proposed now? It is hard to believe—and many will resist believing—that we are following the tragic course of the twenties and thirties, that we are repeating the measures we have just learned to condemn for their incalculable folly.

Motivated by fear and hatred of Russia, we are undermining the United Nations. Remember the League? Motivated by fear and hatred of Russia we are arming Fascist reaction in Greece and Turkey. Remember Germany? Motivated by fear and hatred of Russia, we are giving aid and comfort to corrupt and dispossessed warmongers throughout the world who see in a Russo-American struggle a chance for them to recapture power. Remember Hitler?

But it will be charged I am looking at only one side of the picture, that I am ignoring the role of Russia and the growth of communism in recent years, that I am appeasing Russia. Let us be clear about appeasement. It has become a historic word with a settled meaning. It means making concessions, not justified by morality, in the hope of satisfying the demands of an aggressive nation, a nation whose appetite is merely whetted by the concessions.

Now who can honestly say that reference of the Greek-Turkish dispute to the UN would be appeasement? Who can fairly say that throwing the spotlight of the organized conscience of mankind on the true nature of the Greek or Turkish problem would appease anybody? No, the issue is not appeasement; it is peace through international cooperation.

Nor is it appeasement to discuss with Russia claims based on history, claims whose justice was once tacitly conceded by Great Britain, as in the case of the Dardenelles. Nor is it appeasement to discuss with Russia the protection of her security in a world still haunted by atomic warfare.

No; the issue is peace through international cooperation. That is the real issue, the only issue—and I want to quote the prophetic words of Woodrow Wilson, uttered during the fight for the League of Nations:

The imperialist wants no League of Nations, but if, in response to the universal cry of masses everywhere, there is to be one, he is interested to secure one suited to his own purposes—

Those words sound strangely as if they might have been uttered with reference to the present situation. Mr. Wilson continued—

one that will permit him to continue the historic game of pawns and peoples—the

juggling of provinces, the old balance of power, and the inevitable wars attendant upon these things. The reservation proposed would perpetuate the old order. Does any one really want to see the old game played again? Can any one really venture to take part in reviving the old order? The League is the bulwark, and the only bulwark of the rising democracy of the world against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

That uncannily prophetic warning went unheeded in 1919. Shall we make the same mistake again?

Mr. President, I should like to call to the attention of the Senate the reaction to what is now contemplated, especially in foreign nations.

"We cannot fly in the face of history. In the Near East and Middle East change is long overdue. Bottling up the forces of unrest is the surest way to cause an explosion. Britain has pursued such a policy for 2 years, with tragic results. But are we under any illusions as to the fact that it is proposed that we carry on the British policy intact? Listen to this recent Athens radio broadcast, quoted by CBS:

It must be emphasized that the American policy outlined by Truman is a considerable improvement over Winston Churchill's Fulton speech. * * * Churchill made statements about friendship with Russia, stressing the necessity of having a general understanding on foreign policy. Truman made no mention whatsoever of any getting together with the Soviet Union, or of any direct effort to improve understanding between America and Russia. Churchill had taken good care to fit his plan into the United Nations framework. But Truman decided to follow an independent policy. * * * He places at the disposal of every endangered state colossal material, and if necessary, the military might of America.

Yes, indeed, Mr. President, our unilateral policy is proving a great boon to the reactionary, royalist Fascist in Greece.

Listen to this echo from the other end of the Mediterranean. The Spanish radio said on March 17:

If any man has cause to rejoice intensely over Mr. Truman's message, that man is Winston Churchill. What Mr. Roosevelt made him suffer, Mr. Truman is making amends for.

From the Arab Middle East, we have this observation made over the Jaffa radio, on March 14:

Truman's speech bodes no good for the possibilities of maintaining peace in the world. Such a problem should be submitted to the most competent organization so far established for settling these matters: the UNO. If Greece and Turkey fear aggression, they should resort to the UNO.

Our friends in France are not happy. The newspaper *L'Aurore*—meaning "the dawn"—commented on March 15:

United States foreign policy seems to have resolved the world into two blocs. If that is so, there is no hope of establishing a lasting peace and collective security.

Another French paper, *Les Echos*, charges that America is determined to create markets for its exports, and says:

If this kind of distribution is to become a coherent system throughout the world, it should not be organized by one country alone but by the United Nations.

And we have drawn a very solemn warning from the Dutch. Their inter-

national commentator, de Jong, predicted in a broadcast March 15:

The new American policy would encourage the die-hard reactionary elements in all countries, who are not even capable of settling their own domestic affairs, let alone international issues.

He predicted that—

The American people will certainly be surprised some day when the repercussions of its strong-arm policy become apparent to all and sundry.

I think you will find these other observations of de Jong, reported by our Government monitoring service on March 17, of interest. I quote:

The corrupt and reactionary Greek ruling class is left free to carry on. * * *

If one pictures how America would feel if masses of Russian weapons and military instructors were poured into Cuba or Mexico, one can imagine what Soviet reactions to the President's speech were like. * * *

The Americans would do well to realize that a mere anti-Communist policy is not enough. It is bound to be ineffective and of no constructive value whatever. The crux of the whole issue is whether the United States will be able to stamp out misery, hunger, starvation, and squalor in those countries which have now become American protectorates to all intents and purposes. It is also that particular aspect of American policy, which has aroused doubts in the minds of those who know the socially ruthless character of present-day America.

And here is comment from Italy:

ITALIANS SEE IMPORTANCE

In Rome, the independent newspaper *Il Messaggero* said the President's message was the most important one since promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

"It took more than 100 years and two great wars for the United States to abandon its isolationism so resolutely, proclaiming that henceforth its policy assumes worldwide scope," said *Il Messaggero*, the only paper in Rome to devote an editorial to the message.

"The speech and the program it represents are important and impressive because behind respectable arguments of general policy lie the influence of colossal economic interests—industrial, banking, and commercial—which, united and fused with the principles of democracy, constitute that formidable mechanism of global expansion, which is American imperialism."

Our friends across the seas are not pleased at all, Mr. President.

Here is comment from France:

L'Orde—De Gaullist:

We don't know what repercussions the speech will have on the Moscow Conference, but we don't think it can serve the cause of international peace.

The harsh truth is that the United States is establishing its influence in the Middle East on the ruins of British influence, but face to face with the Soviet thrust. There is nothing in all this on one side or the other which resembles the peace of right and freedom.

L'Epoque—right-wing:

A UN commission is at present investigating the question of the responsibility for the disorders in northern Greece, and after the Truman speech it would be difficult for it to put the Athens Government in the wrong and exonerate the rebels.

French radio—in German to Germany:

Truman's statement that United States interests were extending far beyond Greece

and Turkey and were including all the world, is astounding because it represents the undisguised proclamation of a right of world control (weltaufsichtsrecht) by the highest United States authority.

That is the reaction everywhere of the peoples of other nations, that we are setting out to conquer the world.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAYLOR. I am sorry, but the Presiding Officer has ruled that I am not permitted to yield any further.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Except for a question.

Mr. LUCAS. May I put an address in the RECORD?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. No; unless the Senator from Idaho wishes to yield the floor.

Mr. TAYLOR. I do not want to yield the floor. I should like to yield to the Senator to put the material in the RECORD.

Mr. LUCAS. Will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; I yield for a question.

Mr. LUCAS. Will it be agreeable to the Senator if I place something in the RECORD?

Mr. TAYLOR. It would be agreeable to me.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be incorporated in the RECORD an address delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho will lose the floor if he yields for the purpose of the transaction of any business.

Mr. TAYLOR. Very well. Then I cannot yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Will the Senator further yield, then, for a question?

Mr. TAYLOR. For a question, but no business—no monkey business here.

Mr. LUCAS. There are no monkeys in the Senate; there is no monkey business here at all. But will the Senator tell me who is going to take the floor when he yields the floor?

Mr. TAYLOR. I have not the slightest idea.

Mr. LUCAS. Will the distinguished Senator further yield for a question?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes; for a question.

Mr. LUCAS. Is it possible that the distinguished President pro tempore of the Senate will take the floor, in the event the Senator from Idaho should lose the floor or yield it? Can the Senator enlighten me on that point?

Mr. TAYLOR. Anything is possible.

Mr. LUCAS. I am sure it is, as the result of what is going on here now.

Mr. TAYLOR. The French radio, beamed to the Germans, in German, went on to say this:

This right would finally lead to a claim for world domination. The envisaged help to Greece and Turkey entails an advance of United States power toward the frontiers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It cannot be expected that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will regard this as anything but a provocation. She will never understand why the United States security must be defended immediately outside the Russian frontiers. * * *

The United States is prepared to come to an understanding; that is, they want to maintain their predominant position under all circumstances.

I quote from Canadian newspapers. The Montreal Star was inclined to agree with the need for such action, but added, in discussing Canada's participation in European relief:

There is no question of Canada being asked to take part in the additional American project of providing assistance to the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

This United States action is regarded here as being strictly in the field of power politics.

That statement comes from Canada, our next door neighbor. Her people should be tolerant to us if any people are going to be.

The Montreal Star continues:

This is not a league in which they let us play around, our external-affairs expert told the Star.

The Victoria Colonist:

The effect of President Truman's request * * * could, in the long run, have an adverse repercussion on the United Nations as an effective instrument for the maintenance of world peace.

The London (Canada) Free Press:

If Russia and the United States meet in a naked clash of power politics, the future of the United Nations is dark indeed.

These statements are all from our neighbors, some near, some far, some friendly, some not so friendly, but one theme runs through all the statements, namely that we are setting out to conquer the world. They fear us because of the atomic bomb, and we are in danger of turning all the peoples of the world against us.

The Vatican radio has this to say:

After pointing out that unless concrete action is taken, world peace will be endangered. Truman said that the free peoples must be helped to maintain their freedom. This means that the incessant efforts of the past year through an almost uninterrupted series of conferences have led to nothing. * * *

Now the peoples see with terror that the leaders who hold the world's fate in their hands and who will decide the triumph or failure of peace are more or less powerless to stem the water which inundates the ship of peace on all sides, and are forced to tell those who confidently embarked that the vessel threatens to capsize, dragging all with it into the vortex.

Mr. President, I wish I could find one cheerful note in all the foreign press.

Tyোকansan Sanomat, Helsinki, Finland, says:

A stupefying point in Truman's speech is the part where he refers to totalitarian states and in this connection mentions Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

In the opinion of an ordinary European, there are not in Europe, with the exception of Spain and Portugal, any other totalitarian states of a Fascist type than Greece and Turkey.

Naturally, the buying of two complete nations—

Hear that, Mr. President, The Finnish newspaper says:

Naturally, the buying of two complete nations for the purpose of military bases will seriously injure the pacific development of international relations.

The London News Chronicle—that is a liberal newspaper—says:

It seems that the United States has become aware of the burdens and responsibilities which moral and material power entail. But the mantle of power is not easily assumed, and the absence in Mr. Truman's remarks of the slightest subtlety or diplomatic finesse may involve the State Department in unexpected difficulties.

That is of great significance, Mr. President, in the eyes of our British friends. They are always very subtle in their diplomacy, and our brutal approach really has them worried.

The Daily Herald, Labor Party organ:

The most disturbing aspect of Mr. Truman's statement is its pessimism. The question is, To what extent will the American people as a whole accept the thesis that the well-being of the world rests mainly on the might of the United States as a counterforce to the might of Russia?

If that belief takes hold—and is matched as it will be by increasing anti-American reaction in Russia—the prospect of an armed clash between the two greatest powers on earth becomes frighteningly clear.

The Manchester Guardian:

This is not the moment for hasty judgment. It would be absurd and unworthy for us to condemn the United States for trying to do what we have tried and failed to do. At most, we can criticize the method chosen.

Even though we support the American point of view and welcome American help, we cannot easily accept a balance of power which would leave Russia and the United States face to face in Europe and the Near East.

The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency quoted former Greek Foreign Minister Sofianopoulos, and this is what the Greek Foreign Minister had to say:

The American loan (added) to the gift of military equipment will be a catastrophe if as a preliminary condition, the basic change of the existing regime in Greece is not stipulated. It will make the repressive measures against Greek democrats still harder and will increase tensions in the Balkans. Continuation of the present regime is a calamity for Greece and a threat to peace in the Balkans and in the world.

Mr. President, the United States News, published here in the Nation's Capital for a business clientele, in its issue of March 21, 1947, blueprints a grandiose scheme of American imperialism, the same thing of which we have been accused by our foreign friends, calculated, it says, to cost American taxpayers \$31,885,000,000. I have not checked its figures with the various departments, but in the article the United States News tells where the money is coming from and where it is going.

Under the heading of "Aiding deserving people," the article has this to say:

It isn't going to be so bad—this job of trying to run the world.

Then the article speaks of the money and goods we are going to ship all over the world. In another part of the article appears the following:

Americans are to be forced to take an interest in the outside world. Trade will be high and active wherever the dollars flow. Businessmen will do well to get deeply interested in world trade to find where they

may fit into what obviously is to be an expanding field of United States interest and activity abroad.

I am still quoting from the United States News, and listen to this next sentence, for it is important:

It is to be settled now that the flag will follow the dollar into the far reaches of many areas in the world.

But, of course, we all know that the word "flag" in this context is a polite word for American boys—your sons and mine.

Frankly, I believe that this is a rather truthful statement of one of the principal reasons for our new imperialistic foreign policy. The economic royalists, whom Franklin Roosevelt so aptly named, are back in the saddle and are setting out to exploit, not to help, the world, and the first step in this grand scheme is to be certain that we are in a position to defend our Middle East oil investments.

Barron's financial paper, said March 17 that Truman's speech "in effect creates an American-trained Turko-Greek Army between Russia and the world's largest oil reserves."

The Wall Street Journal March 14 quoted a man described as "a big oil executive" who exclaimed, "Hallelujah; it's about time."

Mr. President, I am convinced that our State Department has become subservient to the War Department.

The attitude has been adopted that it is hopeless to try to get along peacefully with Russia, and therefore our foreign policy is to be predicated on the assumption that war is inevitable.

If it had not been for the great outcry from the American people I do not believe the present bill would have been amended in any way to even make a gesture toward the United Nations.

I want to impress upon the American people that, in my opinion, the amendments in no way alter the original proposal and that by dragging the United Nations into the picture by way of the back door we have only added insult to the injury already done to that organization which represents mankind's only present hope of maintaining peace in the world.

According to the Gallup poll, the American people are demanding by increasing majorities that we turn over the whole problem to the United Nations. Unless that demand becomes a crescendo that cannot be ignored, present indications are that Congress, fearful of being labeled as Red sympathizers, will overwhelmingly approve this plan to start our Nation on the road of power politics from which there can be no turning back short of atomic war.

There are many among us who have in their hearts recognized this bill for what it is, and some have had the courage publicly to lay bare the true purposes and effects of this bill. They have denounced it as an adventure into power politics and imperialism. They have pointed up its detour around the United Nations which can only result, finally, in the wrecking of that great organization for world peace.

They have not hedged. They have not said, This bill is perhaps workable, but I would prefer it to be strengthened thus and so. They have denounced it for what it is. It is my hope that those Senators will continue in the final vote to stand by their convictions. It is my hope they will not vote for the bill which they have rejected so categorically. It is my hope that having identified a potential threat to the peace, they will not aggravate that threat with the prestige of their vote.

I beg each Member of this honorable body to take inventory of the effects of the grave decision which we are about to make. Let him listen to the voice of the people of the United States as expressed in their letters to him. The people are weary and sick of war. The people are crying for peace.

The world started on the long one-way street to World War II when Japan was allowed to take unilateral action in its invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Is each and everyone of us willing to examine this proposal and deny that it will place us on a similar one-way street to World War III?

One may say that Japan's action in 1931 was an act of aggression whereas our action today is not. Japan did not so regard what we now call the invasion of Manchuria. It called it merely, an "incident." The unholy imperialist invasion of China was, to the Japanese war lords, merely the "China Incident." It thus succeeded in justifying its action to itself and its people. Some of us may similarly succeed in justifying to ourselves the sending of arms and troops to Greece, but we have not succeeded in justifying it to the American people. We cannot pass this off as a mere Greek incident. Japan's action wrecked the League of Nations. It was immediately apparent only to the few who were willing to see, but now we all acknowledge its far reaching effects. Our action will just as surely wreck the United Nations, which Franklin Roosevelt termed the one great asset won by the blood and treasure of World War II.

The United Nations is not a thing apart. It is not a debating society. It is not a musty library, or an international archive for the repository of state papers. It does not exist for the sole purpose of being informed of accomplished facts. Neither is it something which will grow in a vacuum independent of the actions of its members. The United Nations is its members. Insofar as it limits the actions of those members, it involves the surrender of some of their freedom of unilateral action, or sovereignty. If its members refuse to be bound by it at this early stage of its development they do not leave the United Nations untouched. The very fact that the United States is a member of the United Nations means that it is a part of the United Nations, and—more than that—one of the principal components.

When the United States withdraws its support of UN by taking unilateral action it removes one of the principal foundation stones of that international structure. Without the United States there is no United Nations. It may become some other kind of an organization but

when we take this step we will have automatically disintegrated the UN which we now know.

All of the other saddening effects of such an action on our part are corollary to that one great step backward into war. But they are no less real.

If we send guns and troops to Greece and Turkey to bolster corrupt and inhumane governments we automatically place our stamp of approval on those governments.

Are we trying to sell democracy—our democracy—to the peoples of the world? It has been said that we are, and that is certainly a laudable endeavor.

But how strangely we implement our purpose. Is the Greek monarchy which starves its poor and jails its political opponents of all complexions, our kind of democracy? I think not. But what will the people of Greece think with no criteria for judgment except what they see in their own country? And what will all of the downtrodden, oppressed peoples of the world who are fighting various degrees of fascism think?

We had a sample of that in the clippings which I read a moment ago.

Surely democracy is a stronger weapon against communism than is fascism and monarchy. Surely we will create more Communists if we represent to the people of Greece and to the oppressed peoples of the world that the only alternative to fascism and Royalist oppression is communism. If that is their only choice they will have little trouble in making up their minds. Why must we present to them this impossible dilemma?

The essence of a democracy is its free elections. Without that instrument there can be no democracy. That is almost a complete definition of democracy. And yet we have accepted, with straight-faced righteousness, the results of an election which every newspaperman in Greece knew to be a sham. An election which was preceded by mass arrests of all opposition leaders. An election based on registry lists heavily padded with the dead, the absent, and the incarcerated. An election before which the Greek people were intimidated by months of military display, of strong-arm force. An election which followed campaigns by bands of brutal ruffians, known as "X"-ites, who roamed the countryside beating and killing those who were unwilling to espouse the medieval idea of royalism.

And finally, Mr. President, an election which took place on the very day when the Prime Minister of Greece, Souphoulis, said in a radio broadcast, "The conditions for a free election do not exist in Greece today."

We say in effect, that is the kind of election which makes up democracy. That is the kind of thing we offer you to show you that our system is better than communism. Again by presenting a false dilemma we misrepresent democracy far more effectively than could any Communist agent.

Indignation throughout our country reached terrific proportions when it became apparent in 1946 that threats of force and violence kept American citizens from voting in the State of Mississippi. The Senate took cognizance of that irregularity in its failure to admin-

ister the oath of office to THEODORE G. BILBO. We reaffirmed that a free election is the foundation stone of democracy and we took action to guard that sacred function.

But how different do we appear abroad if we take the step proposed in the bill offered by the able chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee?

It is not enough that we take this action with regard to two small Mediterranean countries remote from our shores.

The proponents of this bill admit freely that if we embark on this course with respect to Greece and Turkey we will have set an entirely new course for our ship of state.

Our foreign policy will consist of an entirely new doctrine which will find ready use in crisis after crisis. The reports in the press of the world which I have summarized show what cheer this policy brings to the remaining outposts of fascism and oppression. Our new definition of democracy encourages the Francos, the Perons, and Chiang Kai-sheks, to rely upon a new arsenal of autocracy—certainly not the arsenal of democracy which Roosevelt described.

And who, if he read Business Week, a respected organ of the business community, would think that the American action which would be authorized in this bill was aimed at relief for starving Greeks. Business Week's heading for the article announcing the new proposed policy was:

New Diplomacy, New Business. United States Drive To Stop Communism Abroad Means Heavy Financial Outlays for Bases, Relief, and Reconstruction. But in Return American Business Is Bound To Get New Markets Abroad.

The Wall Street Journal—than which there is no more astute financial voice—reported on March 14 that a big oil executive greeted the new policy with these words:

Hallelujah! It's about time.

And the Wall Street Journal went on to explain:

The United States needs to guard its growing vital oil interests in the Middle East.

I might add by way of further explanation that United States oil companies own or control about 40 percent of the Middle East Oil. And Greece and Turkey are strategic points from which to guard the communication lines to those oil fields.

But these business publications do not mention the price of this kind of new American imperialism. Neither in official circles have we seen any estimate of the amount of money which the adoption of this proposal can eventually cost.

Mr. Joseph C. Harsch writing in the Christian Science Monitor edition of March 20 gives us one estimate:

It is believed—

Mr. Harsch says—

that the total cost for a few European countries would run about \$5,000,000,000 a year.

I said billions, not millions, Mr. President. Mr. Harsch then adds this comment:

Planners are of the opinion that all they dare at this moment is to ask for the first \$400,000,000.

What then is the alternative?

The bill sponsored by the senior Senator from Florida and myself provides for full relief funds to aid Greece. It provides no relief funds for Turkey, and neither does the bill offered by the Senator from Michigan. His bill provides a lot of money for Turkey, but it is not relief money, it is money to build armies and to buy guns.

Under the terms of our bill that relief would be administered by the United Nations in the case of Greece under a commission similar to UNRRA which was killed at the behest of the United States Government. All military supplies and aid are specifically excluded. Our resolution requests a full-scale investigation of the whole Near East and Middle East problem by the General Assembly of the United Nations, supplementing the UN investigation already under way in Greece.

The resolution directs the United States representatives to UN to request an emergency meeting of the General Assembly to consider any situation in the Middle East which threatens the peace between large nations or small in the Near East and Middle East areas. I wrote this before the meeting was called, Mr. President. It has already been called I understand on the Palestine question.

It requests that the funds for relief which would be appropriated to UN should be augmented by contributions from other member nations. The United States contribution for relief would be \$250,000,000. The purely relief provisions of the committee proposal amounts to only \$100,000,000, I am advised. The rest of the \$400,000,000 would go for military expense of one sort or another.

Our resolution would make the United States relief contribution to UN contingent on the receipt of assurances from Greece that supplies will be distributed without discrimination as to race, creed, or political belief.

The alternative resolution likewise incorporates the section of the committee bill which provides for immediate aid through an advance of \$100,000,000 by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. With trained UNRRA personnel still available to UN the setting up of the UN commission, thus, could be accomplished even more quickly than would be the case if the United States attempted to do the job by itself.

Thus there is a way to help Greece, promote the cause of democracy, and still not plunge the world into another nightmare of fear and violence.

That way is to rely on the democratic elements in Greece, the great mass of the people, who have thus far been unable to express themselves through normal democratic channels.

They want peace, not the intensification of civil war which American arms would bring.

They want bread, not the merciless exploitation of the black market.

They want political freedom, not the rigid dogma of communism or monarchism.

And they have leaders, men who have been thrust aside by the British but who have clung to middle-of-the-road democratic principles.

There is former Premier Souphoulis, and there is the former foreign minister, John Sofianopoulos, now in Paris, a man of admitted integrity who has never been associated with extremism.

To such leaders the guerrillas would surrender their arms, confident that they would not be shot the next day.

Such leaders could form a coalition government which, with the assistance of American technical experts, could get the country back on its feet financially and prepare it for genuine elections—this time supervised by the United Nations.

To such a government the United States could extend an RFC loan immediately, and more economic aid through the United Nations later.

The huge proposed expenditures for military items would be eliminated by a peaceful settlement of the civil war.

Industry could be developed and agriculture reorganized with American guidance, and a modern educational system could be instituted under supervision of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Such a solution would serve the long-suffering Greek people, the taxpayers of America, and the cause of world peace.

America is at the crossroads.

We can spread democracy through the world or help destroy it.

We can use our great economic strength to promote better living standards, and to eliminate the international slums that breed war; or we can place American dollars and American prestige behind outmoded, decadent feudal systems.

We can look forward, or we can fix our eyes on the past.

The choice is ours.

During the delivery of Mr. TAYLOR's speech,

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Idaho yield to me?

Mr. TAYLOR. For what purpose, may I ask?

Mr. MAYBANK. I wish to make a short statement, with the permission of the able Senator from Idaho, to follow his remarks.

Mr. TAYLOR. If I may be permitted to retain the floor I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from South Carolina.

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, during the past few weeks all of us have been extremely busy, and I did not have an opportunity, because of conflicting committee assignments, to attend personally the hearings in connection with the Greek-Turkish loan legislation.

When this proposed legislation, with its broad implications, was first proposed, I was considerably concerned. At that time I stated that the President of the United States was the initial author of our foreign policy and that it would be my purpose to vote for this legislation and to cooperate with President Truman and the State Department. Since then the proposed legislation has been improved by the so-called Vandenberg amendment which the Foreign Relations Committee unanimously adopted in the finest nonpartisan tradition.

Let me turn back a few years and call to mind one of the finest examples of nonpartisan action, in the highest, most statesmanlike tradition, when the

original B.-H. foreign-policy measure was introduced in the Senate by two distinguished Republicans, the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BALL] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BURTON], and by two distinguished Senators on this side of the aisle, the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] and the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL]. In those days, Mr. President, it was my privilege to be associated with those Senators in working on the resolution. Later I spoke at length in the Senate on the resolution and in the summer of 1943 I toured New England with Mr. HALE, a distinguished Republican Congressman, in the interest of nonpartisan foreign politics by the Congress.

Neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party has a foreign policy. We have an American policy, without partisanship; and I am certainly happy to be in the United States Senate, where there is such a great nonpartisan policy, because only through an American policy—not a Republican policy or a Democratic policy—can we expect to continue with the United Nations Organization in the hope of preventing another war.

Turning to the amendments offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan, I am happy that these amendments, which so eloquently reaffirm the full American support of the United Nations, have been included.

After reading most of the testimony presented before the Foreign Relations Committee, I have been reinforced in my purpose to support this legislation as recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee without any further amendments. I do this with full appreciation of the obligations which I am certain will be incurred, and I do this unreservedly in the interest of the democracies that remain outside the Russian sphere of influence.

It had not been my intention to make any statement on the loan, but to let my vote speak for itself as, of course, I am not a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, but for the record I make this statement today in the interest of fair play and, further, because of the unwarranted attacks upon the administration and the attacks upon the Congress of the United States by Henry Wallace, former Cabinet Member and Vice President. In my opinion, Mr. Wallace has acted in bad faith and has rendered a great disservice to his country. His remarks are without foundation of fact, utterly uncalled for and unnecessary.

It is one thing for an American to criticize his own Government in his own country, but to me it is unbelievable that one would criticize his country on foreign soil.

I regret that Mr. Wallace was given a passport and permitted to travel in Europe for the purpose of breaking down the ideas of a majority of Congress. It is also a source of sadness to me that he should have been permitted to travel abroad and use his efforts to cause mistrust and confusion against the aims and purposes of our country as well as our Congress. It is our desire only to continue to be of assistance to the free peoples of the world and I do trust that

there will be no further amendments adopted and that the bill will pass the Senate at an early date.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendments submitted by the Senator from Colorado which have been ordered to be considered en bloc.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, is it the desire of the present occupant of the chair that an attempt be made to secure a vote on the pending amendments before a recess is taken today?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. With the indulgence of the Senator, the present occupant of the Chair would suggest that it would be desirable to fix an early hour tomorrow for a vote on the pending amendments, if the Senator from Nebraska is willing.

Mr. WHERRY. There are very few Senators now in the Chamber. I suppose it would be necessary to have a quorum call before making a unanimous-consent request.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. A quorum call is not required before asking unanimous consent to fix an hour for voting on an amendment.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I ask unanimous consent that the Senate vote on the pending amendments at not later than 1 o'clock p. m. tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. TAYLOR. I object.

Mr. LANGER. I object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection is made.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, inasmuch as there seems to be no Senator who wishes to proceed now to discuss the pending business, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the calendar.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY— NOMINATION PASSED OVER

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gordon R. Clapp, of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. WHERRY. I ask that the nomination go over.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination will be passed over.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, let me inquire of the Senator from Nebraska when the Senate may expect to vote on the nomination of Mr. Clapp?

Mr. WHERRY. Let me say that it was the intention to have the Senate proceed with the nomination of Mr. Clapp at the conclusion of the so-called Greek-Turkish loan bill.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WHERRY. Of course, any Senator has a right to move the consideration of other matters; but it was not desired to interfere with continuation of consideration of the pending business until its conclusion.

Mr. CHAVEZ. I thank the Senator.

THE ARMY

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the remaining nominations on the calendar.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Marshall Sylvester Carter to be brigadier general for temporary appointment in the Army of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. WHERRY. I ask that the President be notified forthwith of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be immediately notified.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of James M. Alsup to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Hawaii.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. WHERRY. I ask that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of the nomination.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the President will be immediately notified.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations in the United States Public Health Service.

Mr. WHERRY. I ask unanimous consent that the nominations in the Public Health Service be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nominations are confirmed en bloc.

Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith of all confirmations of nominations made this afternoon.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

Mr. WHERRY obtained the floor.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I regret that we cannot obtain a unanimous-consent agreement to have the Senate vote on the pending amendments by 1 o'clock tomorrow. The debate on the pending measure has been proceeding for days. I appreciate and understand the importance of the proposed legislation now pending before the Senate. However, it seems to me we should expedite the handling of this measure and should obtain a vote upon it as early as possible. There is not one Senator who does not know how he

will vote on this question; every Senator has made up his mind; yet we proceed here, day after day, and delay the vote upon this question, which is one of the most important that has ever come before the Senate of the United States. I am not one who opposes any legitimate debate at any time, but I hope that the majority—and I know it is their intention to do so—will keep the Senate in session, if necessary, day and night in order that we may secure action on this bill at the earliest possible time.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, of course I agree with the Senator from Illinois that we should expedite as much as possible the handling of this matter. But there are at present 95 Senators, and everyone took the oath of office to do his duty. I am not one of those who think that things should be decided as soon as a few so-called leaders have made up their minds about them. In the present case I have made up my mind and I am ready to vote now, but I insist that if any Senator, no matter how he stands with the leadership on either side, believes he has to state his views on the pending question either way, nothing should be done to prevent him from having a chance to do so.

As I have said, I, too, wish to expedite the handling of the pending bill.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I trust that the notice which was given at the beginning of today's session relative to night sessions will at least be pondered by all Members of the Senate. I announced that there would be a session on Wednesday night of this week and probably Thursday night if the question now before the Senate had not been finally acted upon by that time.

I ask now for the full cooperation of all Members of the Senate in regard to the night sessions. It will be our intention not to have recesses taken for dinner, but to have the session proceed right through until the Senate either takes a recess or adjourns at a later hour, possibly 9 or 10 o'clock.

I wish to say to the Senator now presiding, the President pro tempore, that there is no one who is more in agreement with the remarks of the distinguished Senator from Illinois than I am, and I am sure he has expressed the sentiment of all those now present—namely, that we should continue with consideration of the pending business until final action is taken upon it.

I assure you, Mr. President, that the majority—I know I speak the sentiments of our distinguished majority leader, who is absent today—will cooperate as much as possible with the requests of Senators to have the Senate continue in session; and I, for one, would like the Senate to remain in session until this matter is disposed of.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further discussion?

Mr. WHERRY. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I wish to make a further observation with regard to this matter, in the way of a statement regarding what the able President pro tempore of the Senate is doing insofar as enforcing the rules of the Senate is concerned.

I think that is one of the ways to expedite action on the pending amendments and to reach an early vote.—In short, by doing exactly what the President pro tempore has been doing in the late afternoon today; namely, strictly enforcing the rules of the Senate insofar as debate is concerned.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. If the Senator will indulge the Chair, to permit the Chair to make a brief observation, let the Chair say that from the very beginning of this very unusual and critical proposal there has been an element of time pressure upon us which cannot be ignored. In spite of that pressure, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee has gone to extreme lengths to provide the greatest possible illumination of the subject, as the RECORD clearly shows. When presiding over the Senate this afternoon, he has been quite willing to accommodate the able Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] who, in turn, has been quite willing to accommodate his colleagues in a certain ultraparliamentary generosity which does not comport, frankly, with the critical situation which we confront.

So it was that late in the afternoon—and, the Chair is sure, with the entire acquiescence of the able Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR]—

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I told the Presiding Officer it was immaterial to me.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is quite correct.

Mr. TAYLOR. I was willing to yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is quite correct. It was under those circumstances that the Chair insisted on strict enforcement of the rule.

Commencing tomorrow, when obviously we must move into a deliberately serious effort to conclude the consideration of this proposed legislation, the Chair will have to ask for strict adherence to the rules.

If the Chair may be permitted one further observation: The Chair totally agrees with what has been said by the able Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS] and the able Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY]. Even those who oppose this proposed legislation certainly would not wish, if it is to be passed, that it should not be passed under the most favorable possible circumstances and auspices. It is perfectly obvious that if it is to be passed, it should be passed as promptly as possible, after the lapse of a month since the President's message on the subject was received. There will come a time very promptly now when the situation abroad will deteriorate in a fashion which will substantially magnify our problem. Therefore, regardless of what one's attitude may be toward the proposed legislation itself, I hope we may have mutual cooperation in finding out what the Senate wishes to do, and shall do so as swiftly as possible.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator from Nebraska further yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I wish to say that I totally agree with the statement just made by the President pro tempore, the able Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]. The only reason why I mentioned

the fact that the Chair was enforcing the rules of the Senate strictly was primarily because of the magnitude and the importance of the measure now pending before the Senate. I think it is the first time since I have been a Member of the Senate that I have ever suggested that the rules be enforced strictly according to parliamentary law and the rules of the Senate.

Mr. President, I feel, seriously and conscientiously, the necessity of the Senate proceeding with dispatch and expedition, and moving to a vote as soon as possible because of what seems to me to be a very serious and critical situation with respect to the matter we are considering.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, first I wish to say that I agree with the Senator from Nebraska that the Senate should proceed with some night sessions. I only hope he will make it perfectly clear that we may have night sessions in any event, so that we can arrange our work accordingly, because even if we should dispose of the pending amendment we will still have the bill to consider, and I seriously doubt that we can get through with the amendments and complete action on the bill prior to Thursday night. I think we should agree now that we will proceed Wednesday and Thursday nights as a certainty, not merely as a probability.

Mr. President, secondly I desire to express my entire agreement with the statements made by the President pro tempore, the Senator from Michigan. In fact, I think my views are in the RECORD. Within an hour of the President's speech a month ago, on a Wednesday afternoon, I indicated that I thought the Senate should proceed to consider the subject matter. I know of no business the Senate has transacted in the last month that is, relatively speaking, of any great importance compared with the particular issue we are now debating. I think we have been very remiss, I may say, in not proceeding after the President's address to make this the No. 1 item of business of the Senate. Had we done so, I think we would have had it disposed of by now, and it should have been disposed of. But the point the Chair makes, which I think is of great importance, is that if we continue to delay, the international situation will deteriorate in a manner which will not be in the interest of this country.

I believe the American people are becoming very much confused by the delay, and it is confusion among our people that results in disunity. Regardless of differences of opinion that may exist in the Senate, I think the Senator from Michigan is absolutely correct when he points out that if the bill is to be passed—and I think we can take judicial notice of the fact that it is going to be passed—it should be passed under the most favorable circumstances, and further delay will not result in favorable circumstances, so far as world opinion is concerned. I think that not only is opinion in this country becoming greatly confused, but I think we can assume that today opinion elsewhere in the world must be somewhat confused because of what I consider to be very unfortunate representations which are being made

abroad by very sincere-minded persons as to the meaning of the course of action America is pursuing.

In my opinion, the sooner we end the confusion, the better for a strong and secure America; and the best way to end the confusion is for the Senate, before Thursday night comes and goes, finally to pass the bill.

Therefore, Mr. President, I sincerely hope the acting majority leader, if he is in a position to do so definitely this afternoon, will give assurance that the Senate will have sessions on Wednesday and Thursday nights.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I wish to restate the announcement made at noon today, that there definitely will be a session of the Senate Wednesday night, and that Senators should hold themselves in readiness for a session Thursday night, because if the pending bill is not terminated by that time I at least will ask the Senate to remain in session that night. I should like to see a final determination on the question of a night session on Thursday left to the majority leader, but I have talked with the Senator from Maine, and I am quite satisfied that if the consideration of the bill shall not be concluded in the Thursday afternoon session, we will be called upon to have a session Thursday night, and Senators should make their arrangements accordingly, and be ready to attend a session that night if necessary.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I intend to vote against the pending bill, but I wish to say that if—as I fear it will—it should get us into war, atomic war, one of these days, my services will be available wherever I am, if I do not happen to be a Member of the Senate. Wherever I am, my services will be at the disposal of my country. I have three sons, one 11 years old, one 5 years old, and one 9 months old. They will be ready to fight some of these days. I will curse the day they have to, but I will send them if their country needs them. There will be no doubt of the unanimity of our country after the policy is adopted, but I am opposed to the policy, and I am going to vote against the bill.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be excused from the Senate tomorrow, Wednesday.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request is granted.

Mr. GEORGE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for leave of absence from the Senate from this afternoon until Monday next.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, leave is granted.

Mr. CHAVEZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for leave of absence until Friday or Saturday of this week.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, leave is granted.

RECESS

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate take a recess until tomorrow at noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 6 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Wednesday.

Appendix

Army Day Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. LINDSAY ALMOND, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. ALMOND. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address delivered by me at the ceremonies observing Army Day in the city of Roanoke, Va., on April 7, 1947:

It is consonant with the fundamental concepts of a nation dedicated to the cause of peace, it is consistent with our cherished traditions, it is in furtherance of constructive service to our sacred and inescapable responsibilities to our own enlightened self interest, as well as our moral and spiritual obligation to build and secure the future peace of the world, that we, on this occasion, celebrate Army Day.

It is with pride in their fortitude, tribute to their valor, praise for their genius, gratitude for their accomplishments, appreciation of their sacrificial service on the field of battle, that, in humility and reverence, we thank divine providence for, as we salute, the armies of America, the vallant soldiers of democracy, the preservers of the Republic, the guardians of the present, and the defenders of the future.

May a grateful people ever proclaim, with the fervor of undiluted patriotism and sincerity of abiding devotion to the ideals of the founding fathers, that the soldiers of democracy will ever deserve to be "First in war; first in peace and first in the hearts of their countrymen."

Like his gallant brother in arms of the Navy and Marine Corps, the American soldier is the symbol of our traditions, the shield of our hope for survival in a grasping and contracted world whose existence is rendered indescribably precarious by the unfathomed potentialities of atomic mass destruction.

Our Army has written many glorious chapters in the Nation's history. Travail and suffering, sweat, blood, and tears have beset the hard road of its accomplishments. It has triumphed over the forces of nature and it has triumphed over the forces of evil. It sprang from the loins of a free people, ennobled and inspired by the cause of liberty and justice which it served. It found no worthy foe in the regimented robots of the beastial dictators and their enslaving tyranny which it so signally crushed.

Its story of magnificence and achievement has been written in every corner of the globe.

It has indelibly inscribed its heroic record not only in the affections of the American people, but of peoples of other lands who cherish liberty and justice, and whose faith in the dawn of a new era had all but been shattered on the racks and pillories of mental and physical anguish born of the hideous ideologies which have sought, and continue to seek, the destruction of the citadel of democracy.

Let us never forget those who fell or fail to hold high and sacred and immeasurable price of their sacrifice.

No eulogy, no epitaph, no monument, however, beautiful and imposing, can do more than remind us of their valor and devotion.

In service to our country in the discharge of her obligations at home and abroad, let us resolve that the hallowed dead shall not have died in vain. May we never forget the bitter tears, the broken homes, the mangled bodies, the aching hearts, and the shattered hopes.

We are not, thank God, a Nation of warriors. Impartial history records that we have never engaged in a war of aggression. We have never sought nor do we now seek anything of any nation anywhere in the world which we do not freely accord to every other nation everywhere in the world.

Ours has never been a spirit of international selfishness or national aggrandizement. We seek no new territory, nor do we seek to inject our philosophy of government into the systems of other nations against the free and untrammelled will of any people. Ours has never been nor is it now a policy of imperialism. We have never sought to sabotage the economy and internal security of a friendly nation by fomenting strife, dissension and disruption among its nationals, nor have we ever, in violation of the common amenities of international honor and decency, maintained an elaborate espionage system within the borders of an ally and endeavored to breed an army of desperate traitors among her citizenry. We have never sought, through the cowardly and treacherous process of insidious infiltration, to pollute and contaminate the ideological concepts of any people, thereby to sap the vitality, undermine and overthrow the structure of any government. To the shame and degrading guilt of Soviet Russia, we are constantly, through Kremlin collusion, being subjected to all of this and more. The patience of the American people is long suffering but that virtue has its limitations. We crave peace but we crave it with honor.

No nation which will, with candor, honesty, and intelligence, analyze the recorded history of American social evolution and policy, or the demonstrated motives and purposes enunciated by America today, can find any basis to justify, either to its own people or to the world, any semblance of reason or fact, express or implied, upon which to predicate false and pernicious propaganda ascribing any ulterior motive in policy or purpose.

The world knows—even Red Russia knows—that it is the intense and relentless desire of our people and their Government to bask in the sunlight of a sane and durable peace, whose beneficent rays of hope, and freedom from fear of totalitarian aggression, will illumine the darkest corners of the earth and embrace the entire world.

The world knows—even Red Russia knows—that in view of the ominous clouds of threatening disaster which loom on the international horizon, the locked secrets of atomic energy, and with them the very life of civilization itself, are safe only in the keeping of the strong hands and moral conscience of America.

"I know not what course others may take, but as for me," I will never agree to surrender to any nation, or combination of nations, the secret of atomic energy, until a practical, sound, safe, and enforceable system of control has been established and adopted.

I mean a system of control buttressed by rigid sanctions for its threatened violation

and sanctions which cannot be thwarted or defeated by the veto power of any nation.

Let us keep America strong so that she may speak forthrightly and with unwavering decision in the councils of the world. May hers not be the voice of appeasement symbolizing the umbrella of Munich but the clear and positive voice of democracy backed by the will, the determination, and the unquestioned power of her righteous might, to the end that the blighting scourge, the unspeakable horror, and the devastating carnage of global conflict shall never again drench the world with innocent blood.

Together, a united people, we shall face the future with faith and courage. Our energy and our talents we must dedicate to strengthening and perfecting the processes of democracy.

Let us see to it that the virtue, the power, the force, the efficacy, the moral, and spiritual attributes, and the very content of democracy itself gains and holds mastery over the minds of men. We must make it work and demonstrate that its essence is overwhelmingly superior to communism or any other antithetical force or ideology.

I loathe communism with a vehemence circumscribed only by anathema, but I am convinced that it cannot be dissolved by legislative fiat any more than democracy or religion can be legislated out of existence.

Any form of tyranny over the minds of men is as dangerous as it is despicable.

We must avoid the hysterical and tempting urge to outlaw the Communist Party and thereby drive it under cover. Such a course would bolster it with a complex of martyrdom and tend to furnish fuel for its insidious and abominable flames. We must keep it in the open so that we can know who, where, and what, and bring to bear upon it and its disciples the merciless light of uncompromising publicity.

We must see to it that neither communism, democracy, nor any other ideology, religion, or philosophy is by force fostered upon any nation anywhere in the world.

The untrammelled and unfettered inherent right of self-determination, under conditions of uncoerced freedom of choice, must obtain everywhere in the world. For such is the creed and such is the essence of democracy—the last best hope for the future peace of the world.

Greco-Turkish Loan Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. TWYMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. TWYMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial from the Chicago Daily Tribune of yesterday, April 14, on President Truman's Greco-Turkish loan proposal. I have spoken on this proposal before the House and I have supplied constructive reading material on this subject. Nothing that I have heard or read so far has changed

my position. We can best serve the world by conserving our strength in order to use direct methods rather than backing into a situation which Great Britain admits to be untenable.

The editorial follows:

HABIT-FORMING LOANS

A number of the Senators who spoke on Mr. Truman's Greco-Turkish loan proposal seemed to feel that they had been shanghaied into supporting it, even though they doubted its wisdom. Some of them said they would go along this time, but insisted they were not establishing a precedent for future outpourings of American billions.

When the reluctant Senators say, "Thus far, but no farther," they are either fooling themselves or trying to fool their constituents. If the Truman-Vandenberg policy makes sense at all, it makes sense only as a declaration that we are willing to spend unlimited American billions and risk war to stop Russian aggression anywhere in the world.

Next time it will be harder, not easier, to refuse. If, as Mr. VANDENBERG pretends, the Nation's prestige will be destroyed by refusing to grant Mr. Truman's request now, it will be destroyed even more surely by turning him down the next time he wants to give a half billion dollars away or send a military mission to bolster a weak government. Or at least, so Senator VANDENBERG will assert, citing the present instance as precedent.

Mr. Truman is bluffing, and bluffing on a poor hand, for Greece and Turkey can never be made strong and self-reliant as against a Russian threat. If he wants to bluff, why doesn't he use his ace, the atomic bomb? An ultimatum to Stalin to get out of the countries he has taken by force or trickery, and to liquidate the minority governments that Russian bayonets have established, might not work, but it obviously would have a better chance of working than the present program. The overpowering objection to this course is one that Mr. Truman and Senator VANDENBERG are debarred from offering. That is that if it did not work, we would have a war. Their program also gives Stalin the excuse to make war whenever he pleases, and at a time that suits him, not us.

We do not believe that a war with Russia is necessary. It is true that our political ideal of individual freedom and the Communist political ideal of slavery to the state are in conflict. But Americans oppose communism not only because they find its methods repugnant, but also on the ground that it won't work.

If the Communist idea won't work, we have only one thing to fear from it. That is the activity of its adherents in this country, who are trying to keep our system of free enterprise from working by internal sabotage. In his new crusade against communism, Mr. Truman is strangely tender toward the only Communists who can hurt us, those within his own governmental family. His overadvertised purge of them actually was a gag order against disclosing official Government papers. This might keep some fellow traveler from betraying a military secret to Russia. It would be equally useful, however, in preventing an honest Government employee from exposing one of Chairman HANNEGAN's Missouri burglars.

If communism won't work in Russia—and all the evidence is that it hasn't—it won't work in Europe. Stalin may seize that continent, but his methods, if we are right in our judgment, won't enable him to make Europe a military threat to America. If we aren't right and communism will work while our system won't, we can't change that by war. We might as well go down to New York Harbor and welcome the commissars.

It may be suggested that this policy of letting Stalin do his worst, in the belief that

he can't harm us, will be rough on the western Europeans whom he would surely try to subjugate. If so, it is up to them to get together and defend themselves. Individually they are weak. Collectively they are stronger than Russia.

There is only one certain thing about the Russian problem. That is that if we persuade the governments of western Europe that we are at their service on call, they will do nothing to help themselves, but will weaken us by incessant demands for more loans. If by refusing the Greek loan we tell them now that they are on their own, they may do something to save their skins. The formation of a European federation for mutual protection against Communist aggression would be wholesome, but no such arrangement is to be expected as long as the nations are satisfied that America's wealth and fighting power are to be had for the asking.

"Bring 'Mac' Back"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, since introducing House Concurrent Resolution 38 on March 25, requesting the President in the name of the American people to invite General of the Army Douglas A. MacArthur, United States commander in chief, Far East, to return to the United States for a period of at least 30 days, the chorus of voices chanting "Bring 'Mac' back" has reached mountainous proportions.

Newspapers, through their editorial columns, have widely acclaimed the idea, which includes the invitation to General MacArthur to address a joint meeting of the Senate and House of Representatives and to make Nation-wide radio addresses embodying his views on many vital issues of concern to the American people because of their effect on the national security of the United States.

I have received a letter from Louis E. Starr, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, endorsing the objectives of House Concurrent Resolution 38.

I am pleased to have Commander Starr's views, and for the information of my colleagues, his letter of April 2 reads as follows:

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS

OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, D. C., April 2, 1947.

The Honorable JAMES VAN ZANDT,

Member of Congress, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN VAN ZANDT: I have noted with interest and satisfaction the resolution which you introduced into the Congress to bring General of the Army Douglas MacArthur to the United States for a period of some 30 days.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States is deeply concerned with a number of the problems which confront the American people. I am convinced that it would be most helpful if General MacArthur were to address the Congress and the American people. We need his views on national security, our position in the Orient, the unification of the services, universal military training, the handling of the atomic energy,

and other subjects related to our national well-being.

You doubtless recall that Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur, father of Douglas MacArthur, was one of the founders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Our organization which has now grown to a strength of between two and three million combat veterans, most of whom served overseas, would welcome the opportunity to pay tribute to this great American leader. I trust your resolution will bring about this most valuable visit.

Very sincerely yours,

LOUIS E. STARR,

Commander in Chief, Veterans of
Foreign Wars of the United States.

Guam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT A. GRANT

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. GRANT of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a revised copy of the bills which I have previously introduced looking toward the enactment of an organic law for the government of the citizens of Guam.

In that connection, I submit herewith a copy of Joint Resolution 1, adopted January 4, 1947, by the Eighth Guam Congress. A careful reading of this resolution should remind all of us of our obligations to the people of Guam. Further than that, it will, I hope, prompt us to give early attention to the pending resolutions on Guam.

The Guamanian resolution follows:

Joint Resolution 1, Eighth Guam Congress

Whereas the United States of America acquired the Island of Guam as a result of the Spanish-American War under the terms of the treaty signed at Paris on December 10, 1898; and

Whereas article IX, paragraph 2, of the said treaty provides that the Congress of the United States of America shall determine the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories thereby ceded by Spain to the United States of America; and

Whereas the United States of America has created a tradition for its respect and adherence to the sanctity of treaties, said tradition having been consistently maintained upon numerous occasions, including that of determination by the Congress of the United States of the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands, the other territories ceded with the Island of Guam by Spain to the United States of America under the terms of the said Treaty signed at Paris on December 10, 1898; and

Whereas the people of Guam have consistently proven their love for and loyalty to the United States of America during times of peace and throughout the horrors of a terrible war wherein faith in God and country upheld the said love for and loyalty to the United States by a helpless people; and

Whereas the people of Guam, owing permanent allegiance to the United States, have always aspired to be recognized as citizens of their own and beloved Nation, the United States of America, and having honorably served said Nation in war and peace; and

Whereas in the service to God and country, to which the people of Guam have uncomplainingly contributed their all, many fami-

hunger, and the imperatives of self-preservation, that we know why many a European woman, during the war, starving herself or the mother of starving children, sold herself for a chocolate bar. Certainly in these terms, communism makes its greatest appeal to the hungry, the dispossessed, the bereft of hope; and these are as the sands of the sea today.

Yet bear this carefully in mind. The question is not whether communism is more capable than democracy of fulfilling the material and spiritual needs of men. It is not. The point is that communism comes in as a receivership when democracy is without vision; when, that is to say, it is moribund or bankrupt. Men embrace communism more out of desperation than out of conviction. They embrace it because at least it offers them hope of a better way of life than they have; as the only alternative when there is no other alternative.

I said before that the world does not fear us. Even the Russians do not, in my opinion, fear us militarily even though we have the atomic bomb. They believe that we will not use it unless we are first attacked. They would fear us only if we should adopt the one policy that they know to be effective as an antidote against their communistic expansions. That policy is one of counter-revolution.

By this I mean something relatively simple. The Russians know that hunger is revolutionary. They also know that bread is counter-revolutionary. It is not only a more humane weapon than guns, and a more rational weapon than repressions. It is also infinitely more effective. Bread, in long-run terms, is the only effective antidote to communism. Then add to bread the right to earn it in freedom, to eat in liberty, and communism will disappear like snow before the warm sun. Is there anything we can do to see that men get bread and enjoy it in freedom?

I think there is. The question is not whether we can do it, but whether we must do it. I believe that we must, because it is the only reasonable alternative to the building up of a situation that will ultimately result in a catastrophic war. During the last war we did not arm according to our resources, but according to our needs. We did not say that we could afford so many dollars for airplanes, and then build as many as we could get for that sum. We asked the armed forces to tell us how many airplanes they wanted. Then we found the money necessary to build them.

So now, faced with a crisis of appalling dimensions, we must consider not what we can do, but what we ought to do, what we must do. If communism continues to expand, if it should engulf country after country, the balance of power would eventually become so great against us that we could do one of two things. We could become part of the system, or we could fight. I believe that we would fight. Obviously, the results would be catastrophic to us as well as to others. But we still have time to oppose the expansion of communism. We have the strength. The Russians, in all that counts, are presently weak. Their greatest strength lies neither in what they are nor what they do. It lies in what we do not do.

I suggest, therefore, that, after exhaustive studies have been made, the United States should announce a plan of financial assistance to the nations of the world upon a scale comparable to the needs. I need hardly add that I do not propose that this country should become a lady bountiful boarding-house keeper, ringing a bell and saying to everyone, "Come and get." Prospective borrowers would have to demonstrate their needs beyond a shadow of a doubt, and borrow upon a budgetary plan according to conditions that we lay down and which they must live up to. I say budgetary plan because it must contemplate a period of 25

to 50 years for its completion. The tasks to be accomplished would take that much time, while we could finance it only in terms of decades rather than years. If, moreover, under such a proceeding, a borrowing nation did not abide by its promises, we could stop lending in the second year or the fifth year, and so we would retain a large measure of control over the way in which the money was being used.

There are many conditions to attach to such loans, but three are all important. These are:

1. The money must be used to develop projects that will enable the people to take care of themselves. For example, many areas in the world—especially in the Middle East—can raise their agricultural level only through irrigation. This means the building of dams, reservoirs, and similar works. We must stop supplying wheat to the starving, and supply them with the means of growing wheat.

2. Benefits flowing from our loans must accrue to the whole people of a nation, and not go largely into the hands of local grafters whether politicians or industrialists. This might imply direct American supervision of the spending of the money; or cutting off the annual installments when we were convinced that the money is being misused.

3. Borrowing countries must pay, so far as possible, for what they get in the form of exports, and the balance to be expressed in the form of a long-term loan without interest.

Two things are clear. We all know that modern technology in both industry and agriculture is fully capable of raising the standard of living of the people of the world to a higher scale than they have ever known. This does not necessarily mean that it can be raised to the American level. But most men would think themselves living in luxury if they were raised to the level of our very poorest people. We all know, too, that the ordinary man has long been demanding, will continue to demand, and rightfully does demand, a larger share of the world's goods and services than he ever had before. It follows, therefore, that if we do not show the world the way to a better life, the world will follow those who, if they do not lead the way, will promise to lead the way. Here in our country, thousands of Negroes are leaving the South for the North. My southern friends think they are foolish because, they say, Negroes will not be better off in the North than they are in the South. Such an argument, so far as the fact of Negro emigration is concerned, is irrelevant. Negroes will continue to go north so long as they think they will be better off there than in the South.

The plan I propose is designed to accomplish two objects. The one is the prevention of war. The other, directly flowing out of its operation, is the prevention of a perhaps catastrophic depression in this country. If that should befall us, most of the world would go down with us. This is the one great eventuality upon which the Soviet Union is counting. They hold that it is inevitable under our capitalist system. And—let us not blink the fact—they are joined in their prognostications of a great American depression, although for different reasons, by many British and American economists. But if we could set much of the backward world in industrial motion, if we could raise the standard of living of the more than 1,000,000,000 people of the earth who live at poverty levels, we should never have an economic depression, here or elsewhere.

The cost of such a plan will be high. Perhaps you will say that we cannot afford it. But what could cost us as much as a war; a war that would kill millions of Americans and destroy the whole structure of western civilization? How much would the parents and wives of our war dead give to have them back alive? What would not you and I

pay if we could be assured that there would never again be war? Certainly I make no assurance whatsoever that the plan I have proposed will guarantee us against war. The most that men can do is to assess the world in which we live and proceed as reasonably as we know how to prevent the greatest of all human catastrophes. Surely if we should go to war tomorrow, no one would say that we could not afford it. We pay whatever war demands in lives and treasure as the price of our liberty. Everything on earth has its price. It may be that in the heaven of men's dreams one can eat his cake and have it too. But here below every single blessing must be paid for, sometimes doubly. It follows, then, that if we want a peaceful, orderly world we must pay the price. As against war, what price, in money terms, are we willing to pay?

And is that all that will be demanded of us? Most certainly, material riches alone will not suffice. Indeed, they could be our downfall unless purposefully applied by a meaningful people.

We may refuse to accept our destiny, but ultimately we cannot evade it. The situation we face is unparalleled. So must be our acts to meet it. We are not the darlings of history. History has no darlings. Geography has lost its concealing magic. The fates have not exempted us from the universal ordinance that life is in reality a hard road, dark and filled with tragedy.

It is our present lot to live in a time of the crashing of empires, the breaking of nations. Very well—what manner of men and women are we? Have we the courage to strip ourselves of all sham and littleness, and face up to the cold and all too tragic fact that upon our character and our capacity rests the future of our civilization? As against war, what price, in terms of discipline and sacrifice, are we willing to pay? As individuals and as a Nation, the moment of destiny is upon us. We must either live greatly, or die meanly. Ours is the choice.

Peace or War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF HON. W. STERLING COLE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. COLE of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Frank V. Severne, editor of the Watkins Express of Watkins Glen, N. Y., entitled "Peace or War":

PEACE OR WAR

On March 12, President Truman delivered an address before a joint session of Congress for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 to preserve and secure the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of Greece and Turkey. "I believe," he said, "that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."

The English Magna Carta, our own Declaration of Independence, the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, and now the pronouncement of a globe-encircling foreign policy mark the forward sweep across the centuries of human progress and the federation of the world. One hundred and seventy-five years ago, 3,000,000 people, stretched for a thousand miles along the Atlantic shore from Maine to Florida, were confronted with the same problem and asked the same question: Does it mean peace or war? And Lexington was the answer.

A small group of men assembled in Philadelphia, by a divided vote, adopted the Declaration of Independence and pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their most sacred honor to the cause of freedom.

The question before the American people today is far greater than that which confronted the 13 colonies. It is world wide and fraught with incalculable possibilities. No one who has followed the trend of events since the end of the last war can misunderstand or misinterpret the diplomatic manipulation of European affairs.

In the darkest hour of the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin was sent to France for help. Without that help there could have been no Yorktown and no United States of America.

Greece and Turkey, in their hour of distress and danger, have appealed to us for help. If we fail, their liberties as a free people are at an end, and our own peace and security at home and abroad will become the object of a growing and perpetual menace. The freedom we prize for ourselves must not be denied to others, and the American people turn with pride and confidence to their lawmakers at Washington, without regard to party, for approval of the President's request.

Displaced Persons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN McDOWELL

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following resolution:

ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMITTEE

ON DISPLACED PERSONS,

Pittsburgh, Pa., April 11, 1947.

The Honorable JOHN McDOWELL,
The House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. McDOWELL: May we respectfully submit the following resolution taken by the Allegheny County Committee on Displaced Persons on March 31, 1947:

"Whereas there remain in Europe today 850,000 people—men, women, and children—who cannot be returned to their original places of residence, and, 2 years after the war are still residing in detention camps because they have no place to go;

"Whereas the people of the United States have a responsibility to those people of other nations who because of the war are without a place to live;

"Whereas the heritage of our Nation and of our own local Pittsburgh community comes from the contributions made by peoples of many nations and many faiths;

"Whereas we have faith and confidence that these people who are without a place, share our community of interests, and will contribute to our society if we give them an opportunity: Therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, who have come together in an association known as the Allegheny County Committee on Displaced Persons, go on record in favor of permissive legislation of an emergency nature, so that a fair share of those people of Europe who are without a place to go may be granted an opportunity to enter the United States; and further, that copies of this statement be sent to the President of the United States and to those Members of the Congress of the United States who represent the people of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County."

Irish Achievement In U. S. A.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include herein an editorial which appeared in the Irish World, Saturday, March 29, 1947.

IRISH ACHIEVEMENT IN U. S. A.

As the colorful battalions from colleges and high schools, from military and civic organizations, from Irish counties of all Ireland, from cultural, fraternal, educational, political, social and state societies marched up Fifth Avenue on March 17, 1947 we heard citizens exclaim in wonder their joy and pride and give expression to their pent-up emotions and heart calls "Splendid," "The best ever." "Once more a great parade," "They seem to grow bigger and better," and "A wonderful day for the race." Our own idea was approaching the philosophical in that we thought only a democracy could produce such a parade. Only a democracy would select a nonmilitary man for national and international honors. Then our mind turned back over the past, over a bridge of history and the grand roll unfolded.

Among the founders of the Republic there were of Irish birth and blood: Charles Carroll, Charles Thomson, secretary to our First or Continental Congress; John Rutledge who is the real father of our Federal Constitution; he was practically the founder of South Carolina as Carroll was of Maryland. There were Nixon, Lyons, and Lynch. When we speak of free speech today we must not forget the man who defied the Federalists and forced the repeal of the sedition laws was a native of Ireland. Lyons was the man that forged the weapons which Jefferson translated into laws and ended forever the discrimination against foreign-born citizens. There were Generals Sullivan, Conway, and others who served our armies. There were Barry, McDonough and hundreds of men who made our Navy. There were Andrew Jackson and Andrew Johnson. Democracy owes as much to Jackson as it does to any other man this country produced or brought to the top in the fires and furnaces of revolution and war.

In New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire the basis of religious liberty was established by the Irish. People who protest today against discrimination do not know what they owe to the early Irish of this Republic for their social freedom. Twelve signers of the Declaration of Independence and 11 of the leading generals of the Revolutionary War were Irish by birth or descent.

But the social and political work performed by the Irish-Americans of New York from Charles O'Connor down to the Civil War is a second brilliant chapter.

When the Union was seriously endangered and our country's life as a separate, independent, and self-sustaining Republic was challenged during the Civil War one of the great coordinating forces, one of the staunchest upholders of the Union and President Lincoln was the Irish. There were approximately 350,000 native-born Irishmen in the northern armies during the Civil War. The names of the generals and high commanders of Irish extraction and of Irish birth would fill an entire page of this paper. We need but mention Phil Sheridan, and Thomas F. Meagher as samples of the glorious list to remind our readers of the debt to the Irish.

The two world wars are too close to us to be reminding our readers that the noble procession was kept up. A list of the Kellys, the O'Briens, the Sullivans, the Bradys, the Murphys, the Bradleys, the Delaneys, and Delahauntys, McAuliffes, Kennys, O'Donnells and Callaghans, with all the rest of the Macs and O's not forgetting the Deyereuxs, the Lynchs, Dorans, Duffys, and Andersons, and all the unmistakable Irish soldiers and seamen who contributed to the glory of our country and who did so much to preserve its power and security as well as contributing to our country's leadership in the world would fill several volumes.

No doubt accompanying the men and women and the young students up the line of march were the spirits of the illustrious dead. Echoing were the voices of humanity from the four corners of the earth saying: "Sing, parade, march—march on. The world owes it to the Irish."

Managing Our Own Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Bergen Evening Record, Hackensack, N. J., which appeared on April 10, 1947:

MANAGING OUR OWN ECONOMY

Announcement in today's Bergen Evening Record of an average 20-percent reduction on three distinguished stores' inventory of clothing extends into this territory a most astonishing and reassuring economic phenomenon. The dollars-and-cents facts of this merchants' rebellion against their own high prices are significant enough to us who consume. The reasoning which led to it is of even more importance.

For, like the reasoning which compelled the International Harvester Co., the Ford Motor Co., the Frigidaire division of General Motors Corp., and Emerson Radio to order drastic reductions in retail prices, the reasoning of Law Inc. at the other end of the supply pipe line assumes a solemn responsibility of every one to this economic system of ours which is the basis of this political system of ours.

For the first time business acknowledges, even eloquently demonstrates, that if the free economy is to avoid catastrophic oscillation between boom and bust its participants must freely take a hand in preserving its equilibrium. "We accept our share of the responsibility," says the Law, Inc., announcement, "and thus earn the right to remind even more emphatically our fellow businessmen—as well as industry and labor—of the dire results (here as well as abroad) of waiting until a slackening in demand brings about a forced adjustment. Then production will be slowed down, employment will be even more drastically curtailed, and our national economy will be seriously crippled.

It goes without saying that if the general present trend is continued a crucial and increasing number of potential consumers will be priced out of the retail market; goods will back-up on the shelves and in the pipe lines; lay-offs will start in the production industries; the consumer potential will still further contract; and we shall be on

Turkey's Financial Status Compared With Ours

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, is it true that civil liberties do not exist in Turkey? Why did the New York Times correspondent have his license to file cables taken away from him in the last 2 weeks? Is it true that the Turkish Government owns all of the industry in Turkey? Is it true that the Turkish Government persecutes Christian and Jewish minorities in Turkey? Is it true that the present dictatorship is completely arbitrary in its actions? Mr. Speaker, these are questions that need answering.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps the Congress, difficult as it may be, would like to compare the financial status of the present dictatorship with our financial status. After all, we have been asked to vote \$100,000,000 for Turkey as a first installment on a military alliance, and it might be a good idea to take a look and see whether we can afford this kind of military alliance, and whether there is any quid pro quo. Also, if we are to guarantee Turkey continued armed control of the Dardanelles, would it not be smart to find out whether the Turks can afford to take care of themselves?

Now, Mr. Speaker, we have a national debt of \$260,000,000,000. We pay annual interest of 6 or 7 percent on that debt. The American taxpayer voted for the Republican Congress in the belief that we could reduce taxes, effectuate savings in the Federal Government, and at the same time, begin to retire the national debt.

When we look through the so-called secret documents which the State Department presented to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and subsequently released to a selected 10 newspaper men, we discover that the Turkish foreign debt is approximately 268,000,000 lira. The bulk of this foreign debt, according to our State Department is owed to Great Britain. It seems that the British have had a military alliance with the Turkish Government for a very long time—unfortunately, the Turkish Government refused to honor it during the last war—they violated it—but the British, despite the violation of agreement by the Turks, have continued to lend their money so that today, the bulk of this 268,000,000 lira is owed to Great Britain. The annual burden of service charges, including the retirement of principal, is said by our State Department to be 17,000,000 lira, about 25 percent of which is payable in gold or foreign exchange. Holdings of the Central Bank of Turkey are 201,900,000 lira. In order that the annual payment on the Turkish foreign debt, including the payment on principal, amounts to 17,000,000 lira, of which one-fourth and roughly 4,500,000 lira is payable in gold or foreign exchange. In brief, the Turks with their present for-

ign exchange holdings could pay for 40 or 50 years on their present indebtedness without any difficulty.

For the past 10 years, the Turkish Government has steadily increased its exports over its imports—indeed during the war, their exports increased 80 or 90 percent over their imports; they did business with the Nazis; they permitted us to buy chrome at three or four times the market price; they made money in the past 10 years—lots of it. So much, Mr. Speaker, that their foreign exchange holdings went up from 5,700,000 lira in 1938 to 201,000,000 lira in 1946. These people have been making a killing. They have been rolling in clover. In fact, they seem to be getting a little fat, while the American taxpayer has been sweating it out. It is interesting, Mr. Speaker, what our State Department says about Turkey's present economic position, and permit me to quote from the famous secret documents:

Turkey's principal difficulty is that of meeting the economic and financial burden of maintaining a large standing army. This expense costs the Turkish Government not far from one-half of its annual revenues and requires foreign exchange exceeding that available from current income.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that the Members of the House should note that our State Department itself says that the Turkish Government is in an excellent financial position, but that the armament expense of the Turkish Government requires foreign exchange exceeding that which is available from current income.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, our State Department asks us to go into debt to arm the Turkish Government. Our State Department would rather that we go into debt than that Turkey should go into debt. Note that Turkey's position is excellent but that because her army takes almost one-half of their annual revenues, they need foreign exchange—a little more foreign exchange than what is available from their current income. Mr. Speaker, what is current income? That is a very interesting phrase, Mr. Speaker—that "current income." What is current income? Do you suppose that the American taxpayer is interested in current income? I understand that there was an election in America last fall and that there was considerable discussion of current income. I suggest that there are at least 140,000,000 people in America who are interested in current income. So we must tell the American taxpayer that his current income has to be reduced so that the current income of the Turkish Government can be increased. We put our hands into the family budget of 60,000,000 American families. We take and we give to a dictatorial Fascist Turkish Government. Oh, yes, their financial position is excellent. In fact, it is better than ours. Their national debt is tiny. They settle their lend-lease account in cash. They profited during the war. They still have hundreds of millions of dollars in Nazi assets and \$75,000,000 of looted Nazi gold, but they want us to pay for their army with our current income. I believe, Mr. Speaker, that one Congressman

after he had read these famous secret documents, suggested that we should seek a loan from Turkey. That is not so funny, Mr. Speaker, when we begin to look carefully at what the Truman doctrine implies. I would suggest to the House that nobody knows where this policy ends. Nobody knows what it will cost. I suggest now that this policy become known as the Truman bankruptcy policy for America. If the policy is executed, it will mean bankruptcy. It does mean inflation now. It pours out billions of goods in service. It increases our taxes. It pushes prices up—it prohibits us from paying on our national debt. Mr. Speaker, with all my heart, I hope that before the House acts, it will examine with the greatest care exactly what this policy means in financial terms. We have had enough financial megalomania—enough of wasteful spending.

American Policy in the Middle East, Including Palestine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement made by me before the American Federation of Polish Jews, Chicago, Ill., April 13, 1947:

The confusions and fears of our times demand a frankness of discussion. There are far too many silences.

One silence I have reference to is the deliberate omission of any mention of Palestine by President Truman in his now famous aid-to-Greece statement. We are moving into the Mediterranean. That much, at least, is obvious. Mr. Truman asked for \$400,000,000 plus military and civilian personnel for Greece and Turkey to, he said, "insure peaceful development of nations free from coercion." Even the most naive of political spectators cannot dissociate Palestine from the Middle East. Equally patent is the fact that Palestine is a country not "free from coercion." We can reach no other conclusion but that the omission of Palestine from Mr. Truman's presentation was deliberate and calculated.

I am quite sure that in their discussions Secretary of State Marshall and Foreign Minister Bevin are talking about the Palestine situation. If we are to be intimately concerned about the peace in and the stability of the Middle East, certainly we cannot afford to ignore the explosive situation in Palestine. Of course, in the instance of Greece, compulsion comes from the east and in the instance of the Holy Land the oppression comes from the west. May I ask, "Do we measure evil by who fosters it?" If the United States speaks of favoring Greece and Turkey to save it from disintegration and speaks of it in terms of a presumably composite picture of the Middle East, then the United States cannot brush Palestine aside, nor, indeed, any of the other portions of the Middle East. As has been said, "if it is not all, it is nothing." I say categorically there can be no peace in any part of the Middle East, including Greece and Turkey, unless

there is peace in Palestine. There can be no piece-meal peace. If we are to make the Middle East safe for democracy, then in the name of logic and common sense, let us not forget our geography.

Or are there other things we are remembering? Things like oil, for instance? The American oil company known as the Arabian-American Oil Co., which is jointly owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Corp., has arranged a \$250,000,000 scheme to develop the Saudi-Arabian petroleum output and to build a 30-inch, 1,050-mile-long trans-Arabian pipe line from the Persian Gulf to the eastern Mediterranean. Those are the future plans. In the recent past, from 1944 to 1947, the Arabian-American Oil Co. made a profit of sixty to seventy million dollars on its sales of Near East oil to our Navy. Actually, therefore, American taxpayers paid the company's original investment of \$27,500,000 plus another \$43,000,000, the cost of its new refinery, and, furthermore, American taxpayers paid an \$18,000,000 subsidy which the oil company presented to King Ibn Saud. Nice work—if you can get it.

Thus, on one hand the American taxpayer supports feudalism in one part of the Middle East and then again is asked to support democracy in the lands of Greece and Turkey. Let's pursue this thought a bit further: Britain has withdrawn from Greece because she can no longer afford to maintain military establishments therein. The United States feels called upon to step in with its money and personnel. Britain, however, has already spent \$400,000,000 on the maintenance of 100,000 troops in Palestine "for the sake," as Winston Churchill put it, "of a senseless, squalid war against the Jews." Are we not then being used in a financial sense to help Britain liquidate the Jewish national homeland? Do we not help Britain maintain her police state in Palestine?

It is not denied that Greece is sorely in need of our help in reconstruction. But what is true of Greece is true of the Middle East as a whole. You will not cure by binding some wounds and allowing other wounds on the same body to fester. Palestine is another sector of the same zone. It is the task of the statesman to see the picture, and see it whole.

Let's turn for a moment and view the British in Palestine. For 8 years now Britain has ruled Palestine without supervision since the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations ceased to function. Indeed the shameful and shocking record of Britain's administration of its mandate over Palestine is not the common knowledge it should be. In Palestine we are concerned with living people whose pattern of political life had been set by international covenant and then upset by the tenacious, unrelenting grip of the appointed trustee.

One would be led to believe by the behavior of Britain that Palestine is her own vassal state to be dealt with without regard to the obligations and responsibilities she has assumed with the granting to her by the League of Nations the mandate over Palestine.

In the settlement following World War I, the issues were clearly cut and clearly met. The Allies promised independence to the Arabs in certain former provinces of the Turkish Empire, which empire up to that time was in complete domination of the Arabian world, and Palestine was set aside as a country for the Jewish national home. Palestine was specifically exempt for the purposes set forth by the Balfour Declaration, "to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish homeland." This was definitely agreed to by King Emir Feisal, representative of the Arab people at the Peace Conference.

The promises to the Arab peoples have been kept scrupulously. Even Transjordan, once part of the Palestine mandate, was thrown in for good measure. But the solemn pledge

of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine was breached again and again by the power entrusted with its fulfillment. Seven independent Arab States exist today, five of whom have representation on the United Nations and other international councils. Their area extends over 1,000,000 square miles. Of all class A mandates established by the League of Nations—Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine—a class A mandate being one that is directed toward self-government, only Palestine's independence is unfulfilled. This tiny bit of land of 10,000 square miles is now the scene of frustration and tugging interests, where human and moral values struggle with the demands of power politics, oil, military defenses, and the British cry of external security.

In 1939 the British promulgated the Palestine white paper, which drastically restricted land purchases by the Jews of Palestine soil and limited immigration of Jews into the Holy Land. After a total of 75,000 entrees was reached, further immigration was to be dependent upon Arab consent.

The reasoning behind this infamous maneuver was quite obvious. Then, as now, the Arab leaders used threats and blackmail to throw their support and their oil to the highest bidder. It was relatively simple for the British to seize this pretext of Arab opposition and turn it to her own uses. "We are helpless," the British told the world. "We cannot do otherwise but to stay in Palestine to maintain law and order."

Meanwhile, 6,000,000 Jews perished under Hitler's rule. No place would accept them and the gates of Palestine were sealed by British perfidy. Boatloads of escaping Jews sank off the shores of Palestine while the British colonial administration followed the policy of the British Foreign Office. Thus, the land which by international covenant signed by 52 nations of the League of Nations and subsequently by the United States by separate treaty, was to be a national homeland for the Jews was opened to everybody but the Jews. And at a time, too, when every civilized country professed its horror at the tragedy that had befallen the defenseless Jews.

The peace brought with it, for a while, the beginning of new hopes for the little countries and for minority peoples. The Labor government came into power in Great Britain as standard bearers for a new liberalism in Europe. The Jews in Palestine and the Jews who had witnessed the massacre of their kin, but who had themselves survived, reviewed the record of the Labor Party and its stated—and restated—policy on Palestine, and were jubilant. Surely, now, deliverance was at hand.

In 1940, the Labor Party Conference declared, "that in order to remove the root cause of Jewish suffering and to insure the existence and free development of the Jewish people, international assistance should be given for the continued growth of the Jewish national home in Palestine by immigration and settlement." The London Conference of 1942 reaffirmed "Its determination that in the new international order after the war, Jews shall enjoy civil, religious and economic equality with all other citizens, and that international assistance shall be given to promote by immigration and settlement the Jewish national home in Palestine." The Labor Party Conference of 1942 and 1943 stated in its resolution "that victory must insure for the Jews full civil, political, economic equality and their national rights. It reaffirms the traditional policy of the British Labor Party in favor of building Palestine as the Jewish national home." In 1944, the Palestine problem formed a special chapter in the document known as the international postwar settlement proposed by the national executive and introduced by the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee. It received 8 months delibera-

tions by the party. It must be kept in mind, too, that at the time the 1944 Palestine policy was adopted the Labor Party was not in opposition, but a full responsible partner in the coalition government. The Labor Party, in other words, was in a position to know, and did know, all the pertinent facts. I read a part of the Palestine chapter as written by the Labor Party in 1944. "But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

In 1945 the national executive of the Labor Party published this resolution: "The Committee reaffirms the policy accepted by the annual conference in December 1944 on Palestine. It therefore calls upon the British Government to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration and to announce without delay proposals for the future of Palestine in which it has the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian Governments."

And, finally, I'd like to quote a few sentences from Mr. Arthur Creech Jones who is presently Colonial Secretary. "This" he stated in 1939, "is not a conflict between the Jews and Arabs, but it is largely a conflict between the new order which the Jews stand for in Palestine and the old crumbling feudal system for which a few rich Arab landlords stand. That difficulty of conflict between the new and the old order has been exploited by Fascist Imperialism; it has been exploited by those who hate the very principles for which the Jewish democracy stands; and it has been exploited largely because in that crumbling feudal order one saw spreading in the Middle East a new democratic faith which would ultimately undermine the foundations of the older system. The Jews are asked to end their experiment because our own Government is unable to carry through those equitable principles of good government which they have declared for in the Balfour Declaration. Those of us who have seen the great achievements of the Jews on the spot * * * feel it would be a great betrayal for that experiment to be brought to an end." So much for the Colonial Secretary who was so verbally brave when he was without authority to act.

Those are the words of the Labor Party on record. But the words of record are far, far removed from the deeds of record. But no sooner had the Labor Party come into power than there came a complete reversal of attitude, policy, and direction. Jews who after months and months of the long, long trek following the beacon of Palestine found not the dignity, not the hope of beginning life anew, but the barbed wire of concentration camps on the island of Cyprus. Illegal searches and seizures on the part of the British colonial administration became the order of the day. Imprisonments without trial, withdrawal of the right of peaceful assembly, daily curfews became part of the routine of Palestine life. Martial law was imposed and the economic life of Palestine was disrupted. Adding injury to injury and heaping insult on insult, only some 2 weeks back the British Palestine Government announced it will require the Jewish community to pay for the damage of at least one million dollars caused by fires at Haifa. This damage was sabotage and was ascribed to terrorists. The British action was equivalent to visiting punishment upon the innocent. Responsible Jews in and out of Palestine deplore terrorism. I condemn it. Jews themselves have been hurt and killed by the unlawful action of members of the Stern and Irgun gangs. Certainly, the entire Jewish community should not be made to pay for

the crimes of a few desperadoes. Attlee and Bevin fail to realize that the deliberate default of their solemn to open the gates of Palestine to refugees has caused despair creates terrorism. But why hold innocent people as hostages and make them pay blood money?

It has been well put in one newspaper editorial, "The historian may reflect that if one-tenth of the energy, persistence, expenditure and military might invested in the preservation of the notorious white paper were devoted to the fulfillment of the mandate the problem would be at rest."

It is little wonder, therefore, that the bitterness and frustration in Palestine reached the breaking point. The Jews who had redeemed the soil of Palestine, made of it a center of science and cultivation in the Middle East, Jews who died of disease in clearing the marshes and planting the life-sustaining trees, Jews who had contributed more than their allotted share to the allied war effort were all forgotten. It is little wonder that they asked, "Why?"

The English proposed and the United States acceded to an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. That Committee recommended the immediate admission of 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine. The Eisenhower report and the Harrison report, both undertaken at the request of President Truman, revealed the dire need of the displaced Jew for Palestine. But again there followed delay. It would seem that the British by every possible device sought to postpone any equitable solution. Twice they offered what they knew would be unacceptable federalization plans for Palestine, but turned down the proposal of a carefully worked out, reasonable plan for partition offered by the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Now, the British in transparent insincerity offer submission of the Palestine problem to the General Assembly of the United Nations. In the interim period until recommendations are made by the Assembly, Britain will maintain her control over and her vicious practices in Palestine. Until such time she considers the situation "static or frozen." They say, too, that they can reject any recommendations made by the United Nations because they point out the General Assembly can only make recommendations and no final decisions. Is Britain telling the world that if she likes the recommendations she'll accept them; if she doesn't she'll reject them? Such an attitude necessarily makes any action by the General Assembly a farce. Is it again another British dodge and stall for time? Is there yet to be another investigation followed by discarded recommendations? How sordid a business this is, this playing about with broken lives and desperate hearts.

We must at this point ask ourselves: Shall the United States, which since 1922 has reaffirmed its policy of favoring the establishment of the national Jewish homeland in Palestine, permit the United Nations to serve the purpose of British imperialist interests in the Middle East? Cannot the United States at least demand that British give some evidence of its good faith? Keep in mind that the United States has openly and continuously reiterated this policy, not only by separate treaty with Great Britain, but through congressional resolutions and declared Executive proclamations by various Presidents of these United States, beginning with President Wilson and following through to President Truman. It has been repeated in the political platforms of the two major political parties and has been the subject of numerous congressional debates.

Now the opportunity presents itself concretely to the United States Government to stand by its Palestine policy when it arises before the United Nations. By its great moral strength, by the force of its present leadership in world affairs, the United States can prevent in this instance the develop-

ment of another farcical ending. By direct interest and guidance, the United States can throw its great weight on the side of the equities, sustained as it is by the existence of recognized international documents and international and national commitments. It is up to the United States to avert the tragedy that must follow in the wake of British political machinations to continue her control in Palestine without regard to corresponding responsibilities.

And again, if the approach in the United Nations is to be a sincere one, then direct representation to the Jews of Palestine, through the Jewish Agency, must be allowed. The Arabs, as I have previously stated, already have such representation. Britain has her own vote and those of the Dominions. The Jews of Palestine, who constitute over a third of the population of Palestine and who have specific and special international status as conferred upon them by the League of Nations mandate have no such representation. Most certainly, the contention cannot be made that they are not interested parties.

I believe, too, that if the United Nations is to act as a court of equity, then Britain must come into that court with clean hands. To do so, Britain must open the gates and abrogate at once the Palestine white paper of 1939 which was and is in direct contravention to the purposes of the mandate of the League of Nations. The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations declared at the outset that in so promulgating this white paper, the British were acting unilaterally in breaching an international covenant, and, therefore, rested on no legal foundation. The British must cease to pervert the purposes of the mandate. Otherwise, she brings with her submission of the Palestine issue to the United Nations the evidence of her betrayal of a trust and stands self-condemned by her own record of complete misadministration of the mandate which in good faith was placed into her hands.

The question is still open. Will the United States permit Great Britain to use the instrument of the United Nations, fashioned we hope, to secure our peace, as a cloak to hide her ill-becoming practices in Palestine? To permit Britain to do so would weaken tragically the basic structure of the United Nations or will the United States stand firmly and independently behind its own declared policy on Palestine?

What cruel, perverse trick of fate is this that the destiny of a people should be subject to the whim and blunted vision of a man like Bevin? Had he a shred of compassion or even the faintest trace of graciousness in his makeup, he would at least keep quiet and not dance verbally about like the bull in the china shop. The folly and inhumanity of Britain's conduct in Palestine is tragic enough without Mr. Bevin throwing his weight around. Not since he has been in office has Mr. Bevin uttered one statement that was statesmanlike or conveyed a sense of his grasp of the Palestine situation.

His skin is safe; he has enough to eat and drink; he lives in security within his own country. He cannot comprehend the plight of those who do without; there is too much fat around his soul for so compassionate a thought to penetrate. His offensiveness, his boorishness would be of little matter were it not the clearest kind of signal for the continued British policy of brutality and repression in Palestine.

Let us not be mistaken about this. The submission of our cause to the United Nations, even if Britain were acting with sincerity, does not necessarily mean a recommendation in favor of justice and the equities. We must remember that in the General Assembly there will be considerable teamwork between the Arabs and the Latin-American bloc. That was discernible at the

last meeting of the General Assembly despite the protests of the United States. Twenty of the countries south of the Rio Grande joined with five Arab countries to obtain the election of their candidates to the Security, Economic, Social, and Trusteeship Councils. Although their numbers fall short of a majority, the combination must be reckoned with. They can practically nullify any conclusion reached by the General Assembly, if they so desired.

Again, we don't know what the attitude of Russia will be but we do know this. Whatever the Russian attitude is, it will be shared by Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and White Russia and Albania. In the past, the Soviet Union has shown little sympathy with the aims of Zionism.

We shall meet with many unknown factors. What will the final vote of India be? Will she concern herself with the reaction of Indian Moslems or will she consider first the importance of the development of the Middle East that is spelled out by a Jewish national home in Palestine. How will the little countries react?

We know then that we cannot sit idly by and await inertly the outcome in a special session of the General Assembly, if one be called, or the conclusions reached by the General Assembly today. We know we must warily watch the British maneuvering. Many of the countries who will participate know nothing of the actual facts of, in and about Palestine. It must also be remembered that much of the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Hitler machine penetrated deep into the conscience of occupied countries. Remember Jews have no voice on an international level. Who speaks for them? Judging from the past—no one. I hope the American people at least will pay heed and insist that honor and decency prevail.

Punitive Labor Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 15, 1947

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to incorporate as part of my remarks a timely editorial on punitive labor legislation in this morning's Washington Post. Every Member of Congress should read this editorial and the debates in Committee of the Whole held today on H. R. 3020, known as the Hartley bill:

PUNITIVE LABOR LAW

Hostile reaction to the New Jersey anti-strike law provides evidence—if any is needed—that punitive legislation will not insure peace on the labor front. For New Jersey telephone workers, although ordered to return to their jobs on pain of excessive fines or jail sentences—following State seizure of company properties—have remained on strike. Moreover, a million unionist sympathizers are preparing to stage a 1-day work stoppage as a protest against the law.

Legislators should have learned from experience that repressive laws cannot be effectively enforced unless supported by public opinion. The American people seem disposed to uphold legislation that will eclipse the power of labor unions to impose intolerable hardships upon the public through work stoppages. But we do not believe they will countenance punitive legislation of the kind passed by the State of New Jersey, aimed at local suppression of strikes by coercion of individual strikers, especially if those strikes

do not involve any major threat to the general welfare.

Furthermore, the haste with which New Jersey's Legislature acted to put teeth into a nonpunitive existing law banning utility strikes during a cooling-off period tends to discredit its action. Particularistic legislation aimed at suppression of a strike already in progress is naturally resented as an invidious attack on the group immediately affected. Legislation passed in the midst of a crisis when tempers are heated and judgment biased is almost certain to be defective. It appears that the New Jersey Legislature will have good reason to repent of its precipitancy.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentations be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m., in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

10. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

11. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

12. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session

of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

13. *Appendix to permanent Record.*—The Public Printer shall publish an Appendix to the permanent RECORD, which shall contain all extraneous matter not germane to the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator, 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expense of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver, upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 17, 1947
For actions of April 16, 1947
80th-1st, No. 71

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	8	Expenditures.....	21	Paper shortage.....	22
Appropriations.....	9	Flood control.....	10	Personnel.....	13
Atomic energy.....	11	Foreign affairs.....	3	Prices.....	18,19
Budgeting.....	6	Forests and forestry..	14,20	Quarantine, plant.....	2
Corporations.....	4,8	Insect control.....	20	Social security.....	13
Dairy industry.....	5	Labor.....	7	Soil conservation.....	16
Education.....	12	Lands.....	14	Territories & possessions.	4
Electrification, rural...	17	Loans, farm.....	1,9	Wool.....	15

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported bills to authorize FFMC to purchase GI loans and to authorize limitation on nursery-stock importations and requirement that such stock be grown in quarantine. Sen. Aiken inserted protests against milk-price reduction. House received GAO report on FSCC audit. House received revised estimate regarding FFMC administrative expense.

SENATE

1. **FARM CREDIT.** The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported without amendment S. 245, to provide a secondary market for farm loans made under the Servicemen's readjustment Act of 1944 by authorizing the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation to purchase such loans (S. Rept. 101)(p. 3642).
2. **PLANT QUARANTINE.** The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported with amendments S. 338, to authorize the Department to limit importation of nursery stock to that needed for propagation purposes and to require that such stock be grown in post-entry quarantine to determine whether it is infested or infected (S. Rept. 102) (p. 3642).
3. **FOREIGN RELIEF.** Continued debate on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 3646-91). Agreed to vote on the bill Apr. 22.
4. **VIRGIN ISLANDS.** Received from the Interior Department proposed legislation to incorporate the Virgin Islands Corporation; to Public Lands Committee (p. 3639).
5. **MILK PRICES.** Sen. Aiken, Vt., inserted a Vt. Legislature Memorial, and a letter to Secretary Anderson from New England milk-producers associations, protesting the Secretary's action "in reducing the price of milk at this time" (pp. 3640-1).
6. **BUDGET.** Sen. Tydings (for himself and Sen. Bridges, N. H.) submitted an amendment which he intends to propose to S. J. Res. 61, providing for a balanced budget; to Appropriations Committee (p. 3646).

HOUSE

7. **LABOR.** Continued debate on H. R. 3020, the labor-management bill (pp. 3572-634).

8. FSCC AUDIT. Received from GAO an audit report on FSCC for the period July 1, 1945, to Mar. 14, 1947 (H. Doc. 205); to Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee (p. 3637).
9. FARM CREDIT. Received from the President a revised estimate pertaining to the administrative-expense authorization of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation (H. Doc. 203)(p. 3637); to Appropriations Committee.

BILLS INTRODUCED

10. FLOOD CONTROL. S. 1117, by Sen. Taft, Ohio, to amend the act of June 22, 1936, so as to permit the construction of public works on the Great Lakes for purposes of flood control. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3642.)
11. ATOMIC ENERGY. S. 1118, by Sen. McKellar, Tenn., to repeal the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and to provide for the exercise by the War Department of all powers and functions relating to atomic energy. To Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. (p. 3642.) Remarks of author (pp. 3642-6).
12. EDUCATION. H.R. 3076, by Rep. Morton, Ky., to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in financing a minimum foundation education program of public elementary and secondary schools. To Education and Labor Committee. (p. 3637.) Remarks of author (p. A1837).
13. PERSONNEL. H.R. 3078, by Rep. Peterson, Fla., to permit certain employment by the U.S. to be included as employment under the Social Security Act. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 3637.)
14. LAND TRANSFER. H.R. 3057 and S. 1112 (see Digest 70) provide for the transfer to Wasatch National Forest of a part of War Department lands at Fort Douglas, Utah, and for conveyance by quitclaim deed of other parts of such lands to Utah; authorize USDA to convey all rights and interests in the use of water and the Red Butte Reservoir and associate water system to Salt Lake City (Utah), reserving rights for use of water by U.S. as required for irrigation of the national cemetery; and provide for reversion of lands to the U.S. in case of war or national emergency or in case the land ceases to be used for public purposes.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

15. WOOL SUPPORTS. Rep. Lane, Mass., inserted a Boston (Mass.) Herald editorial, "Oversupporting Wool" (p. A1822).
16. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. Rep. Clason, Mass., inserted Sumner R. Parker's (Mass. P&MA Director) article on accomplishments of this program in Mass. (pp. A1816-7).
Rep. Trimble, Ark., inserted a reports of the agricultural conservation work in Searcy County and Washington County, Ark. (pp. A1820-2, A1834-6).
17. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Trimble, Ark., commending the work of REA in providing electrification to farm areas (p. A1829).
Rep. Bradley, Mich., inserted a Sault Ste. Marie Evening News editorial opposing the proposed Soo Power Plant (p. A1830).
18. PRICES. Rep. Price, Ill., inserted a Belleville (Ill.) News-Democrat news item, "One Bakery Raises Price" (p. A1829).

According to Senator FERGUSON, of Michigan, the records show that Mr. Lillenthal and the Morgans actually initiated the request by the State of Tennessee for the \$300,000 of relief money for the purpose of setting up this cooperative and of course the cooperative is a Government owned corporation, with a budget item requested in appropriation bills, the Treasury Department admitting that it holds the complete stock in this TVAC.

On page 997 of the President annual budget message to Congress, delivered in January, is the following sentence—and remember, this is the President of the United States speaking:

"No act of Congress, or Executive order, or Federal statute specifically authorized the creation of the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives, Inc."

The Comptroller General of the United States, in a report last May 1, made the same identical statement in the same words.

Now, to sum up what we have thus far:

We have Mr. Lillenthal and the two Morgans, as private citizens, setting up this Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives financed with \$300,000 of Government relief funds, to sponsor the formation of other cooperatives in the Tennessee Valley area, wherein 175 have sprung up which are directly sponsored by the TVA itself or the TVAC; the control of that corporation, although the Government owns it and although Congress is being asked to appropriate money to pay its expenses of operation, is entirely and completely in the control of Mr. Lillenthal and the two Morgans, or those other private individuals to whom, under the charter, they have assigned their powers of control. The Comptroller General is told that he cannot go into the books of the cooperative, although the Government owns it; and both the President of the United States and the Comptroller General say that there is no act of Congress, no statute, and no Executive order that ever specifically authorized the setting up of this Government-owned but privately controlled cooperative.

Now, that is about all we have time for tonight. We'll pick up again tomorrow night, with some information on some of these cooperatives which have been organized under the tender sponsorship of Mr. Lillenthal and his TVA and his TVAC. Of course, the simple fact is that the promoting of cooperatives is not in the slightest objectionable in itself. It all depends on what these cooperatives are, that they have been set up, whether they are good or bad ones; if they're good, that is fine, if they're not, that's something else.

It all depends on how they are operating in competition with private enterprise; what the TVA, under Mr. Lillenthal, was doing with them, in their competition with private enterprise. And these little details, we'll get into tomorrow evening.

FULTON LEWIS' RADIO BROADCAST, FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1947

Tonight, ladies and gentlemen, I want to pick up where I left off last night, in reporting to you some of the activities and policies of Mr. David E. Lillenthal, in his operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority—the famous TVA.

As I told you last night, in my introduction to these reports, there has been bitter controversy in the Senate, in debate on Mr. Lillenthal's nomination as head of the Atomic Energy Control Commission, as to just what he stands for, and just what his political and social philosophies are. On the one hand he has been called a Communist; on the other, he is acclaimed as having done a great job as TVA Administrator—and no one seems to have produced any supporting evidence on either side of the picture. Therefore, it seems helpful to get a little factual information, and that's the reason for this broadcast.

As I pointed out to you before, the average individual seems to have a conception of TVA as a Government-power project designed to give cheaper electricity to the people of the TVA area. Whether it actually has succeeded in doing that is a very controversial question, but what the public does not seem to know is that there are a great many other activities which the TVA and Mr. Lillenthal personally conducted along with the TVA power project which throw some light on the mental and philosophical approach of this very controversial gentleman.

Last night I reported to you on the subject of an organization which Mr. Lillenthal and his two fellow members of the TVA organized with Government money. To recapitulate briefly, this was what we found:

In January 1934, Mr. Lillenthal and his two fellow members of the TVA Board set up a cooperative corporation under the laws of the State of Tennessee, called the Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives—the avowed purpose of which was to promote the organization of various localized cooperatives throughout the Tennessee Valley area. It was a sort of master cooperative which could do business in any line of business or industry anywhere in the United States or any country in the world, and which could finance, by gifts or loans, these local cooperatives, after they were organized.

The President of the United States and the Comptroller General and the Attorney General and the legal adviser for the TVA itself are on the record as stating that there is no act of Congress, statute, or Executive order authorizing the setting up of this Tennessee Valley Associated Cooperatives.

The record shows that the cooperative is 100-percent owned by the United States Government, \$300,000 of Federal relief money having been given to it in 1934 to finance it. Despite the fact that it is wholly owned by the United States Government, the charter provided that it was to be permanently controlled by Mr. Lillenthal and the two Morgans as individuals—they being instructed to reappoint themselves to the board of directors, or to reappoint such substitutes as they might see fit.

The record shows that in spite of the fact that the TVAC was wholly owned by the United States Government, it refused to permit its books to be audited by the Comptroller General of the United States until Congressional legislation was enacted, requiring that such audits be made. The present audit, contained in President Truman's budget message to Congress for this year, shows that the \$300,000 of original funds now has dwindled to \$186,000, and the President's budget requests an appropriation from the Treasury of \$2,500 for operating expenses for the coming year.

Now, in addition to this super cooperative, the annual reports of the TVA and other records show that the TVA itself, as such, has also been active in the promotion of cooperatives. In fact, I might read you a line or two from the last annual report of the TVA:

"In the interests of carrying out the broad objectives or resource development, the TVA, through a small staff, has encouraged the activities of cooperating associations. Cooperatives are an important factor in attaining, at a minimum of cost, the application of soil minerals and readjusted farming methods, in order that the broad objectives of land and water conservation may be attained."

As a matter of fact, the Comptroller General's reports show that TVA actually gave to this TVAC—this super cooperative, some \$58,000 in just two years—in addition to the original three hundred thousand which that outfit got from relief money. Also, they provided personnel to help operate the TVAC. The record also shows that this Tennessee Valley Authority had so-called farm extension

workers all through the areas of the Tennessee Valley watershed, helping in the cooperative movement.

So, to boil it down to a simple proposition, aside from the electricity producing function of TVA, it was busily engaged under Mr. Lillenthal in the promotion of Cooperatives—not only directly, but also through the super-cooperative, the TVAC, which Mr. Lillenthal and his two companions had set up.

The fact is that this same report by the TVA itself boasts that many of the cooperative groups which it spawned, have incorporated as cooperatives, and "have expanded into other activities as needed." It then goes on to say that as of last year, an incomplete survey showed that TVA has relationships with some 175 of these organizations.

Now, in and of itself, the promoting and sponsoring of 175 or more cooperatives in a given area is not in the slightest objectionable; in fact, it may be a very commendable accomplishment. There is nothing wrong with cooperatives, as such, as I've called to your attention over this microphone before. The question is, what sort of cooperatives they were—whether they were good ones or bad ones—whether they have an unfair advantage over the private enterprise that exists in that particular area and is paying the taxes which provide the appropriations by Congress, to keep Mr. Lillenthal's TVA in operation. This year, TVA is requesting an appropriation of 27 million dollars.

Senator WILLIAMS, of Delaware, told the Senate a week ago that he had personally investigated four of them, picked at random, without the slightest advance knowledge of any details about any of the four. He told the Senate that he found that in three cases of the four, the incorporators were not backward farmers in the Tennessee Valley area, but actually were employees of the TVA drawing regular salaries from the TVA.

But go back to the TVA's own annual report for this year. By way of giving an example of what has been done in this field of organizing cooperatives, the report has the subtitle, "Example in Virginia," and it explains that the name of this organization is the Southwest Virginia Cooperative, which is a federation of local county cooperatives.

The report says that the cooperative handled certain quantities of fertilizer, and that at the close of the first year, it is "laying plans to extend its activities to the handling of feed and is considering other possible activities for the benefit of its members."

Now, in the course of trying to get the grass roots of Mr. Lillenthal's cooperatives, and what sort of cooperatives they are and how they function, I wanted to trace down a few individual cases, and inasmuch as this is the example that the TVA itself offers as its prize exhibit, I thought the fairest and simplest thing to do was to look into this one. Therefore I called the head of the Southwest Virginia Cooperative, the headquarters of which are at Lebanon, Va.—his name is Bryce Connally—and I interviewed him. I have a verbatim record of that interview; so we'll let him tell the story.

He said that he is a sort of wholesale cooperative; he has 11 members, each of them a local county cooperative in southwest Virginia, and they are the sole stockholders, each having put in \$1,000 capital.

He said that he buys fertilizer from the TVA and from other sources, and he sells it to the 11 local cooperatives which are his members, and they, in turn, sell it to the farmers.

He said that his cooperative made a little money last year—that the difference between what he paid for the fertilizer and the amount he received for it from the local distributors, less, of course, his expenses of

operation—amounted to about \$7,800. Please remember that figure—\$7,800.

Now, Mr. Connally revealed that in addition to that regular business as a sort of wholesaler of fertilizer, his cooperative also receives free fertilizer from the TVA, which it passes along to the local member cooperatives, which they in turn pass along to the farmers. Mr. Connally's organization gets 50 cents for each ton of fertilizer so handled, and the local distributing cooperatives get an additional dollar. The farmer gets the fertilizer for \$1.50, plus shipping costs from TVA's fertilizer plant, which stands the farmer a total of approximately \$5 to \$6 a ton. The same grade of fertilizer, commercially, costs the farmer \$54 a ton, delivered.

I asked Mr. Connally how much of this free fertilizer he has handled from TVA as compared with the fertilizer he has bought from TVA and he said that his cooperative has handled about 2,200 tons of this TVA fertilizer for which they have paid the commercial price, and they have received and distributed something in excess of 3,400 tons of the free fertilizer.

The records introduced in the Senate show that last year the TVA gave away more than \$2,000,000 worth of this particular fertilizer to farmers throughout the TVA area through these cooperatives on the grounds of tests and experimentations. The particular fertilizer in question has been in standard production and use by American farmers since 1907.

Getting back to the \$7,800 which Mr. Connally's cooperative had on hand at the end of last year's operation—I asked him whether any corporation income tax had been paid on that. His reply was that no income tax has been paid; that his organization has made an application for exemption from corporation income tax on the basis that they are a cooperative.

The United States Treasury states that the corporation income tax on \$7,800 profits for a given year would be approximately \$1,600.

Mr. Connally said that various private enterprise distributors of fertilizer were doing business in the same area, in which his cooperative has been functioning, and was kind enough to give me the names of some of them. I talked, among other people, to a Mr. Duncan, of Chillum, Va., who is in charge of the Vance Supply Co. fertilizer plant there. He said that in times of competition it would be entirely impossible to compete with the operations of this southwestern cooperative with their free fertilizer, and that his company last year, a rather large company that has been long in business, instead of paying no income tax, made a profit of about \$45,000, of which it paid \$26,000 in taxes to the Government.

That, of course, is the story of just one of these 175 cooperatives which Mr. Lillenthal's operation has sponsored, but it is the story of the one he selected as the sample in his annual report, and it's the story as told by the head of that cooperative himself.

Mr. McKELLAR. I now ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the bill to repeal the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and to restore the atomic energy proposal to the War Department of the Government, I have just introduced.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1118) to repeal the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 and to provide for the exercise by the War Department of all powers and functions relating to atomic energy, introduced by Mr. McKELLAR, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 is hereby repealed.

SEC. 2. The President is authorized and directed to transfer to the War Department at the earliest possible date all property heretofore transferred to the Atomic Energy Commission and all other property of the Atomic Energy Commission, including all books, records, documents, papers, and all written or printed matter of every kind, nature, and description in the files of such Commission.

SEC. 3. The War Department shall administer the property transferred to it pursuant to this act and, for such purposes, shall have all the powers and duties with respect to the development and production of military weapons utilizing fissionable material or atomic energy, and with respect to the maintenance of secrecy concerning the details of such weapons and the materials and processes utilized in the development and production thereof, which it had prior to the enactment of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of War is authorized and directed to report to the Congress at the earliest practicable date concerning plans for the use and control of such materials and processes developed in connection with the production of military weapons utilizing fissionable material or atomic energy as may be used for civilian purposes.

SEC. 5. Any person who shall disclose or cause the disclosure, or who shall conspire with any person to disclose or cause the disclosure, directly or indirectly, of any information of any kind which has not prior to the date of enactment of this act been made available to the public concerning the production of fissionable materials or any detail of any military weapon utilizing fissionable materials or atomic energy or of the development, manufacture, or production of any such military weapon, to any person not entitled to receive such information, shall be guilty of a capital offense and upon conviction thereof shall be sentenced to death by hanging.

SEC. 6. The unexpended balances of any funds heretofore made available to the Atomic Energy Commission are hereby transferred to and shall be available to the War Department in carrying out its functions under this act, and there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such additional sums as may be necessary for such purposes.

REDUCTION OF INCOME TAX— AMENDMENT

Mr. McCARRAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (H. R. 1) to reduce individual income-tax payments, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, and ordered to be printed.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION RELATING TO FISCAL MATTERS—AMENDMENT

Mr. TYDINGS (for himself and Mr. BRIDGES) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 61) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to fiscal matters, which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY— AMENDMENTS

Mr. MURRAY submitted two amendments intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR KILGORE ON LABOR LEGISLATION

[Mr. MURRAY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by Senator KILGORE regarding proposed labor legislation, which appears in the Appendix.]

CONTRAST BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM—ARTICLE FROM LABOR'S MONTHLY SURVEY

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article presenting the way of life in a democracy as contrasted with the way of life of communism, from the March-April issue of Labor's Monthly Survey, which appears in the Appendix.]

CARE OF THE BLIND IN PENNSYLVANIA

[Mr. MARTIN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by O. E. Day, chief, State Council for the Blind, Department of Welfare of Pennsylvania, and a statement by Miss S. M. R. O'Hara, dealing with the care of the blind in Pennsylvania, which appear in the Appendix.]

JEFFERSON'S AUTHORSHIP OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

[Mr. SMITH asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter addressed to him by Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton University, relating to the discovery of a fragment of Jefferson's text of the Declaration of Independence, which appears in the Appendix.]

MR. VANDENBERG'S ROLE—EDITORIAL FROM THE WASHINGTON STAR

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the Washington Evening Star entitled "Mr. VANDENBERG'S Role," which appears in the Appendix.]

THE NEWSPRINT SHORTAGE—EDITORIAL FROM THE RED OAK (IOWA) EXPRESS

[Mr. WILSON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Freedom Depends on Paper," from the Red Oak (Iowa) Express, which appears in the Appendix.]

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Before the Senator from Illinois proceeds, let the Chair state the parliamentary situation. The pending question is a series of 12 amendments offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], which, by order of the Senate, will be considered en bloc. Therefore the pending question is the block of amendments offered by the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, having seen first hand the destruction wrought by World War I, having visited England, France, Belgium, and Germany immediately before and after the conclusion of World War II, and having carefully examined several of the concentration camps, having had first-hand reports and visual evidence of the destruction in other parts of the world caused by World War II, I am fully conscious of the great need for assistance to unfortunate peoples throughout the world.

None of the nations, according to authentic report, suffered more in physical and mental anguish than did the little country of Greece, and my sympathies go out to the people of Greece in this, their great hour of need.

I am not unlike the vast majority of the American people in this regard. Historically, throughout more than a century and a half of our progress, we have proved to be the most generous, charitable, and kind-hearted people on the face of the earth. No greater demonstration of this generosity has come to my personal attention than our conduct at the close of World War I.

We had just conquered the German armies in the field, and immediately the American people contributed millions of dollars' worth of food and clothing, and even shipped boatloads of live cattle into the heart of Germany to sustain and support the bodies of the undernourished children of the soldiers of the army we had just brought to its knees. At the same time, the American people raised millions of dollars and sent clothing and food to the distressed and starving children of Armenia who had been the tragic victims of the vicious atrocities of another enemy in that war—Turkey.

We are presently sending food and supplies to the heart of the nations we have recently conquered in World War II. To this noble purpose, I fully subscribe. The fact is that there are more people hungry, starving, suffering without clothing and homes; there is more hate, suspicion, and fear throughout the world at this very hour than at any other period in the history of mankind. The heart of America goes out to these distressed people of the earth. But the cold fact also is that the full production of our fields and factories, if it were devoted in its entirety, could not reach them all nor materially eliminate their pain and suffering.

The proposition presently before the Congress of the United States is in part the supplying of necessities of life and the essentials of life to help rehabilitate the ancient, historic, and heroic people of Greece. To that endeavor, I fully subscribe. But that is not all, nor in my judgment is it even the larger part, of the program to which we are asked to give our complete approval. We are asked to send not only food and supplies, but arms and military and civilian missions to build up the armed strength of both Greece and Turkey, and to do this as the sole responsibility of the United States of America. This is truly a new course in the history of America's foreign endeavor. It is being sold to the American people as a new emotional crisis, and I know of no other policy that is capable of more mischief than for us, the greatest free country in the world, to undertake this program alone.

I realize full well that when I oppose this gigantic, initial, and individual undertaking on the part of the United States, I lay myself open, and will be subjected to, the same criticism that I received when I objected to the pouring out of American arms to the Soviet Union during the war, without having some definite evidence of their intent and desire to subscribe to some of the ideals of free people. I realize I will be subject to the same criticism that I was subjected to when I objected to the pouring out of American relief supplies under the so-called UNRRA, without some assurance that the American people were

not dissipating their wealth, food, and sustenance, to be used to further the cause of communism throughout the world. I realize I will be subjected to the criticism of those who will charge that my action now is an evidence of my unwillingness to oppose communism.

Mr. President, I oppose communism with all my heart. I recognize the right of the Russian people to follow communism, if they so desire, within their own territorial limitations. I object to their imposing it on other people, or expanding their philosophy in our own country. I objected to its expansion with our help by allowing their agents to distribute our relief to advance their cause throughout the world. I objected to the infiltration of Communist left-wing alien-minded individuals into the departments, agencies, and bureaus of the Government of the United States, prior to and during the recent war. I objected when the rule was changed, at the outbreak of this war, whereby men with former Communist affiliations were allowed to become commissioned officers in the Army of the United States. I was criticized for my objections then. I continue to oppose communism with all my heart.

Realizing, however, that the few men in charge of our National Government and its foreign policy were actually appeasing and aiding communism at home and abroad, throughout the war and afterward, I was desperately anxious to find some means of arriving at a peace based upon justice as a reward for the terrific suffering and sacrifice of the American people. I am one who voted with all good faith for the establishment of the United Nations Organization. I believed that, even if in its formative stages it was to be no more than the meeting ground to organize the conscience of the world, it might serve that purpose. Wanting to face the facts, I was doubtful as to the possibility of ever bringing the Communists of the world into any general decent understanding, but I felt that this was the organization through which we might ferret out, expose, and demonstrate their obstinate determination never to cooperate, and thereby mobilize through that institution those nations who would band together to advance the cause of peace and the rights of minorities for the liberty-loving people of the world.

I sincerely believe that it was a grave mistake for the leaders of our Nation, being in possession of all the facts, to delay bringing this matter to the attention of the United Nations, and then to use that delay as an excuse for taking this desperately bold step as an emergency measure in a crisis that may lead either to war or to the ultimate bankruptcy of our country. Mr. President, I believe that the steps proposed may provide the spark that will lead us into the war which the proponents wish to prevent. With all my heart I want peace based upon justice. I know of no authentic veteran who does not want peace based upon justice.

I objected during the recent war to the constant misleading statements made to the American people that we were then pouring out our resources, finances, and

substance to support democratic governments, when, in fact, many of the governments we assisted had no element of democracy in their being. I object now to calling Greece a democratic country, when everyone knows that Greece is ruled by a corrupt royal regime. I object to having the American people told now that we are supporting a democratic country when we support Turkey, which actually is a tyrannical dictatorship, one which enriched itself by trade and other alliances with our enemies until the very last hour of the recent war.

I firmly believe that the step now proposed is only the first step, and that it will start a chain reaction that will drag us into constant conflicts around the globe.

During the recent war we sent our guns, planes, and military equipment to Russia to the tune of \$11,000,000,000, and to Yugoslavia. Even the Greek guerrillas, whom we propose to stop today, are in large part armed with American weapons. We propose now to send other American weapons to compete with American weapons already there. We propose to send American weapons into Turkey to be used with weapons which Turkey produced and designed for Germany, against which we fought during the war, with no assurance based upon Turkey's history that she is a dependable ally for the future. I object to calling these grants of American weapons and money loans, for they will in no sense be considered as loans and will never be repaid.

We are already being told that the next step is to furnish \$600,000,000 to Korea. We will send American weapons, supplies, and personnel into Austria; then will come Italy, China, France, and Britain again. We will take over the policing of the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Black, and the Mediterranean Seas. Where that will lead America in expenditure and draining of American resources and funds no man can tell. To pretend that we are not picking up the defense of the life line and the age-old British Empire's frontiers to maintain for all future time does not change the fact that that is exactly what we are proposing to do. I object to having the American people take over the British program of suppression around the world.

To say that the United Nations can, by a vote, ask us to withdraw the aid we now propose to give is a pious hope, for so long as the members of the United Nations know that it is our established general policy to supply arms, money, and military missions throughout the world to nations who cry for help, they will not shoot Santa Claus, and they will never ask us to withdraw. Nor will the people of Greece and Turkey ask us to withdraw until they decide to take a course of their own; and then, having weakened ourselves, we may find it necessary to send other American missions and arms to meet the American arms which it is now proposed to distribute throughout the world.

Different persons arrive at somewhat the same conclusions for different reasons. There will be and are some who oppose the proposed program for reasons with which I totally disagree. I

want no truck with, or part of, communism; but I do not believe that we can stop it with American dollars abroad when we know it has infiltrated even into the armed services of our own country, and into the bureaus, departments, and agencies of our American Government. American dollars will not stop such insidious infiltration or the expansion of communism abroad. In this initial step it is proposed to send dollars and supplement them with military missions. When the presence of our military missions is challenged, then we must either retreat or supplement them with troops. How many combat fronts American will be called upon to defend across the face of the earth as a result of this action, no one can now predict. We may have countless Pearl Harbors and subsequent tragic experiences around the world like the ones at Bataan and Corregidor.

I am ready and willing to vote to send supplies, surplus food, and clothing, and any reasonable amount of financial help to any people who will strive to guarantee the independence of individual nations who recognize and defend human rights and personal freedoms, but I do not believe in draining the resources of the American Nation and her people to maintain dictatorial tyrannies, socialistic governments, or monarchies which oppress their people and do not guarantee to join us in advancing the freedoms we wish so much to defend.

To supply arms and military missions, to create power blocks of various dictatorial governments around the world, denies the historic ideals that have guided our destiny thus far and still are the hope of the human race.

I still believe that the conscience of mankind could be mobilized through the mechanism set up in the United Nations. At least, we would then know which countries are willing to join us now in all-out participation to achieve and maintain the high ideals we so tenaciously support.

It has been said and will continue to be said that any vote on this measure except a vote "yea" will weaken the hand of the President of the United States. I remind the Senate that the same argument was used when another President of the United States, by secret agreements, was giving the Soviet Government nine-tenths of the Balkans, the Kurile Islands, Dairen, Port Arthur, and even agreed to give them \$20,000,000,000 worth of reparations from Germany. That same argument was used when another President was agreeing with the Soviet Government to the division of little Poland, and at the same time failing to protest Russia's expansion by complete subjugation of the Baltic States.

When the Congress of the United States, after full discussions, has by vote adopted a national policy, I shall support my country's policy and program, but my understanding of true representative government is that men should vote their convictions based upon the yardstick of what is good for their country. We have already supplied billions of dollars' worth of American arms and they are scattered at this hour throughout the world. We have already burdened the future of America and her

people with a debt of over \$258,000,000,000. Now, if we, in addition, start this global spending and meddling, we will not be able to reduce the cost of our Government; we will not be able to save on military and naval expenditures, for we simply cannot shake our fist at people all over the world and not be prepared to back it up. Once we commit the American people to a program of spending America's millions and billions all over the world, it will be doubly hard to deny any demand for ever-increased appropriations at home.

Any pretense of substantially reducing the taxes of our American people will prove to be a delusion, for while we may effect a reduction of taxes this year, the necessities of tomorrow caused by this action will quickly wipe out any reduction presently made.

Mr. President, I firmly believe we should start a genuine fight against the expansion of communism by an immediate relentless search for, and elimination of, the Communist element embedded within our own Government, its departments, agencies, and bureaus.

I believe we should, through the facilities of the United Nations Organization, establish definitely which of the countries of the earth will participate in a joint undertaking to stop the cruel expansion of communism elsewhere.

I repeat, I believe that the policy of undertaking this gigantic program alone may do for us what the policing of the world did for the British Empire. It may very easily ultimately lead us to war on countless fronts and ultimately lead us to bankruptcy and the international bread line. Not even the most ardent advocate of the proposed program can guarantee that this will not be the ultimate end.

I believe firmly that the hope of those who love liberty, the freedom of worship, and representative government depends upon our maintaining a strong and solvent America. I believe that it is the duty of elected representatives of the people to cast their vote solely for those things which they believe will contribute to the future strength and solvency of America.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I noted in the press this morning that there has been a renewal of the proposal to loan a billion dollars to Russia. What would be the Senator's attitude toward such a loan? Would he oppose it, together with the other loans which have been suggested? I do not want to ask him whether he would favor loaning to both sides of a controversy, but that is what it seemed to me to amount to.

Mr. BROOKS. To answer the Senator's question, I do not know how authentic the report is. When we were appeasing Russia, when we were giving her everything she wanted during and after the war, there was a good deal of talk about advancing her a loan of \$1,000,000,000. I may be wrong, but I think it was finally admitted by the State Department that we had advanced it, but it was held in abeyance. To me it

would seem stupid and silly to loan another billion dollars to Russia, when we are starting out now to prevent Russia from expanding communism. But that is what we did before. We built her up. We helped to make Russia the colossus of Europe. There was a time when we had an air power which was greater than any air power in the world, when we had a Navy which was greater than that of the combined naval powers of the world, and we had the fastest, hardest-striking army in the world. That was the time to have prevented the expansion of Russia and to have refused her the right to annex the Baltic States and to dominate and control the Balkans. Now with our Army and our Navy demobilized, we must start from scratch; we must begin where we started before. We are saying we will not send troops; that is not contemplated now. Troops were not contemplated when we started lend-lease shipments, as the Senators knows. The same words were used then.

I cannot say were this program will lead unless Russia backs away; and if she backs away she will advance at some other point. If we start this program with Greece and with Turkey we will have to extent greater help to Austria, to Italy, to France, to Great Britain, and to Korea and China. I do not think the resources of America can stop communism as such, and I do not think we can raise an army sufficiently large to stop it as such if Russia decides to move. If our men were there they might be in the position they were in at Bataan and Corregidor; they could not retreat; they would be cut off from their own country and we could not reach them.

That is what I visualize in this program.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. If the Senator will yield further, I want to say that I agree wholeheartedly with his position in this matter. But it seems to me that the Senate is entitled to a statement from the State Department that no loan is now contemplated to the Soviet Union. If we are making loans in opposition to her, then certainly we should not be making loans in her behalf. I think it is incumbent upon the State Department to inform us immediately if such a loan is contemplated or that no such loan will be made. I should like to challenge the Senators on the floor who are sponsoring this proposal to give us an answer, unless the Senator from Illinois can answer it.

Mr. BROOKS. I cannot give the Senator an answer to the specific suggestion, but I can give him an answer to another problem of like nature. I think it depends on who in the State Department decides to do these things. In the State Department, I do not think the right hand knows what the left hand is doing. In this instance they are asking for money for the purpose of stopping communism. The President yesterday sent Congress a message asking it to amend the Neutrality Act so as to prevent the shipment of machine tools; and yet less than 6 weeks ago the State Department was before the Committee on Appropriations asking it to change a provision which was put into the deficiency bill last year prohibiting the use of money

for the shipment of lend-lease supplies beyond January 1 of this year. They told us there were approximately, as I recall, \$30,000,000 worth of supplies which still ought to be shipped, and they wanted us to change the rule or law so as to permit them to send lend-lease supplies over there. I asked them what countries they had in mind. They named about 8 or 10. Finally, I asked, "Is that all?" They said, "No; Russia." The question was asked, "How much of this \$30,000,000?"—if that is the correct figure; I think it is approximately correct—"will go to Russia?" Then we learned that \$25,000,000 of it was to go to Russia, but they forgot to name Russia until the very last.

The committee said, "No; we will not do it." They argued; and they said, "You have got to do it." "What is it for?" we asked. Then we learned that included among the items was one of the finest refineries for high octane gasoline in the world—more modern than anything we have in the United States. Less than 6 weeks ago the State Department was before the Appropriations Committee saying that we had committed ourselves. We said to them, "What about Russia's committing herself to give us an accounting for lend-lease?"

Mr. President, at this moment the time seems to be very opportune for such an accounting; at this moment Russia appears to be willing to talk to us about the \$11,000,000,000 worth of lend-lease we gave her. But what about the 95 ships we gave? There seems to be no indication that Russia wants to talk about that.

Yet, we were supposed to send Russia \$25,000,000 worth of goods—not merely machine tools, although some machine tools were to be included, but, in addition, and the largest items, the finest, most modern refinery for high-octane gasoline in the world. We said, "We will hold the matter in abeyance and see what we shall do."

But now comes word from the President, who must have had the advice of the State Department, requesting that machine tools be withheld, although the same State Department has been asking us to send Russia machine tools and the finest, most modern high-octane gasoline refinery. So I am not surprised that the State Department should ask us to lend a billion dollars to Russia while we are undertaking to stop Russia in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois will yield further, let me say that during the war between Japan and China, before we went to war with Japan, before Pearl Harbor, of course we were shipping aviation gasoline and scrap iron, scrap copper, and various other scrap materials to Japan, and at the same time we were sending funds out of our Treasury to China. In other words, we were building up both sides, so that they would have a real fight.

I wonder if that same policy is being pursued at the present time; and I wonder how Senators who say that the President has committed us to such a foreign policy and that we must go along because

he has already committed us, can explain their ability to go along with that kind of policy. Has the President committed the Senate to that kind of a policy of helping both sides and playing both sides against the middle? Does it not occur to the Senator from Illinois that at this time, before this bill is enacted, we should require an accounting to clarify the whole position and reach an understanding of this apparently traditional policy of playing both sides against each other and helping both sides?

Mr. BROOKS. I may say to the Senator that I think one of the most tragic aspects of the entire war was that the American soldiers at Bataan and the ones who ultimately went to capture the islands in the Pacific found that the very shells which were breaking upon them and destroying them had been produced from scrap iron sent to Japan from the United States; and the very planes the Japanese used to strafe them were driven by gasoline which we furnished to the country which finally attacked us.

I have tried to make that clear in what I have said. Undoubtedly, some place along the line we shall send another mission and other arms to go forth and meet the arms we shall manufacture in the United States and shall distribute all over the world. I do not see how we can ultimately miss running into them somewhere, if this course is followed.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THYE in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I wonder if there is any obligation upon the Congress or the Senate simply because the President or some of the leaders say we are committed and that we should go along with that kind of a program, if in our judgment we do not think so.

Mr. BROOKS. Of course, I think we have no obligation, as such. I do think the situation is regrettable, and I know that the Senator from South Dakota must feel as I do. I hate ever to be put in the position of denying the President of the United States; but in a matter so vital as this, I do not represent the President of the United States; I represent the people who sent me here. They sent me here believing, at least, that I would do what I told them I would do; and that is one thing I have done and shall continue to do. When I leave here, some one else can take my place on the basis of the statements he makes as to what he will do. But I think we should stand up for the things we told the people of our States we would do when we came here.

If the President can lead us off on a tangent, then in my judgment we have "missed the boat."

I wish to state my position clearly: When the President discusses this question fully, and when we finally conclude what program the country should adopt, I shall support that program with everything I have, including my life. In the meantime, I think I should state my convictions and vote my convictions.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield to the Senator from Nevada.

Mr. MALONE. For the benefit of some of the newer Members of the Senate, will the Senator be kind enough to explain what he considers to be the obligation of the Senate in the case of a national policy of this kind, concerning which, as I understand, we are to advise and approve.

Mr. BROOKS. I have just stated what I think the Senate's obligation is; namely, that each individual Senator has an obligation to support his conscience and his own convictions when a matter of this kind is presented to us, especially a matter which some of us at least have a deep conviction that it is going to lead us right down the road to war all over the world or to bankruptcy or to the bread lines. In such a case, how can we do otherwise than vote our own minds and our own hearts? That is what I think our obligation should be.

I repeat that I regret that we have been put into this position; but it is not fair for someone to belabor a Senator by saying that he is weakening the hand of the President of the United States. It may be that momentarily we are weakening the hand of the President of the United States, but we are strengthening representative government; and we may have to fight for it harder than we ever have fought before in our lives, if a program of this kind goes into effect.

Mr. MALONE. What is the law, or what does the Constitution provide—that we have equal responsibility or that we are supposed to follow a lead?

Mr. BROOKS. The pending matter is simply a bill providing for a loan. Of course, the word "loan" is not a good one to use in this case. If only a loan were wanted, it could be made through the International Bank, for the International Bank is in existence, and it would be a good agency to handle such a transaction.

Let me digress for a moment to refer to the International Bank. Russia does not belong to the bank; so we would not be slapping her in the face by letting such a loan or grant be handled by the International Bank. As I recall, we contribute 37 percent of the funds of the bank, and the other countries who are members of the bank contribute 63 percent of its funds. As I have said, Russia is not a member of the bank. I think that by May 1 there will be \$800,000,000 subscribed to the bank, and the largest part of it will be the United States' contribution. So if we wish to avoid shaking our fist by sending military missions, that would be a good place to have this loan handled. Then the people who want to have such a loan made could urge that it be made by that bank; and if the loan were made by the bank, the contribution made by the United States in that connection would be larger than the contribution made by any other nation. I think that would be the proper place to handle this matter, if it is desired to make loans, although the pending proposal is not for loans, but simply for out-and-out grants.

However, I would even vote for a grant if the provision for military missions were omitted and we were not called upon to go forth shaking our fist all over the world.

I honestly believe that if we start this program we may be challenged, and then we shall either have to retreat or fight; and then we shall have to adopt universal military training, which we have been talking about for a long time, and we shall again have conscription and regulation. There will be no other choice, once we are challenged. No Senator would vote against adopting such a course if the American flag and American soldiers were challenged by another country.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Illinois yield further to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Has the Senator been advised as to where the great over-all plan, for occupation, or spheres of influence, or whatever it is, upon which we are about to embark, may lead us?

Mr. BROOKS. I have been advised only through the answers to the questions which were submitted to the State Department by Senators, and I gather that the Department says that after the action now contemplated we will act in each case according to the circumstances of the particular situation. If we start this chain, we create the circumstance, we establish the policy. When any nation says, "We are going Communist if you don't come," that is a call to arms for us again, because we have established the policy, and where that will lead I do not know. We cannot go beyond that. If the State Department says, "We take each one according to circumstance," all I know is that, so far as the countries I have named are concerned, we are going to be getting calls for help, and we will go to their aid all over the world again, but with military missions.

Mr. MALONE. What would be the alternative? Suppose the Senate rejected this proposal; what, in the Senator's judgment, would be the long-range alternative?

Mr. BROOKS. The next alternative is to find out what we can do with the United Nations. We can send supplies, we can send food, we can aid these people, we can make them a reconstruction loan through the International Bank. The United States and Great Britain contributed 51 percent to the capital of that bank. Russia is no part of it. We can channel money through that agency, and lend the countries money for reconstruction, if we keep out of the military aspect of it.

Mr. MALONE. Are we shipping any kind of goods or any form of aid to Russia at this time?

Mr. BROOKS. As to that I am not sure. I stated that we were asked to do so, in the Committee on Appropriations, and some money is going into Russia through UNRRA. I should like to have the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations answer as to that, if he will. He was presiding at the time. Some few weeks ago we were asked to authorize the shipment of a great plant

for the refining of high-octane gasoline, and other supplies. I understand that within the last 10 days there has been a repeated call to have that go through. Is that true, I ask the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. BRIDGES. That is true. Without agreeing or disagreeing with the premise the Senator from Illinois has made in the presentation of his case, I feel quite strongly that one thing we cannot do in this world is carry water on both shoulders at the same time. I feel that that is the fundamental weakness of our position and of the position of the State Department today. What the able Senator from Illinois has indicated is true, that there has been almost continual pressure on the Committee on Appropriations, since the first of the year, to release for shipment to Russia lend-lease supplies totaling in excess of \$25,000,000. That pressure has consisted of individuals high in the State Department coming before the committee and testifying, and of letters and calls and personal contacts from officials high in the State Department, all of them putting pressure on the Committee on Appropriations to release supplies to Russia at this time. The last, as the Senator from Illinois has indicated, was in the nature of a communication which came from across the seas, or from that direction.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield further?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Can the Senator from New Hampshire enlighten us further as to the type of this assistance. Was it anything in the nature of munitions of war, that could be used in fighting this country?

Mr. BRIDGES. The principal item, I think, was oil-refining equipment for the refining of high-octane gasoline. As I understand, high-octane gasoline is used for planes, particularly fighting planes; and this, again, made the Committee on Appropriations suspicious, and has made us very firm, to date, in our refusal to take action in any way which would release these lend-lease goods to Russia.

Let me point out to the Senator that I supported lend-lease. I think it performed a real service during the war. But when I supported it, I was under the impression that it would end with the cessation of hostilities, with the termination of the war. But in spite of that it was continued. It necessitated last year action by the Congress of the United States, originating in the Committee on Appropriations, to prohibit further lend-lease supplies going across after December 31, 1946. Mind you, that was about a year and a half after the war was over, and the sending of supplies was still continuing. So we had to pass that legislation at that time, to prohibit it after December 31, 1946.

In spite of the war being over, in spite of the intent of lend-lease being ended, in spite of Congress taking affirmative action prohibiting further sending of lend-lease after December 31 of last year, the State Department still insisted, and is still insisting, on sending millions of dollars worth of lend-lease supplies to Russia, and is at the moment, so far as I know, demanding that that be done.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I desire to address a question to the Senator from New Hampshire, the able chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. Where is this refinery for high octane gas and where are the materials which the State Department seeks to have sent to Russia?

Mr. BRIDGES. They are still in this country, and still in the hands of the contractor, or the person with whom the contract was made, according to my understanding.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I wish to say that it is most revealing and most shocking that the State Department of this Government would seek at this time to have sent to Russia materials for the manufacture of airplane gasoline, when the very purpose expressed in the pending and proposed legislation is to stop the spread of communism into the lower countries of Europe, which means to stop Russia. It is utterly irreconcilable that any department of this Government should appear before one committee of the Senate and ask that materials be sent into Russia for the manufacture of high-octane gasoline with which to operate their planes, and then appear before another committee of the Senate and ask that steps be taken and money be advanced to prevent the spread of communism by Russia. It is not understandable.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I am amazed, in listening to this discussion, to hear the reference that is made, first, to the \$11,000,000,000 lend-lease which was given by this country to Russia to make her allegedly a mighty military power, and now to have Members of this body surprised that the State Department is still requesting that \$25,000,000 of supplies, at the tail end of the lend-lease program, be made available to Russia. How many Members of the Senate know that since VJ-day \$233,000,000 have been made available to Russia under the lend-lease program? It came to my attention a few weeks ago that shipments aggregating millions of dollars were still going to Russia under a program which was represented as being a war aid. I directed a letter to the Administrator of the Lend-Lease Administration a few weeks ago—I regret I do not have the letter with me; it is in my office at this time—in reply to which I was notified that \$233,000,000 worth of lend-lease goods had been shipped to Russia since VJ-day.

What I want to know, and I ask my good friend from Illinois the question, is why the State Department does not give us sufficient information so that Senators, as representatives of the people, may be in position to determine accurately whether the President and the State Department are intent upon building Russia into a still greater military power. Now, almost 2 years after VJ-day, do we in fact intend, in line with other representations which are being made, to determine, through the United Nations or in some other way, whether Russia is going to collaborate with the

United States and other peace-loving nations to restore peace and maintain peace, or are we going to make a mockery out of the objectives for which millions of young Americans fought in World War II?

Can the Senator advise us on that point and tell us what information is available which will enable us to determine which way our foreign policy is being directed at this particular time?

Mr. BROOKS. I would say to the Senator that the only information I have is that which has come to me through the answers submitted by the Department of State to the questions propounded by Senators, plus other statements made by the Department. But I pointed out the inconsistency of the State Department asking us now to appropriate money for a loan, so-called, and to send military missions to stop the expansion of communism on the border of Russia, and asking the Committee on Appropriations, as they did a short time ago, to permit the shipment to Russia of \$25,000,000 worth of supplies and lend-lease goods, represented in part by a high-octane-gas plant which would help them destroy, faster than we could furnish the supplies, the things which were built up in the other country. I think there has been a very great inconsistency, and I think the greatest inconsistency is what we are proposing to do now. We are starting out again to furnish American arms to meet American arms already there, and we shall probably face them again, in due course of time, all over the world.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I gladly yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. This discussion has reached a point of revelation that ought to be made known to all the people of the country. From the statements which have been made to the Senate on the pending issue it appears that, on the one hand, the Government has been sending millions of dollars into Russia to equip her and at the same time has been seeking permission, through a committee of the Senate, to send other equipment, while, on the other hand, it is proposing to embark on a course designed, as it is said, to stop the spread of communism by sending money and military personnel to other nations.

Reference was made a few minutes ago to supplies going into Russia under lend-lease. I wonder if the able Senator from Illinois will permit me to address a question to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, as to the aid which has gone into Russia since the end of the war through UNRRA.

Mr. BROOKS. Yes; I am glad to yield for a question.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I ask that question.

Mr. BRIDGES. It is my understanding that UNRRA shipments, of which as the distinguished Senator from West Virginia knows, we furnish about 72 percent, are still continuing. The supplies are being bought in this country at this time, even though UNRRA, in theory, has expired. We still have in process of

accumulation and in the process of shipment to two of the states or countries of the Soviet Empire, namely, White Russia and the Ukraine, many tens of millions of dollars worth of American supplies, which are going through UNRRA to those two divisions of the Soviet Empire, and also to some of the Russian satellite countries. The State Department says that that is done in accordance with an international commitment; but I may point out that if it were desired to stop carrying water on both shoulders and be consistent, we always have the control, through export licenses, of whether or not goods can be shipped from this country. We have the power and the right to control the shipment of goods to both divisions of the Russian Empire, and to Russian satellite countries such as Yugoslavia, that is at the present time so violently hostile to the United States.

Mr. BROOKS. Furthermore, reference to the answers submitted by the Department of State to questions shows that that was one of the questions which was asked. Question 71 was this:

Question. How much money has the American Government contributed through various sources to the Government of Yugoslavia in the past 3 years?

The answer is rather unusual. I might say, in many respects it is a very typical State Department answer:

Answer. Yugoslavia has received \$32,000,000 of lend-lease aid since July 1942—

As I understand, what we are worried about is the march of communism from Yugoslavia into Greece. That is the movement we want to stop.

Yugoslavia has received \$32,000,000 of lend-lease aid since July 1942, of which \$39,000 has been received since September 1945.

Note these words:

Data for the period of the last 3 years are not readily available. The United States share of UNRRA's contribution to the Yugoslavia relief program was \$312,000,000.

We have already poured \$312,000,000 through UNRRA. I objected at the time, to having their own Communist agents administering our millions of dollars. Now we have got to send missions and money to stop the Communists, because they are going into Greece; but we gave them \$312,000,000 in relief. We gave them \$32,000,000 of lend-lease since July 1942, but data for the period of the last 3 years are not readily available.

The \$312,000,000 is exclusive of freight.

Based on 72 percent of the total contribution, all of which was furnished in the past 3 years.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield to the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In reference to distribution under UNRRA, during the month of April, it so happened that on yesterday I received an answer to a letter which I wrote to UNRRA, asking for the distribution at this time. I have the schedule here, as of April 1, and I

should like to read it. Possibly it might clear up some of the questions as to what we are planning to do during the month of April by way of UNRRA shipments. I may say that 80 percent of our shipments, even today, are going to Russia and to Russian-controlled countries. The shipments are being loaded in New York now. That was verified yesterday by UNRRA.

To Austria, which is Russian-controlled, we are shipping \$4,083,810, during the current month. To Bylo-Russia, which is merely a Russian province, there has been allocated \$607,000; to Czechoslovakia, \$5,281,550. Poland is scheduled to get \$14,437,800. The Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic is getting \$1,880,500. Yugoslavia is given \$21,027,600. Those shipments are in the process of being loaded at this particular time.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Appropriations a question, if the Senator from Illinois will yield for a moment. What type of equipment is Russia buying at this time, through what we call lend-lease or the extension loans that they have now obtained from the United States?

Mr. BRIDGES. A large part of what they are buying, as I said, is oil refining equipment; and then there is other equipment of a varied nature. I do not have the figures. I have them in the Appropriations Committee, but I do not have them on the floor of the Senate so as to give the details. But the equipment is miscellaneous.

Mr. WHERRY. Does the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee remember the number of trucks we have sent to Russia?

Mr. BRIDGES. Does the Senator mean during the whole period?

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; during the whole period.

Mr. BRIDGES. I think the number of trucks sent was about 111,000.

Mr. WHERRY. If the Senator will look up the figures, I think he will find that the number is far greater than that.

Mr. BRIDGES. I am sure it is.

Mr. WHERRY. It is more nearly 300,000 vehicles.

Mr. BRIDGES. Yes; the Senator from Nebraska is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. I think the number stated by the Senator from New Hampshire is the number sent to Russia since we thought lend-lease was terminated.

Mr. BRIDGES. That is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. It is my opinion, Mr. President, that it is necessary that we know the type of equipment that is going into Russia. I am informed that Russia is one of the countries which has been the recipient of a great number of box cars and of other railroad equipment. It seems to me from what the distinguished Senator from Illinois has pointed out and from the observations made by the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire, that we should find out of what the equipment sent to Russia consists;

and whether or not Russia is paying for it? Is Russia paying cash for it? Are we to be paid for it in the end? Are we continuing the policy of sending Russia equipment which is vital to her in order to pursue an expansionist policy, on the one hand, and on the other hand, are we proposing to stop Russia's expansionist policy through furnishing aid to Greece and Turkey? I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee if he can answer that question.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I do not have the figures with me. I can secure them, and shall do so.

The Senator from Nebraska is correct in saying that more than 300,000 vehicles were furnished to Russia. When I gave the smaller figure I was referring to the period after the war ended.

Mr. President, the point I want to make is that I am personally sympathetic to stopping the spread of communism over the world, and I feel that the area of Turkey and Greece is a strategic area. But to me it is almost inconceivable that the same administration which asks Congress loyally to support the proposal for aid to Greece and Turkey at the same time is furnishing aid to Russia and Russian satellite countries. To me, such a procedure is the height of inconsistency. I simply cannot understand it. It represents the weakness of our whole policy.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield to me for a question?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. REVERCOMB. The Senator from Nebraska in his question spoke of supplies being sent into Russia and Russian-dominated countries at this time by our own country under lend-lease. The Senator spoke of boxcars and of trucks and other vehicles being sent to Russia. Let me say to the able Senator that millions upon millions of dollars worth of equipment has been sent into those countries under UNRRA. I think I am correct in saying that most Senators believed when they voted the appropriation for UNRRA that they were voting to provide food and clothing and shelter for needy and distressed people. But let me say to the Senator that UNRRA not only has sent food and clothing, but thousands of railroad cars, coal cars, boxcars, and other equipment which is needed in this country. Within the last 2 months I myself saw in the yards at Newark, N. J., new locomotives awaiting shipment abroad, with "UNRRA" written on them. So when I see such materials being channeled to countries whose expansionist program we now say we want to stop, I say most earnestly that it is the most distorted administration of the purposes for which UNRRA was set up that can be imagined. The abuses under UNRRA are terrible to think of.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Does the distinguished Senator from Illinois have any information as to how many occupied countries have been cleaned out of heavy industrial materials, such as industrial plants which, in the case of countries now con-

trolled by Russia have been moved to Russia? I refer to countries such as Germany and Manchuria, to which a good portion of the repair parts and equipment were sent by this country in the first place. Does the Senator know whether most of the heavy equipment in those occupied countries has been removed to Russia?

Mr. BROOKS. I do not know, and I do not think anyone knows. We cannot know what goes on behind the iron curtain. We helped the Russians advance into the space which they now occupy. We permitted them to move into Berlin by waiting so they could move in there first. Wherever Russian armies moved in they took out heavy equipment and machinery. So the only supposition that can be drawn from that is that wherever they are they have appropriated unto their own use materials which were useful to them, regardless of whether we in the first place sent the materials to the people of the occupied countries in all good conscience as relief or for their assistance. Russia takes such material to her own use.

What I am now saying is that the same department of our Government which has followed the inconsistent program of furnishing material which was then taken by Russia for her own use, wants to determine how the aid now proposed to be furnished shall be handled. It is proposed that we shall trust them, until some day we will find ourselves again in the middle of a stream. We cannot change horses in the middle of that stream, and will again find ourselves engaged in a war. We cannot direct events except to fight wherever we can obtain a foothold at such a time.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Is it not a fact that is generally conceded, and do not newspaper reports indicate—at least all the reports to which I have had access indicate—that the movement of heavy industries to Russia is on? Is it not conceded that such industries have been removed from Germany and the other areas occupied by Russia; that heavy machinery has been taken out of Korea and Manchuria, and other areas occupied by Russia and moved into Russia? Is not that common knowledge?

Mr. BROOKS. It is my understanding that it is common knowledge.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am rising at the moment only to keep the record straight in respect to one or two matters which have drifted into the debate. I am not rising in any aspect to challenge the able address made by the Senator from Illinois, whose courage and candor in this matter I totally respect. Some references, however, were made both by the able Senator from Colorado and by some of the questions since intervening, which evidently refer back to the statement I made regarding the fact that Congress does not find itself totally a free agent in making a decision of the character which here impends after the President of the United States has made a recommendation. I want to revert to that phase of the matter because I want to be very sure no

one misunderstands either me or the situation which Senators confront, whether they like it or not.

I have never for an instant challenged the fact that every Senator has a complete right and duty to face the facts in this situation precisely as the able Senator from Illinois has faced them from his point of view. I have no challenge to the exercise of that right whatsoever—so long as it is exercised in this country, I might add. I am not interested in itinerant saboteurs. What I submitted to the Senate, Mr. President, and I am sure that Senators upon reflections will remember it, was that among the factors which we cannot escape considering is the price of non-compliance with the Presidential recommendation. That is the extent to which I have injected this argument into the debate.

We must weigh the price of noncompliance against the price of compliance as one of the factors in making up our independent minds. I am not, I repeat, challenging for an instant the right and the duty of every Senator to make his decision pursuant to his own conscience and judgment in the face of the facts as he weighs them. The only thing I submit is that among the facts which must be weighed is the price of noncompliance with the general purpose to which the President of the United States has addressed himself.

The President of the United States has undertaken to say that this Republic of ours stands in this world against the overthrow of independent government either by sabotage from within or assault from without. He has expressed a great fundamental principle to which American idealism has been attached since the days of the Declaration of Independence.

When I addressed the Senate upon this subject, I was totally frank with the Senate in respect to it, and I laid perfectly candidly upon the line the fact that this is a fundamental disagreement between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, involved, not only at this point in Greece and Turkey, but involved in every aspect of our international relations. It is involved in every decision which has to be made in the United Nations. It is involved in every decision which General MacArthur has to make in distant Japan. It is involved in every decision which has to be made in the occupied zones in Germany. Fundamentally, as I stated when I presented this case in the first instance, we confront a deadlock between the viewpoints of the Soviet Union and those of the Government of the United States.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Not until I have finished this statement, and then I shall be very glad to yield.

In dealing with the Soviet problem, I assert that it has been our experience for the past year and a half that the hope for peaceful agreement rests and depends largely upon whether we can make it plain to the governing authorities in Moscow that there is a deadline of ideals beyond which we will not retreat.

I agree that this is a guessing contest for everyone. It is my opinion, for whatever it may be worth, that there is a chance for the Soviet Union and the United States of America to find a basis upon which they can live and let live in the world, and in that fashion avoid the conflict which neither nation wants any part of—and, least of all, the Senator who now speaks.

I know of no way that we can hope successfully to approach even the perimeter of that sort of an agreement, except as we make it perfectly plain that the United States says what it means and means what it says, and that no policy of appeasement of any aggressive government on the face of this earth is a part of our program. I have submitted to the Senate that when the President of the United States takes a courageous, constructive, dedicated position in respect to that objective, among the factors which Senators must weigh when they vote upon this bill is what the price of noncompliance is, what the price is of notifying the Politbureau in Moscow that this Government is divided at home and that all they have to do is wait for us to fall apart.

That is not a conclusive factor. I go back to the point where I started. I say that the Senator from Illinois and all like him confront the duty of doing precisely what he has done in presenting his own honest views. I have never even intimated that Senators should subordinate their viewpoint to that of the Executive. But I say again that, whether we like it or not, we cannot escape the fact that in making up our minds as to what our duty is, the cost of noncompliance with this particular kind of a Presidential recommendation is one of the things which we cannot escape.

If the Senator from Nevada wishes to interrupt me on that point, I am very glad to yield to him.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator be kind enough to give us some idea of what he considers the price to be?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am afraid I do not understand the Senator's question. If he will make it a little plainer I shall try to answer to the best of my ability.

Mr. MALONE. I shall be glad to do so. The Senator says that we must consider the price of noncompliance. What is the price?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Every Senator will have to weigh that decision for himself. I am not the keeper of the conscience of any Senator except myself.

Mr. MALONE. May we have the benefit of the Senator's advice?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In his original presentation of this subject, the Senator from Michigan stated as frankly as he knew how to state, that in his opinion—and I dislike to repeat this because it may seem that I am attempting to force Presidential duress upon Senators; but the Senator asked me what I thought. I believe that if the Congress should fail to uphold the hand of the President of the United States in respect to this general challenge—omitting details upon which, obviously, we have a right to be consulted—there would never be another opportunity for us pacifically to impress

the next aggressor with any degree of success.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. What is the Senator's opinion as to the alternative?

Mr. VANDENBERG. What is the alternative to which the Senator refers?

Mr. MALONE. What is the alternative if everything happens which the Senator outlines—if we do not go along with this loan, and admit that we are divided at home, which we are?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In my opinion we shall have sacrificed the moral and spiritual leadership of the world; and from that point on, since we should have encouraged aggressors to believe that they could proceed with immunity, regardless of us, the Senator will have to draw upon his own imagination as to what would happen.

I have previously tried to express the thought that no one has any remote right to discuss this subject dogmatically. No man has a right to say, "I know the answer." No Senator knows the answer. The President of the United States does not know the answer. This is one of those situations, in these restless, impatient times, in which the only choice we have in connection with this problem and many others is the choice of a calculated risk.

We never have an opportunity to do as free agents precisely as we would like to do; and the Senator, like all other Senators, will have to take his own calculated risks, subject to the factors involved.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Does this calculated risk involve war with Russia?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am not prepared to discuss the question of war with Russia, even though it be involved in the calculations of some of those who survey this plan. I do not think it is necessary to talk about war with Russia, provided we can proceed with a united country to impress the Soviet Government with the fact that we propose to be absolutely, scrupulously fair to them, that we are prepared to guarantee their legitimate borders for the next 40 years against any aggression; and if we make it completely and scrupulously plain that we do not have one single aggressive motive against Russia. I am unable to believe if we can make our own position clear and immutable it is necessary to talk about war.

I may be wrong, and I repeat that no man dares to be dogmatic upon this subject, but in my view this bill looks in the direction of peace instead of in the direction of war. Otherwise, I could not support it.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MALONE. Will the distinguished Senator from Michigan give us his opinion, for the benefit of some of us, as to whether we in effect are laying the gauntlet down to Russia, and whether if she picks it up we are in war.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator has three "ifs" in that question.

Mr. MALONE. I will take all of them out. Are we in war if Russia decides we are wrong in fixing her boundaries?

Mr. VANDENBERG. We are in war at any time Russia decides she wishes to go to war. In my opinion, the last thing on earth that Russia wishes to do is to go to war, precisely as the last thing on earth we wish to do is to go to war.

Mr. MALONE. Are we in war if Russia takes up the challenge?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That depends entirely on what the Senator means by taking up the challenge.

Mr. MALONE. Suppose she does not stop in Greece, but keeps on coming. Are we in war if we permit this action to be taken?

Mr. VANDENBERG. We are not in war unless and until the Soviet Government decides to go to war. On that subject I have no prophecy to offer, except that I am totally of the opinion that war is unnecessary, that it is futile, provided we can lay down specifications which are clear and sure for both nations.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MALONE. If Russia, however, continues to come, shall we back up or go to war once we are there?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The trouble with the Senator's questions is that his terms require definition.

Mr. MALONE. I shall define them if the Senator will tell me what he does not understand with reference to them.

Mr. VANDENBERG. If the Senator means, if Russia starts to blow us up are we in war? the answer is "Yes."

Mr. MALONE. I do not mean that. But if we give Greece \$400,000,000, a few soldiers, and material, if Russia continues to come across Greece, what is the next move? Are we in war in order to stop her? Is that part of my question plain?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the first place, when we go to Greece we have gone on a mission which is designed for the purpose of making Greece itself self-sufficient in maintaining lawful peace.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Just a moment. There is no Russian offensive as such against Greece. It is a communistic infiltration—and all of this is a matter of argument—from surrounding satellite countries. The question of who is to blame for what happened on the Greek border is one of the things which the United Nations itself will shortly decide. In my opinion, when that decision is made, unless the Soviets intervene with a veto, there will be established a border commission of the United Nations—and nothing in our plan would interfere with it at all—which will largely take over the responsibility of what happens on the border.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MALONE. Did I correctly understand the Senator to say that with \$400,000,000 and a few soldiers Greece can stop Russia?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly not, if Russia wants to invade Greece.

Mr. MALONE. It seems to me that my original question is still pertinent. What shall we do if Russia continues her travel through Europe which she have already started?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot answer the Senator's question.

Mr. MALONE. Shall we back down in Greece?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I cannot answer the Senator's question, because questions of that magnitude and that awful impact will have to be answered as the situation requires when the time comes. I might as easily ask the Senator, What shall we do if we allow Greece to collapse, if we allow Turkey to collapse, and if a chain reaction sets in which produces a Communist-dominated world from the Dardanelles to the China Sea and westward to the Atlantic Ocean, and we find ourselves substantially encircled a few years hence by a communistic world? I might ask the Senator, What shall we do under those circumstances? I should not expect the Senator to answer the question, because no man can answer it.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MALONE. I think that should be considered. Did the President say that our move into Greece is to stop Russia or the Russian people? Is that what he meant?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not think he said it was to stop Russia. As to what he meant, he will have to say for himself.

Mr. MALONE. What did he say?

Mr. VANDENBERG. He clearly indicated that the purpose was to stop aggression and to defend the right of independent self-government in those two key places of the world.

Mr. MALONE. Then, does not that answer the question; that if Russia keeps coming we are in war?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Nevada will have to answer his own question, I repeat, just as every other Senator will have to answer the question for himself as to what will happen if we allow self-government to fail in Greece, if we allow independent government to fall in Turkey, whatever its character may be, and if we allow this chain reaction to set in, which can easily consume three-fourths of the world.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President—

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; but I do not want to spend all afternoon on the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like earnestly to make this reply to the Senator, that there are certainly very few facts in the report submitted by the Committee on Foreign Relations on the very things which some of us would like to know. I too want to preface my remarks, as the distinguished Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES] has, with the statement that I am open-minded on this subject. Certainly some of the questions being asked today should be asked of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am about to

come to them, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to ask a question, if the Senator will yield. Does the State Department have a foreign policy for every foreign country?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not know what the Senator's question means.

Mr. WHERRY. I can indicate what it means. In the United States News for February 7 Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, is quoted by the editor of that publication as stating that the State Department has a foreign policy for all foreign countries; that the policies are top secrets of the State Department and are known only to a few Army officers. Certainly the distinguished Senator from Michigan, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, ought to know if the Secretary of State has such a policy and blueprint and program. If he does, I should like to ask a second question: Can the Senator give us the facts as to how far the State Department wants to go? It is proposed that we start with Greece and Turkey. Are we to go from there to Korea, and from there back to Italy and then to France and then to Great Britain and then perhaps to Germany, and finally wind up in China? I think the Senator from Nevada asked a question which should be answered.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I am sure he did.

Mr. WHERRY. What is this foreign policy? Does the Senator from Michigan know it? If he does know it, why should not the Senate know it, if the Senate votes to provide this initial loan?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I should consider the question submitted by the able Senator from Nebraska totally incapable of being answered. This world is in a state of restless flux; we cannot tell what the headlines on the front page will be day after tomorrow. If the State Department was smart enough to be able to have in its library a chart to cover its policy for the next year with respect to every country on the earth, it would be a State Department entitled to a higher opinion than I have of it.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield briefly. I should like to proceed.

Mr. WHERRY. I shall be brief.

Does the State Department have the same policy in China that it has in continental Europe, relative to stopping communism? Is it a consistent policy?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, we could go off on 50 of these detours if we wished to do so. The Senator from Nebraska knows perfectly well that I have stated publicly that I have been highly critical of the State Department's policy heretofore in China, because it has looked toward the creation of a coalition with Communists, and in my opinion no Communist ever entered a coalition for any purpose except to destroy it. Therefore, in that aspect, I have not been in step with some phases of the China policy during the last year or two. Nevertheless, one of the greatest and ablest men of this Nation, gifted not only with a

military sense but with a high sense of statesmanship, has spent a year—one of the best years of his life—in China, trying to work out a policy for this Nation; and so far as I am concerned, I have been quite willing that he should have the opportunity to see whether it could be done.

Again, I say no man can be dogmatic as to what are the answers to these questions in these difficult times. As to China, the answer apparently is that General Marshall's errand did not succeed.

So far as I am concerned, I should think that the fulfillment of our great hopes in China rests upon the success with which Chiang Kai-shek can enlarge and liberalize his own national government, within which he has been able to assemble every political party in China except the armed Communists; and I should feel that in the case of China, as in the case of all other foreign nations, despite the characteristics of the Chinese Government—characteristics which we do not like, and which we would greatly prefer to change—our great hope in China, I say very frankly to the able Senator from Nebraska, would be for success for the generalissimo in enlarging and liberalizing his own Nationalist Government against the armed Communists.

What the policy of the State Department is I am unable to testify. There is a considerable amount of misunderstanding about the so-called bipartisan foreign policy in this country. I have tried to make that plain on several occasions. It is very narrowly channeled within very specific things; namely, the minor peace treaties in Europe and the activities of the United Nations.

I have never been consulted about the Chinese policy or the pan-American policy or many other policies, and I am not in a position to be an expert witness for the Senator from Nebraska. My information probably is a little more intimate than that of other Senators; but speaking generally, the facts are as I have indicated.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield there?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. In the interest of accuracy, and to do credit to General Marshall, it is true, is it not, that when he returned from China, before he later went back to China, he appeared before the Foreign Relations Committee and made a full disclosure of what he had been doing and what he hoped to do?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Oh, yes.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for a minute?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I trust that the distinguished Senator from Michigan will not become impatient with me or with some other Senators who are asking questions.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hope I did not indicate any impatience.

Mr. WHERRY. I really feel that in the last hour I have learned more about these matters than I have learned at any other time during the Eightieth Congress.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Nebraska is welcome to any information I have.

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly, and we are seeking information. I hope the Senator will take these questions in that light—namely, that those of us who are asking questions are not in any way attempting to disrupt the program. On the other hand, I think we have an entire right to have the full light of every fact that is available.

Personally, I could not understand the policy in China. I do not understand it today. I certainly think it has been an inconsistent policy, and I should like to know more about it.

I cannot understand the policy in South America. Here we are going to stop communism abroad, and yet under Mr. Braden we went into Argentina and used the embassy as the seat of communism in an election in which we intervened. I cannot understand that policy, and I think we have a right to know what the policy is going to be; and I think we also have a right to know the amount of money which will be used for the purpose of the pending bill. Certainly, if it is going to run into billions of dollars, a time will come when it will not be a question of whether we want to take the moral and spiritual leadership; for if the United States becomes bankrupt and insolvent there will be no chance for America to give the kind of leadership that is now contemplated.

There is nothing in the report to indicate what we might be led into if the eventualities which have been suggested by the distinguished Senator from Nevada should come to pass.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the first part of the Senator's last interruption I can cordially welcome. So far as I am concerned, I have gone to extreme lengths in endeavoring to provide the Senate with information, as the questionnaire which is on the desks of Senators clearly shows. I hope I have demonstrated no impatience in undertaking to answer factual questions.

So far as the Senator's later expressed view is concerned, I can only say that, again, that is a matter of opinion, and the Senator is entitled to his opinion.

But when he complains that the report of the committee does not draw a blueprint which answers every question which can arise day after tomorrow in this distraught earth, when no man knows for 20 minutes at a time what is going to happen, the Senator from Nebraska is asking something totally unreasonable, from my point of view.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, has the Senator finished?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Finished what?

Mr. PEPPER. Has the Senator from Michigan finished his reply to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. VANDENBERG. One never finishes replying to the Senator from Nebraska. [Laughter.]

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Michigan probably will.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, unless the Senator from Nebraska desires to make further inquiries at this time, I ask the Senator from Michigan to yield to me.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I was going to ask the distinguished Senator whether he thinks

that what prompted the able Senator from Nebraska to ask his questions was perhaps a dilemma in which some Senators may find themselves as to whether we should regard the President's recommendation as indicating a general policy, or whether we should regard it in the light of what the State Department might regard as an incident or event somewhat localized in character. Does the Senator think there might be some justification for the belief that the President made it clear that he was speaking about a policy?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I think that is a fair question. I think the President's message defined what is being done in terms of a doctrine, a little more definitely than I interpret the situation, as I undertook to make plain when I presented the plan from the Foreign Relations Committee. To me it is a plan; it is a part of a pattern, and as such is to be distinguished from a policy. I would not want to disguise any phase of this matter, because of all the things I believe in one of the most important is that the country should be candidly dealt with in a question of this nature. I agree to that completely. The American people are not children; they do not wish to be fooled; they want the facts and the truth.

As I tried to say when I presented the matter more formally a few days ago, it would be silly to attempt to ignore the implications which are involved in this plan and pattern. To what extent and in what direction it ultimately expresses itself, the Senator from Florida can guess as well as I can. I only submit that in making that sort of a guess we must parallel it with a guess as to what may happen if we do not do what the President recommends.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. In furtherance of the policy indicated by the President, which possibly the Senator from Nebraska and others of us have in mind, in the first place is the fact that the President appeared personally before a joint session of the Congress, rather than requesting aid in the way of an ordinary routine message; in the second place, the President started right off:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The next line of the President's message is:

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

Then at a later place in the President's message, on page 4 as it is printed, the President said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

From those words I think anyone would undoubtedly be justified in assuming that the Congress was asked to pass on a momentous matter, that we were asked by the President to approve a policy rather than a condition, for the reasons stated by the President in his message.

If it is a policy, it is a fair inquiry as to what is the implication of the policy, what is its significance? If it is merely an incident, if it is only a particular situation, then we can more adequately estimate what it will cost, and it is a matter of limited implication and significance.

Of course, none of us can control what is said in the press, but when we find men like Walter Lippman, and other eminent columnists, discussing this as a "policy," and when we find it in the press of the country, in the comments of the country, compared by responsible people with the Monroe Doctrine, then would not the Senator think in all fairness that there was some justification for the feeling that we are here about to make a momentous decision, and that it is one of the utmost gravity to the Nation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I agree completely with the Senator that there is justification for the deepest searching of souls I have known of in the 19 years I have been a member of this body, because unquestionably we here assume a position of fidelity in respect to our ideals to a degree which heretofore has never been so plainly stated.

What we stand for may be a matter of argument, but I am unable to believe that we do not all stand for the righteousness of independent liberties to which the President fundamentally addressed himself. I am very sure the Senator from Florida does.

What that involves for day after tomorrow, I can only repeat, depends upon day after tomorrow. I sometimes wonder if the Great Architect of the Universe himself knows what is going to happen day after tomorrow. Certainly no Senator upon this floor does.

I cannot answer questions based upon hypotheses which are put together out of the utterly ruthless factors which are at large in this world upon the one hand, and the utterly desperate factors of famine and want and subjugation which are involved on the other.

Mr. PEPPER. I should like to interject, if the Senator will allow me, that what he has said is characteristic of his approach all the way through this matter, and I wish to commend him for it, and also to commend the President. The President did not quibble, he did not weasel, he did not try to evade. He laid the matter squarely before the Congress in a joint session, and the first sentence he used referred to the gravity of the situation. But by the same token candor bids me say that in my opinion the State Department has not been equally candid in its presentation of the matter. I feel that it is only fair that we understand that we are making here a decision which may be a matter of policy, or, to use the interesting figure of the able Senator from Michigan, a part of a pattern, I believe, rather than using the word "policy."

If I may drop to a detail—

Mr. VANDENBERG. Before the Senator leaves that point, I should like to say a word.

Mr. PEPPER. Very well.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What the Senator says is substantially true. I decline to gloss over any phase or factor

of the problem with which we are confronted. When I presented the matter I said that there must be no soft illusions about what we do. I must constantly add that there are no soft illusions as to what happens to us when we confront the Soviet Union, in one controversy after another, utterly unable to make any progress in behalf of fundamental rights and human freedoms.

If one is looking for the larger implications, consideration with me is whether or not it is possible to make real progress by a program of absolute candor in dealing with Moscow, candor not only in assuring Russia that we do not have an iota of conquest against her in our souls, candor, on the other hand, that we do have in our souls a lot of iron in respect to our ideals. I am unable to believe, I repeat, that that is not the most hopeful approach to a pacific settlement instead of an approach which would notify the Politburo in Moscow that the Congress of the United States has divided with the President of the United States, that the people have divided behind them, and all in the world that Communist aggression has to do is to wait for us to collapse.

I yield to the Senator from Florida.

Mr. PEPPER. I think, again, the Senator has been just as fair and just as candid as an honest mind, well informed, could be.

Is it not also fair to infer, from what the Senator has said, that the provocation for this policy, or pattern, is the existing situation of the Soviet Union and this country, vis-à-vis; that this is not a relief bill for Greece, but relief for Greece is an incident which could be handled in several different ways; that the real significance of this pattern, this policy, we are asked to approve, is the belief of the President, and the belief of the State Department, and the belief of the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, that what is proposed is the right position for us to take vis-à-vis our relations in the world today with the Soviet Union?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator says this is not a relief bill for Greece, in fact.

Mr. PEPPER. I mean that relief is not the major element.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Exactly. In order to assess the justification for the Senator's statement, we shall have to define the word "relief."

Mr. PEPPER. I mean economic relief, if the Senator will allow.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Very well. Unfortunately, as the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate unanimously believes, economic relief for Greece by itself is futile and useless. It is simply a transient bounty, which will go down the drain the way the other bounties have gone, for the last 2 years, except as Greece can be assured of a lawful peace within which to develop her own institutions. So it seems to me that the word "relief" which the Senator used, in its larger sense, in the first instance, is the sense in which the word applies, and on that basis I think it is a relief measure.

Mr. PEPPER. Will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. Am I correct in inferring that the sense in which the Senator is now using the term "relief" would also be large enough to include the word "security"?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; I think so. The Senator from Michigan would not want to retreat a sixteenth of an inch from the feeling which he deeply has, that the security of the United States is involved in the creation of a world in which Communist aggression has stopped, on a pacific basis, if there is any human way to achieve that objective; and that is the effort in which the Senator from Michigan thinks he is engaged.

Mr. PEPPER. So, the Senator is honest and sincere in his belief, as was the President in his presentation, that this measure is necessary on the part of the United States, vis-à-vis its relationships with Russia as a world power, and vis-à-vis the spread and contagion of communism in the west.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes, I think so.

Mr. PEPPER. Now, if the Senator will let me drop down to a lesser detail, I do not recall that a statement has ever been made, either on the floor or in the committee, as to what was the amount of the British aid to the Turkish armed forces before that aid was withdrawn. Does the Senator happen to have that information?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not have it available at the moment.

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will yield further, it was my understanding that what precipitated primarily our proffer of aid for the armed forces of Greece was the withdrawal of such aid by the British nation; and I wondered how the amount that the British had been contributing compared with the amount that we propose to contribute in the next 15 months?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not have those figures at the moment.

Now, Mr. President—

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, before he enters upon another branch of the subject?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. There has been much speculation in this debate, and there have been many implications drawn as to what may or may not happen as a result of this contemplated program. In view of the fact that the debate has been proceeding on that premise, would the Senator care to make an observation with respect to the implication the leaders of Russia might make, in the event the pending bill providing for the Greek loan and the Turkish loan should be defeated by the Senate, so far as communism being advanced into the Balkan countries is concerned?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think I made a statement on that subject before the Senator came in, but I am very glad to answer it again, and categorically. It is the fundamental point I had in mind when I said that while Senators are perfectly free agents to vote as they please on this issue, one of the factors they must consider is the price of noncompliance with the President's recommendation. Whether one likes it or not, he cannot escape the fact that that is one

of the things that must be put in the balances when conscience weighs its decision.

The Senator from Illinois is asking me what is the price of noncompliance, and I say to him, as I said before, that it seems to me, in view of the basic psychology which is constantly involved in relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union, in view of that controversial psychology, and in view of the record of the past 6 years, if divisive refusal to unify the Presidential and congressional voices should become apparent, it would be a straight notice to the Soviet Union in accordance with their old policy of waiting for us to surrender, either through our impatience or through our anxiety to do business at any price. In my opinion, the chance of ever getting another pacific agreement with Moscow would have disappeared for keeps.

Mr. LUCAS. I should like to ask the able Senator a further question? Does he agree with me that the refusal of the Senate to grant the Greco-Turkish loan would be almost tantamount to an invitation to Russia to spread the communistic doctrine in Greece and Turkey?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the answer is obviously yes.

Mr. LUCAS. Then, after that, let me say—

Mr. VANDENBERG. But before the Senator takes his next step, I remind him that when I presented this matter in the first instance, I dealt directly with that matter.

Mr. LUCAS. I regret that I was not present at the time.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I then asked a few questions. For instance, if you were a citizen of Athens and were on the rim of Communist invasion and subjugation; if under such circumstances your only hope was that held out by the message of the President of the United States, and if you heard that Congress had declined to join forces on any basis with the President of the United States, in his purpose, what would you do, as a citizen of Athens, except resign yourself to the inevitable?

What would you do if you were a citizen of Ankara, and had been paying a majority of your taxes for the purpose of maintaining an army of defense along your country's border line in connection with a war of nerves which had all but exhausted not only your nerves but your resources, and the President of the United States had said, "Something must be done to protect the integrity of this Turkish people"—what would you think if you were a citizen of Ankara under those circumstances, and the word came that the Congress of the United States had declined to proceed in the direction indicated by the President, namely, that the integrity of Turkey must be defended? What would you do except resign yourself to the inevitable?

And what would you do if you were a member of the Politburo in Moscow, if you got the word? What would you do? The question answers itself.

Mr. LUCAS. I totally agree with the Senator. It seems to me that what he has said in the last few moments touches the vital problem with which the Sen-

ate should concern itself. Favorable and prompt action on the pending bill is vital to the safety and security of our country. It is vital to the citizens of Greece and Turkey, as the Senator has so well expressed it. But, following that up, if the Senate does not uphold the hands of the President of the United States, I undertake to say that it will be an invitation to Russia to spread the doctrine of communism through the Balkan countries. What is then to be done? The able Senator from Nevada has been talking about war, saying this is a road to war with Russia. What are we then to do, after we shall have denied the President's request for a loan, so far as our own defenses are concerned? In my humble opinion we must retire into our own economic and political shell and begin preparing for a World War III some time in the future.

I understand and appreciate the risk we take in traveling on either road, but I am unable to believe, as the able Senator from Nevada indicated, that this is the road to war. I definitely think, if there is going to be any peace at all in this world, that what the President has requested the Senate of the United States to do is the primary road away from war. I am as sure as that I am standing here on the floor of the Senate that once communism spreads its ungodly influence throughout Europe and Asia and finally reaches the shores of South America, and we are totally encircled by it, some day soon we will wake up with another war in progress, and we will have a difficult time defending ourselves against the rest of the world under those circumstances.

Mr. McMAHON and Mr. WILSON addressed the Chair.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, before I yield further I desire to make an additional comment in view of the observation made by the able Senator from Illinois. I spoke about the reaction of the citizen of Athens and about the reaction of the citizen of Ankara. I am not primarily interested in those reactions because of my interest in Athens or in Ankara. I am interested in them because it seems to me that if they are what they inevitably must be in the event of the failure of this program, immediately Communist aggression, subjugation, and conquest have been extended to two key points in the world's geography and the chain reaction is almost as surely as anything in this word to extend from the Dardanelles to the China Sea, and, I repeat, westward to the Atlantic. I am interested in what the citizen of Athens and the citizen of Ankara think because of the effect of their thinking upon the security of my own United States. I think everything we do should stem from an understanding of our own intelligent self-interest.

I now yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I should like to make a comment. The Senator was asked as to what he thought the price of noncompliance would be if we failed to vote this loan. The Senator will recollect that, within perhaps 48 hours after the President made this rec-

ommendation, I commented to him to the effect that I did not know about the outcome of our efforts at Lake Success to bring about effective control of atomic energy, but I felt certain in my bones that if we did not go forward and uphold the President's hand in this situation, we would find that we would positively make no progress in those negotiations, which I for one look on as the basis of keeping the peace. I say to the Senator that if we were to retreat and defeat this loan we would see an immediate closing of those negotiations, which may be closed without success, and which may result in an atomic war. But we have at least got a chance of fair success if we tell Russia that we intend to uphold the President's hand, as the Senator has pointed out that we must.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I am glad the Senator from Connecticut made that observation. A few moments ago I indicated, I think in response to the able Senator from Florida, that while we are here dealing specifically with only one segment of a problem, and that is all that is involved at this particular point, nevertheless there is a general pattern due to the fact that we find ourselves in this same type of collision and controversy in almost every forum on earth wherever the Soviet Union and the United States of America confront each other.

In giving some examples at that time I neglected to refer to the problem of atomic energy. I am grateful to the Senator from Connecticut for reminding me of it, because that is the overriding exhibit of all, which clearly demonstrates that we must go to everlasting lengths not only in preserving our own atomic secret but in endeavoring to find a common denominator on this earth whereby not only the United States but also the Soviet Union can join in outlawing the use of fissionable material for destructive purposes. That is just one more of those dire necessities which challenge us not to meet the Soviet Union tomorrow afternoon with defiance, but to meet it in firm friendliness, making them understand, on the one hand that we do not pose one single conquest against them and that we have every purpose to help defend their legitimate rights and boundaries, and have offered a 40-year contract to do it, but making them understand, on the other hand, that the price of an agreement in this world in which communism and free enterprise can live and let live is an acknowledgment of the fact that the United States of America stands for some human rights and fundamental principles which are too priceless to be surrendered. Except as that consciousness can be driven into the Moscow mind we cannot hope for the agreement for which I am pleading.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WILSON. I wish to ask a question in order to clarify the situation in my own mind. I find on page 3 of the bill, subsection (3), this language:

by detailing a limited number of members of the military service of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only.

The total appropriation for Greece is \$300,000,000, is it not?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; \$150,000,000 of it for military supplies.

Mr. WILSON. Does the Senator feel that that is a limited amount?

Mr. VANDENBERG. That it is what?

Mr. WILSON. That one-half of the total amount which is to be devoted to military supplies represents a limited amount of such supplies?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes; because the fundamental need in Greece, according to every testimony we received, is the creation of lawful peace within which Greece can rehabilitate herself, and there is reasonable hope that if lawful peace is established in Greece, Greece can rebuild herself with the resources which she now possesses, and those which are to be made available to her not only here, but in a subsequent relief bill.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WILSON. I know that what the Senator told me is the hope and the ambition of many, but can the Senator tell me where in the report of the Foreign Relations Committee we can find anything to substantiate his opinion?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, we are right back to the same thing we discussed for an hour earlier in the day, if I may say so with deference to the Senator. No man can be dogmatic on this subject. I may be as wrong as I can be—

Mr. WILSON. Oh, no—

Mr. VANDENBERG. But this is a world in flux. There is no blueprint for it after tomorrow.

My hope may not be justified, but in my opinion it is justified. That is all there is to it.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WILSON. I am sorry I nettled the distinguished Senator from Michigan. I was simply asking for information. I think the people would like to have the information.

Mr. VANDENBERG. So would I.

Mr. WILSON. Why did not the Senator, then, instead of making a speech in answer to my question, say he did not know? I am asking for information. I think the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee ought to say either "Yes" or "No." I asked only for one thing. God knows, I want to do right.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What is the Senator's question?

Mr. WILSON. I am afraid to repeat it, because the distinguished Senator from Michigan did not understand it to begin with. I wanted him to tell me where in the report of the committee I can find the things to justify the statements he has made.

Mr. VANDENBERG. All I can say to my able friend from Iowa is that I think he will find throughout the committee report the answer to his question, insofar as an answer is possible. What I tried to say previously to the Senator was that I did not think there was any answer to the Senator's question.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. A moment ago the Senator said that it was impossible to form a coalition government with the Communist Party in any nation. My question is this: The United Nations is in effect a coalition government. We cannot take the Communists into a coalition government because, as the Senator said, if we take them into it they will try to destroy it. The only reason they would come in would be to sabotage and destroy it. Is that a basis for lack of confidence in the United Nations, because the Soviet Union is part of a world coalition government?

Mr. VANDENBERG. In the first place, I do not think there is a lack of confidence in the United Nations today. On the contrary, I should say that during the past 3 weeks the response which has come to the President's program has indicated a greater degree of confidence in the United Nations than I had ever supposed existed. In fact, I have found the United Nations embraced and glorified upon many occasions during the past 3 weeks by those who heretofore have had no use whatever for it. So I cannot accept the Senator's premise that there is a lack of confidence in the United Nations.

I shall try to answer the remainder of the Senator's question, which I think is a fair question. Frankly, the United Nations is not a government. It was not intended to be a government. It totally lacks the characteristics of a government.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. What is it, then?

Mr. VANDENBERG. It is an association of nations for a given set of purposes, those purposes being to sustain and further international peace and security, human rights, and fundamental freedoms. In the operation of the United Nations one of the functional difficulties which is constantly developing question marks in the popular mind, to which the Senator refers, is the Soviet use of the veto. So, in a degree, the thing to which I referred applies even to our relationships in the United Nations.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Why was there so much talk about surrendering sovereignty to the United Nations if the United Nations is not a government, and if it has none of the qualifications or qualities of a government?

Mr. VANDENBERG. There was no surrender of sovereignty except on a voluntary basis. I do not think there is any surrender of sovereignty in the United Nations.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I had understood—and I think the President so stated—that the proposed aid to Greece was for the purpose of helping a free people. Does the Senator suggest for one moment that the Greeks are a free people?

Mr. VANDENBERG. The present Government of Greece, according to approximately 600 American observers, was chosen in an absolutely free election. To that extent I should say that it has credentials of popular support exceeding those of some other governments we might mention. Whether that election

was preceded by terrorism on one side or the other which affected the result and caused certain factions from voting, I am unable to say. But certainly the monarchy is not a democracy in any such sense as we use the word, if that is what the Senator means.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. That was the point I was about to suggest. Greece is a monarchy. In no particular is it a republic or a democracy.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is quite correct. Greece is a monarchy. It is a self-chosen monarchy, at least on the record, and according to substantial testimony supporting the procedure which produced it. The fact remains that Greece is still an independent nation; and it is the independence of Greece, rather than the democracy of Greece, which is the *sine qua non* in this situation.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. The able Senator has made a very good case for the obligation of this country to use its influence, and if necessary, its power, to preserve the independence and protect the security of Turkey and Greece. I assume the Senator would extend that principle to other nations and other peoples as well.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes. I would extend it completely to Soviet peoples.

Mr. PEPPER. And to other peoples as well.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Certainly.

Mr. PEPPER. I ask the Senator if he does not think it is an arguable question, about which there may be an honest difference of opinion, as to whether the method which is here proposed is the most desirable method for the United States to employ in the execution of such a policy and in the discharge of such an obligation?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have discovered that it is an arguable thesis.

Mr. PEPPER. The thing which I should like to have the Senator acknowledge is the fact that there may be some justification for difference of opinion on the subject.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me interrupt the Senator and say categorically "Yes." I repeat that no man has a right to be dogmatic on this subject.

Mr. PEPPER. That is characteristic of the fair attitude of the able Senator from Michigan.

There are two categories of action which might justify the concern of a great many people. One involves the question as to what we should do at an international conference, for example, where the question of the control of the Dardanelles is at issue, what we should do as a friend of Turkey if pressure were to be exerted against the security and independence of Turkey and we were called upon to express an opinion or take a position as a nation upon that question.

In quite another category is the question of what we should do, as an individual nation and as a member of the United Nations, if Turkey were attacked by Russia or any other nation. We might be called upon to go to the aid of other nations. It seems to me that the second category involves entirely differ-

ent tactics. In this case it is proposed that we start in the first instance by sending a military mission to Turkey and contributing \$100,000,000 in the next 15 months for the equipment, training, and maintenance of the Turkish Army in Turkey.

My point is this: Cannot the Senator see that Senators might conscientiously feel that we might well exhaust everything that could be done in the first category before resorting to a precedent which many consider dangerous, namely, for the first time sending a military mission to Turkey and putting up \$100,000,000 in 15 months, without knowing whether or not we shall have to put up more hereafter, to equip, train, and maintain a Turkish army in Turkey?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I recognize the difference in the categories to which the Senator refers. All I can do is to repeat what I said when I presented the report in the first instance. I think there is a crying, fundamental need for Washington and Moscow to confront each other with all the cards face-up on the table with respect to all the various points of divergence and controversy. Where I differ with the Senator is that I think the procedure to which we here commit ourselves, far from interfering with that sort of a show-down, infinitely encourages the kind of a result which ought to come from it if the result is to be of any advantage, because otherwise I fear the Politburo in Moscow would misunderstand, as it has so often in the past, the extent to which we tenaciously adhere to some of our ideals and some of our designs. I think one of the prerequisites to a successful contact of the sort I am discussing is an understanding in Moscow that the days when we signed on dotted lines at war conferences have gone. I am not saying that we should not have done so, though God knows that when a man signs on the dotted line in a war conference it involves the possible loss of millions of American lives, nevertheless we signed on dotted lines at conferences. But until it is perfectly clear that we are no longer signing on dotted lines my point is that I think even our friends in Moscow could not misunderstand the necessity which would be involved in the agreement for which I pray.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. But, Mr. President, have we not been hearing it said for at least a year that we had already adopted, through the State Department and with the able assistance of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, a get-tough policy with Russia; that we were standing up at international conferences; that we actually stood up, as it were, on the matter of the Dardanelles; that we had given notice to Russia that we would not acquiesce in her pressing for exclusive control of these countries, or even for control of the Black Sea powers and the Dardanelles; and have we not been sending battleships, or at least cruisers and destroyers, there which may be there now? And did we not send the carrier *Franklin D. Roosevelt* there and let the planes meet in the sky during the time of the Greek election; and have not all

those manifestations been made by us as a nation in the exercise of our own sovereignty to indicate that we were standing up for principles? Can we not in the United Nations, can we not in our international councils, and can we not as a nation in the discharge of our own obligations stand up for principle and for the security of these countries without resorting to the precedent of sending a military mission, which we have never done before, to Turkey, to train, equip, and maintain an army in Turkey, 4,000 miles from the United States of America?

That is the serious question with which many of us are troubled. Can we not accomplish it in some other way, without adopting this dangerous precedent which from now on will give the Soviet Union practical justification to do the same thing in any nation in the world, including South America, if she should choose to do so?

One last question to add to that. Suppose, Mr. President, that a little while ago, when Peron, the President of Argentina, was shouting against Yankee imperialism and contending against the United States in Argentina's domestic election, he had indicated that he was receiving Russian assistance; suppose Russia had sent a military mission over there and said, "We will send you some military equipment and will show you how to use it and we will provide \$100,000,000 for the next 15 months to maintain an Argentine Army to protect you in your fear against Yankee imperialism." What would we have said about that? If we do this, how can we say that Russia will be doing anything more wrong than we are doing if she does the same thing in some other nation of the world?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Is that the end of the question?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; that is the end.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President—

Mr. VANDENBERG. Wait a minute. I have the encyclopedia to answer first.

Mr. PEPPER. I do not know of a Webster's unabridged dictionary that would be more capable of responding to the question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The fundamental difference between the able Senator from Florida and myself in this particular situation in which we find ourselves is a very simple one. The Government of Greece has said to us, "Except as we can have your aid, not only your economic aid but your aid to strengthen our resources in the defense of lawful peace, except as we can have these things promptly, immediately, there is little or no hope for us to maintain our independence."

In my opinion, which evidently differs from that of the Senator from Florida, the downfall of Greece under existing circumstances would expand the satellite movement of communism to a point where it would outflank Turkey and inevitably produce the same result in Turkey; and having been produced in Turkey, in the opinion of the Senator from Michigan, it would be an almost irresistible chain reaction across areas of the

earth which would finally bring us into an exposure and a hazard which we had far better confront in its incipience at this point than to wait for its accumulation.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, before the Senator finishes—

Mr. VANDENBERG. I do not like to filibuster this bill, Mr. President. I rose about 2 hours ago to keep the record straight with respect to one or two things that had been said by previous speakers. My sincere feeling is that whatever the Senate intends to do about this matter, we ought to be about the business of doing it, because if our answer is "yes," the sooner the world knows that the answer is "yes," the less hazardous it will be for us. If our answer is "no," whatever chance Greece has to live to recoup in other directions will be the greater the sooner she has that answer. So I should like to proceed, if possible, with some progress on the bill itself this afternoon, and I am wondering whether as a reward for this rather prolonged catechism I could get a unanimous consent agreement to vote on the pending amendment in 10 minutes. I make that request, Mr. President.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I shall be glad to help the Senator all I can to reach an early disposition of the pending measure. I think we ought to dispose of it at the earliest possible time. But when the Senator says—quite good naturedly, of course, and I do not think he really meant it—that the time consumed in answering the questions which have been propounded is in the nature of a filibuster—

Mr. VANDENBERG. I did not say there was a filibuster.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Michigan said he did not want a filibuster.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The Senator said he did not want a filibuster, and therefore he did not want to answer any more questions.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hope the Senator will not take any of my sins unto himself.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I am not complaining. I simply want to observe that when there are so many questions the Senate has not finished its job yet. Until all the questions are resolved and until everyone is satisfied, I think the discussion should proceed. We speak of free speech in this body, and certainly we should go ahead with the discussion of this measure until all Members of the Senate have finished the debate and until all questions are answered.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Colorado does not complain of any efforts I have made to limit considerations; does he?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Oh, no; except the Senator from Michigan just asked unanimous consent that the Senate vote within ten minutes on the pending amendments. I thought he made that proposal jokingly, but then he followed it with what I thought was a serious request.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator from Colorado would not blame me for trying; would he?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No; but I was going to suggest to the Senator from Michigan that I myself would like to make a unanimous request that the Senate vote on this question at 5 o'clock on Monday.

However, the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER] who had to leave the floor of the Senate a few moments ago, asked me whether I would object to a unanimous-consent proposal to have the Senate vote this afternoon; and I agreed to it. Until the Senator from North Dakota is present, I would not wish even so much as to suggest the unanimous-consent agreement which I had in mind; namely, to have the Senate vote at 5 o'clock on Monday afternoon on the bill and on all amendments pertaining thereto.

But for the reasons I have already stated, I must object to the unanimous-consent request that has been made by the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan yield to me before he yields the floor?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. I do not desire to live up to the observation made by the Senator from Michigan; namely, that the Senator from Nebraska is never finished. I am not on my feet for that purpose.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I hope the Senator from Nebraska understood me.

Mr. WHERRY. I certainly did.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I did not mean he is never terminated; I meant he is never plowed under.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, on the theory that I am never plowed under, and without attempting to keep the Senator from Michigan on his feet much longer, I should like to ask several questions, if he will answer them.

First, what military equipment does the Senator from Michigan believe we can learn, from the report or elsewhere, will be shipped to Greece for the purpose of reestablishing the peace that is needed there, and also what military equipment will go to Turkey? As I understand, \$300,000,000 of the \$400,000,000 will be set aside for both Greece and Turkey for military purposes. Am I correct in that understanding?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think so, that is approximately correct.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to know whether any tanks are to be shipped to those countries or whether any heavy artillery is to be shipped to them. In short, what will be required to reestablish the peace which we are told we are going to have in Greece?

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. WHERRY. I ask the Senator from Massachusetts to wait for a few moments. Does the distinguished Senator from Michigan know from the record and the report the answers to the questions I have asked?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the first thing I wish to say, in answer-

ing, is in respect to naval equipment, because I distinctly remember the answer in that respect. The answer is that the naval equipment will largely consist of mine sweepers, for the purpose of clearing harbors.

So far as the military phase is concerned, the able Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE], who has a keener mind on that phase of the matter than I have, probably could give the Senator from Nebraska a better answer than I could; and, accordingly, I shall be very glad to yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. WHERRY. Very well.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, insofar as Greece is concerned, I think I am correct in stating that it is not planned to send any weapons larger than infantry mortars. I do not think it is planned to send any tanks. Most of the military supply will be signal equipment, such as walkie-talkie sets and other forms of radio. Such equipment is the most difficult kind to learn to handle, and consequently most of the instruction which will be given will be in the operation of such signal and communications sets.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to say to the distinguished Senator that I read the speech he made, even though I did not have an opportunity to hear it. I also read the colloquy in which he engaged with the Senator from Illinois, which is a restatement of the matter. But what would happen if the emergency required more than that? Does the pending measure contain any limitation which would prevent our sending heavier equipment to Greece?

Mr. LODGE. Does the Senator refer to the type of equipment?

Mr. WHERRY. Certainly. Does the bill provide any limitation as to the kind of military equipment which would be shipped to Greece or Turkey?

Mr. LODGE. No; I do not think there is any limitation as to the character of the equipment.

Mr. WHERRY. I think that is correct. So we may assume that the first \$150,000,000 for Greece or the first \$150,000,000 for Turkey might be used to provide any equipment that was required to establish peace. Is that correct?

Mr. LODGE. Up to that amount of money.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; up to that amount of money, or up to equipment of that much value.

Mr. LODGE. But I imagine that most of the money which is to be provided under the bill will be largely accounted for by the equipment which it is planned to send. For instance, in the case of Turkey it is planned to send equipment to rebuild the ports and the roads and the railroads and other communications, and I imagine that work will take a great deal of the funds to be allocated under this bill.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes. I should like to ask the Senator what equipment is to be sent to Turkey.

Mr. LODGE. As I have just said, it is planned to send there equipment to rebuild the ports, docks, roads, and communications facilities, such as telephones and telegraph, and some surplus weapons, such as anti-aircraft guns, and

perhaps some obsolete airplanes. The list is not entirely firm yet.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator tell me where I can get a break-down of the equipment which is to be sent, and where such a break-down is to be found in the report?

Mr. LODGE. That matter has not been broken down any more definitely in the report than I have stated to the Senator just now, because the list is not yet absolutely firm. It is subject to change in the future.

I am merely telling the distinguished Senator what the present intention is. Of course, the War Department or the Navy Department would have the right and, in fact, the duty to change the items on the list if circumstances made it seem advisable to do so.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator; that is exactly my interpretation of the matter. In other words, there is no limitation as to what equipment may be sent into either country. That is the point on which I am seeking information.

Mr. LODGE. There is a distinct limitation.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; there is the \$150,000,000 limitation on the first installment.

Mr. LODGE. Yes; that is the limitation; and I think we can assume that only weapons which are surplus or obsolete will be sent there. I do not assume that our Army or Navy will send any equipment which is scarce or in short supply in this country.

Mr. WHERRY. That is one of the questions which has been bothering me ever since I have been trying to make up my mind about this initial loan.

Mr. President, not only do I substantiate the words of the Senator from Iowa, who rose to his feet this afternoon and said, "I want to do what is right in this matter, but certainly the report is devoid of facts," but I wish to say that we cannot learn the facts from the report which is before us. What the military implications are, I do not know.

The distinguished Senator from Michigan has made a very fine speech, in his inimitable style, relative to what the price will be if we do not intervene. But I wish to state that when we boil it down, all we have is a guess as to what will be the price if we go the other way. We are entitled to know what that price will be.

Mr. LODGE. I am trying to ascertain what the able Senator has in mind.

Mr. WHERRY. In the first place, I begin with the point that the mission proposed is a military mission, and that it is proposed that we send there, not only equipment, but also provision for the training of soldiers. While the theoretical purpose is the establishment of peace in Greece, yet there is no limitation as to how far we might go in establishing peace in either Greece or Turkey.

Mr. LODGE. Nevertheless, there is a money limitation. I wish to state to the Senator from Nebraska, because I think he is asking a very interesting and valuable line of questions, that the bill does provide a money limit as to the amount of equipment and kind of equipment that can be sent. Of course, we might wish to go beyond that; but if we do, we shall

have to have further information before we make an additional authorization. I do not see what the significance is as between sending 50 rifles on the one hand or 1 light tank on the other. I do not see what the importance of that is.

Mr. WHERRY. Would the Senator from Massachusetts like me to make an observation or state a premise?

Mr. LODGE. Yes; I would.

Mr. WHERRY. Because I should like to understand the viewpoint of the Senator from Massachusetts. He has been over there, and I myself have been there, and we have seen the situation fairly well, I think. Let me tell the Senator what my apprehension is. We are told, first, that what is contemplated is a relief loan, in the sense that it will provide security for Greece. The details were explained. It was said it was a sort of WPA, so far as relief was concerned, that we are to have an agricultural program, to plant trees, and all that sort of thing. I can understand that. But when we boil it down, out of the \$400,000,000, \$300,000,000 is set aside for military purposes. When we get to the point of making up our minds as to what the price might be, what the Senator from Nevada suggested this afternoon may happen, that is, that we go in there to establish peace, and come to the place where we cannot stop, or, if we stop, then we are lost. I should like to have the Senator tell me whether there is any limit in the bill to what is contained in the title or the whereases, or is it the beginning of a military operation in Greece and Turkey which might lead us into war, and if it is, I should like to ask the Senator what the impact will be then?

Mr. LODGE. Let me reply to the Senator, first of all, by saying that I quite agree with him that what is proposed is not another WPA, and those who depicted it as being another WPA were not being frank. It is not that kind of a proposition at all.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Such a characterization does not include the presentation I made of the bill, because if anyone ever was frank in saying to the Senate that it was not a suggestion for a WPA it was I when I presented the bill.

Mr. LODGE. The Senator has been completely honorable and frank about it from the beginning.

Mr. WHERRY. I did not mean to imply that the distinguished Senator from Michigan would state that it was a WPA bill. I did not have him in mind. But it has been mentioned as a great, glorified WPA project in Greece. I agree that it is not that at all.

Mr. LODGE. It is not that at all. I have been searching my mind for some weeks to find an adjective that would describe it. It contains some relief features, some economic features, some political features, some more or less military features. If I wanted to put it in one word, I would say it was a strategic proposition.

Mr. WHERRY. Strategic from a military point of view?

Mr. LODGE. From a diplomatic point of view. We cannot divide those things up into watertight compartments, any more than we can take a knife and cut a pail of water in two. The diplomatic, the

financial, the political, all merge in together, and if they do not, we have not something which has any vigor to it. My belief is that a step of this kind is a step toward peace and away from war. That is my belief.

In answer to the Senator's principal question, I cannot read the future any better than can anyone else. Of course, we wish we could gaze into the crystal ball and know exactly what will be confronting us here a year from now, but we cannot do it. But with what vision God gives me, I can say that I think this a sound step to take.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Massachusetts yield further, if he would care to make one more observation?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. If the equipment we send, and the military aid we give, should involve an open conflict, then what would the result be?

Mr. LODGE. There is nothing we are sending, either to Greece or to Turkey—and this is my own opinion—and there is nothing we can send either to Greece or Turkey, which will put them in such a position that they can undertake offensive international combat action on a large and effective scale, because the population just is not there. I cannot conceive of anything we could do which would put either of those two countries in a position to take a military offensive. The most we could do—and we are getting very far afield in this discussion, but we are trying to examine all the approaches—the most we could do would be to put those countries in a position to resist aggression. I do not see how we could ever put them on such a footing that they could undertake an attack.

Mr. WHERRY. How will we be involved if we put them on a footing to resist aggression, or oppression—"Communist aggression" is the President's phrase, I think—with no limit in the bill except—

Mr. LODGE. Except dollars.

Mr. WHERRY. Except an initial limit on the amount of dollars, and we can easily increase that if we need to, because the President says if the necessity arises he will come to Congress for more authority. I am seeking information, which I cannot get from the report. The facts are not in the report. But I ask the Senator, as a military expert, and as a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, if we do not stop the aggression, will we in any way be caught in the entanglement of an open war with Russia? If we are, what will be the implications then?

Mr. LODGE. It is not my belief that the proposal will lead in that direction. I should certainly be very much opposed to that. That is not the type of question the answer to which one can find in a report. The question is a very searching and important one, but it is also such a transcendental question one cannot find the answer to it in a report. I certainly cannot see anything in the proposal before us that is going to put us into an aggressive or offensive posture.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. LODGE. Yes. By the way, I appreciate being called a military expert,

but I am not that at all. I am merely another humble worker in the vineyard.

Mr. WHERRY. I appreciate the service the distinguished Senator rendered in the World War, and I was greatly pleased to meet him over there and talk with him when he was in the service. I value his judgment.

Mr. LODGE. And I am pleased to meet the Senator from Nebraska here, too.

Mr. WHERRY. I was about to ask another question of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, but I hesitate to ask him because now he is apparently worn out by the questions already asked him.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Hardly that, but I did not think it was necessary for me to walk sentry post in this dialogue.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to ask the Senator from Michigan the significance of the time element. I have heard it said many times by the distinguished Senator that we have to have this done by March 31, and here it is the middle of April. By the time we get through with it and get it to the House probably another month will have passed. I have tried to expedite this matter. I think the Senator will agree with me that we want to bring this bill to a vote. But I should like to ask what the Senator meant when he said he would like to have the bill passed now, at the most favorable time. What is the significance of the time element in the passing of the bill?

Before the Senator answers, if he does not mind, permit me to make an observation. I have been a Member of the Senate for 4½ years, the Senator has been a Member for nearly 20, four or five times as long. Certainly since I have been in the Senate there has been one emergency after another. The cry has been, "We have to do this, and we have to do it now. We cannot wait 5 minutes. We have to pass it."

I want to uphold the hands of the President. If it is a question of doing that, and if that is the only significance there is to the request for speed, I should like to know it. Otherwise, I should like to know what the time element means. Personally, I think the question before us is so large, and that the implications that might involve us are so great, that we should have plenty of time for consideration. There should be sufficient debate to enable the people of the country to know what we are going into if we vote this initial \$400,000,000.

I say that, not as being prejudiced in any way; I am still open minded, I am still searching for light on the question. That is why I am asking the question.

Mr. VANDENBERG. What is the question?

Mr. WHERRY. What is the significance of the time limit, why do we have to act now? I think the Senator's words were that we should have the bill taken up in the Senate at the most favorable time. What is the emergency?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Senator is just as well advised on that subject as I am, because he has listened to all the presentations, and he has read the report.

On the 31st of March the Greek Government ceased to enjoy the support

which it had previously received from the British Empire, under a relationship which was inherited by the British Empire as its share of postwar liquidation in that area. The Government of Greece requested assistance as of March 31. The President of the United States presented the matter on March 12. A month has gone by. During that month, so far as any experience of mine is concerned, the Committee on Foreign Relations has gone to greater length to try to produce information for Senators than ever before in connection with any bill that was ever submitted. I do not need to tell the Senator that, now that the situation is laid before the country and the world, the longer uncertainty exists respecting the answer the greater becomes the complication. That follows just as that two and two make four. I am sure the Senator will agree.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. If the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts will yield, he has said that the purpose of this loan or gift, whatever it may be, is to stop aggression. May I ask what "aggression" is? It seems to me it means soldiers.

Mr. LODGE. There is such a thing as subversive war. There is the open and declared war, involving the use of soldiers, and then there is subversive war, which is the ideological struggle, which can be carried on so successfully that the Nation that wins it puts its opponent in a position where it could not wage armed warfare even if it wanted to.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I thank the Senator.

Mr. LODGE. That is merely my personal view.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, for the purpose of obtaining his opinion, I should like to read two paragraphs from Kiplinger Washington Agency letter of Saturday, April 12. I should be very happy to have the Senator comment on the following announcement:

Greece and Turkey, a little slow in Congress, but still sure.

Then Korea, six hundred millions—on the heels of Greece and Turkey.

Then will break the real story of United States intentions on world aid.

The real story is this:

Moscow Big Four meeting has already flopped—simply cannot agree on German reparations. Russia does not want treaty with Germany now.

Russia figures on collapse of Britain, France, Italy, Germany, on economic and political crack-up of all these nations—most of Europe.

Russia figures that the United States will also crack up economically, and will be forced to withdraw aid from Europe, leaving Russia free.

Time, within 2 years—as the Russians see it.

So our State Department is working feverishly on a big-scale plan for an economic-diplomatic offensive going right up to Russia's borders, even to Hungary and Rumania. They are close to famine, only United States can help. The plan is to send food and supplies and go in and supervise distribution. Thus, face Russians at their front door with food, relief, diplomacy.

This means a huge sum of money for economic relief of the world, including Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, China, and others. Object is to prevent them from cracking up—keep Russia from moving in.

Amount, ten to fifteen billions, preliminary estimate, next 2 years. Get it out of the Treasury, although officials are working on methods of covering up the appearance of deficit to make the aid seem sweeter.

Why hasn't this been announced? Because State Department, as usual, is afraid of public opinion. And because the President is undecided on whether to let it trickle out at retail, as on Greece, Turkey, Korea, or to let the public have it at wholesale, in one piece, a big gulp. At present he seems to think Congress might swallow it better piecemeal. Nevertheless, the facts are as we report them, and will be coming along.

That is signed by Mr. Kiplinger. I should like to have an expression of the Senator's opinion on that outlook.

Mr. LODGE. That is a rather long statement, and I do not know whether it is accurate or not. I am not privy to the secret councils where our foreign policy is decided, but I can comment just the way any other Senator can comment, and to say, first of all, that I hope the leaders in this body will be privy to these decisions, that they will be consulted, and that we shall not be put on the horns of the dilemma where all we can do is choose between the lesser of different evils, after having been left out—the lesser of two evils, or possibly it might be the lesser of three or four evils. I do not think we should be put in that position. I hope we are not going to be taken by surprise. I hope we are going to be smart. I hope we are going to be intelligent. I hope we are going to be strong—and I hope we are going to anticipate some of these things. I hope we are not going to throw good money after bad. I hope we are not going to throw money down a rat hole, and I hope that when we spend so much, that we will try to get something permanent and something basic in the way of progress and in the way of improvement.

I do not call that imperialism. I think the talk about the United States being aggressive with its relief is complete nonsense. One is not aggressive with something that is good; he is aggressive with something that is destructive. If we can, by the so-called aggressiveness of which Kiplinger speaks, bring back Europe and give her people some chance, some hope, and a few of the decent things of life, so that they can once again be self-supporting, I would not call that imperialism. I should call that Christianity—and I do not apologize for it at all. If we can make that kind of expenditure and get those people back on their feet so that they can furnish a market for our goods, and so that some day they may be able to pay it back, I do not think that is a bad type of expenditure.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LODGE. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Is information available, or has it been made available to any Senator, so far as the Senator knows, as to what plans the State Department has?

Mr. LODGE. I have heard nothing official about far-reaching plans in the future. I read an article in the newspapers somewhat similar to what the Senator from Nevada just read to me. In Europe, for instance, we have gone

ahead and restored the old crazy quilt of little independent squabbling nations; we have rebuilt the old firetrap, the old tenement house that has caught fire twice already since 1914. It stands to reason that there is no hope at all for Europe, unless we get some kind of integration. It stands to reason we cannot afford to let Europe, as a matter of humanitarianism or as a matter of realistic self-interest, go to the dogs, and so it is simply a question of whether we are going to bail them out with a lot of expensive last-minute rescue parties, or whether we are going to try to use our good offices to develop some kind of integration over there that will make some sense, and that will make possible the lifting of the political and military pressures that oppress them at this time. Then, and only then, will it be possible for them to achieve some degree of rehabilitation of their economic life.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. We have had two wars, and the Senator and I have each served in one; so it is nothing new to us. We probably would go again if it became necessary. It is my considered opinion that, since we have backed into two World Wars in the last generation, with little, if any, factual information, if we are now confronting a situation which might again lead to war, the American people should be given the facts so they will know the direction in which we are traveling. I have been listening here for 2 or 3 days to speeches. I believe one could look up the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of 1939 and change the names and the dates and the places, and as applying to the present situation, substitute the speeches then made, to the effect that there shall never be anything done other than loaning a little money.

I made only one promise to my people. That was that until I understood a bill pending before the Senate and until sufficient information was furnished to the public so they could understand it, I would either not vote on it or vote against it. I have not yet made up my mind on the pending bill, and I shall not make it up until I have to, unless such information becomes available.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I should like, if I may, to comment on one phase of the figures submitted by the able Senator from Nevada. We are constantly hearing the statement made that "if we go into the Greco-Turkish program, the next thing we know we will have to go into Korea." I think it ought to be made perfectly plain that there is an unescapable obligation in Korea which is totally unrelated to the question we are here discussing, and which we shall confront regardless of what we do in Greece and Turkey, because we are occupying the southern half of Korea and are responsible to the Allies, not only for the occupation but for the development of an internal situation in Korea which will permit us to retire and get out.

We have precisely the same responsibility in southern Korea that we have in the American zone of occupation in Germany, and I should like to make it

very plain that, yes, there will have to be a Korean program, as there has to be a program in the American zone of occupation in Germany. But in neither instance is there any connection with the general program to which the Senator refers.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts a question. My question is not directed so much to the details, because I myself am convinced, after listening to the debate, that we cannot and will never know all the details surrounding this proposition. I can say for myself that I intend to vote for the bill. There have been addressed to me, and I know to other Members of this body, by persons outside this body, questions on certain fundamental matters which have been asked and answered again and again, but I heard the Senator's speech made the other day, which was directed more to the military side, and if it is possible I should like to obtain his views upon what I think are some of the fundamental questions involved in this issue.

First, respecting the reason why we should take this action now in a way which seems inconsistent with our commitments in the United Nations. Is it the opinion of the Senator from Massachusetts that this proposal fundamentally and essentially is a matter of self-interest, a matter of the security of this country based upon the idea that any war between any of the great nations would ultimately involve this Nation?

Mr. LODGE. I think this matter clearly involves the security of the United States. I think there is no question about that.

Mr. COOPER. I will ask if, in the opinion of the Senator from Massachusetts, any policy could lead more directly and surely to war in which we would be involved than a continued aggression by one of the members of the United Nations—a continued policy of aggression?

Mr. LODGE. Will the Senator restate the question?

Mr. COOPER. I ask the Senator if he knows of any course of action which would more surely lead to war and more surely involve this country in war than continued, active aggression toward and coercion of other countries by one of the members of the United Nations?

Mr. LODGE. The only thing that could lead us to it more quickly than that would be for us to give in to the aggression of other nations the minute it started. I think that would be a sure way to cause trouble.

Mr. COOPER. Of course, another important question which has been asked all of us, and it has been voiced again and again, is concerning the method which is now being proposed. I can say frankly that if I could believe that the aggression could be stopped by action of the United Nations I do not see how we could vote for the pending proposal. I wish to ask the Senator if upon the basis of the evidence we have had during the last 2 years respecting Russia's attitude toward us he believes that the continued aggression and coercion can be stopped now by the action of the United Nations?

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, my personal view—and I am not an expert at all—is that the United Nations was not set up to deal with situations of this character, and that it would be taxing that organization unfairly, getting it off to a very bad start, if we sought to impose upon it functions which are clearly beyond its present power to discharge. I want to build up the United Nations and I want to make it do the things it can do just as fast as it can do them, but I do not want to swamp it, and I do not believe that this is a situation which can be dealt with by the United Nations at the present time. But I am hopeful that the action contemplated here will have some effect in lifting these military pressures and making some modicum of the good life possible for the people of the world.

Mr. COOPER. I should like to ask the Senator from Massachusetts another question. The fear has been expressed here again and again that by adopting this measure we shall pursue a new course which some believe is without the United Nations, and I say again that it is my opinion and belief that we cannot achieve peace by any continued unilateral action but only through organization for collective security. I wish to ask the Senator if in his opinion this act of ours, which we could construe to be in the spirit of the purposes of the United Nations, could have the effect of bringing other members of the United Nations, and particularly Russia, to a more active and consistent participation in the United Nations itself, with good will and in good faith.

Mr. LODGE. I should hope that that would be the case. I do not consider that this bill, as it has been amended by the amendment of the Senator from Michigan, constitutes unilateral action. I think his amendment shows the deference which we have towards the United Nations, and it would be my hope, as the Senator from Kentucky says, that this action would lead eventually to more active participation in the United Nations by other nations.

Mr. COOPER. As I gather, then, it is the Senator's feeling that the entire spirit of this movement is eventually to bring about a more active participation in good will and with good faith by the members of the United Nations?

Mr. LODGE. I think if the Senator had heard the discussion in the Foreign Relations Committee he would not have had any doubt at all of the strong desire of everyone to keep faith with the United Nations and the belief which I think animated everyone that the amendment of the Senator from Michigan accomplished that purpose.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I should like to announce to the Members of the Senate that there will be a night session tonight, and, replying to the request of the distinguished Senator from Michigan, that if the bill is not disposed of by tomorrow at 5 o'clock we will have a night session Thursday night. So Senators should take cognizance of that announcement and be prepared to be in session tomorrow night in the event the bill has not been passed before that time.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, I find myself unable, in good conscience, to vote for the Greek-Turkish program proposed by the President before the Joint Session of the Congress on March 12, 1947. Respect for the able and distinguished persons who are urging support of the President's proposal leads me to state the reasons that have brought me to this conclusion:

These reasons are:

First. The United Nations should be given an opportunity to function.

Second. The plan is primarily military, rather than humanitarian.

Third. Good-will of nations and peoples cannot be bought.

Fourth. Our first duty is to make democracy work at home.

Since much of the ground has been covered already in this debate, I shall try to be as brief as possible.

My first reason is that the United Nations should be given an opportunity to function.

We should work through the United Nations in solving our international problems. Only in the event the United Nations declines or fails to act should we act alone.

There is abundant evidence to indicate that a majority of our people, in approaching this problem, believe, first, that the impact of the airplane, atomic energy, and other modern inventions upon our way of life cannot be ignored; and, second, that Russian aggression must be stopped. I agree fully. I also believe that the solution which upon mature thought will appeal to our people as wise and logical, is first to use the agency of the United Nations. It has been set up to deal with just such problems as this. The United States, in becoming a signatory to the contract, agreed to rely upon it in just such cases as this. In section 1 of article 24 of the Charter of the United Nations, its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Austin reports progress toward establishing the police force or "peace force", as he calls it. Such help as it needs by way of military force should be forthcoming from its constituent members.

Some of the strongest advocates of the President's program have admitted publicly that it is unfortunate that the President did not even so much as notify the United Nations before appealing to Congress to deal with this problem. From my point of view, this failure is a fatal error, which is not corrected by an amendment, thought of afterward by the proponents of the plan, providing that if the United Nations ask us to cease and desist, we shall do so. The sound course is to start all over again, bring the matter to the attention of the United Nations, and then to have the courage, the patience, and the faith to believe that our hopes and aspirations in creating the United Nations have not been in vain.

The other day a veteran of 4 years with the 34th Infantry Division and considerable combat experience, wrote me:

We fought for an ideal in World War II, and if the leaders of this country cannot keep peace after this last war they will not

be able to do it after another. In short, we would be continually fighting because the so-called leaders of our country cannot settle a problem any other way.

I hope that this bill will not be pushed to a hasty passage. I cannot escape the feeling that before this momentous question is decided by the Congress a real opportunity should be given the American people to express themselves, and particularly should we hear more generally from the young men and young women of America, to whom the decision means so much.

My second reason is that the plan is primarily military rather than humanitarian.

The President's plan, in its bare essentials, is based upon the use of such military force as may be required to stop Russian aggression. In my judgment the so-called Greek loan is mere window dressing, mere camouflage. The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] says that this plan involves strategy. Mr. President, when we talk in terms of strategy, in my book we talk in terms of military strategy. The essential crux of the plan is military support of Turkey, with the grand strategy of stopping the Russians at the Dardanelles. This involves an extension of our military frontier to the Dardanelles, to be held by American blood if necessary. This momentous decision should not be presented to the American people or decided by them under the guise of a loan to Greece and Turkey.

The President's plan to be successful cannot stop at the Dardanelles, but must be extended around the whole circumference of the Soviet Union, into Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Balkan States, Iran, Iraq, India, China, and Korea. If we dam the Soviet in one place and do not give it any attention at others, what do we gain?

As has been suggested today, the plan is being presented to us piecemeal. Are we to be asked later to "stop communism" in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and other countries pervaded by it? If not, why not? The plan cannot be successful without the use and backing of strong military force. Twice in our generation our country has been involved in war. In each case the American people endured the suffering and sacrifice of war for lofty ideals; the first time to make the world safe for democracy; the second time to realize the "four freedoms." In neither case have they seen these ideals accomplished. We lost men. We exhausted irreplaceable natural resources. We created conditions which have caused dissension and doubt on the part of many of our people concerning the very foundations of our Government and our way of life. The investment, which according to the President we have made in world freedom and world peace, has not yet begun to yield returns. We have drunk the cup of war to the bitter dregs, and we want no more of it.

It is said that "Russia is not ready for war." Perhaps she is not; probably she is not ready now. But we are asked to make commitments on Russia's doorstep that may prove very embarrassing to us in a few years when Russia is ready and perchance we are not. Are our

young men to go out to fight another Crimean War? If they do, will they or will they not have the help of the British, already enmeshed in socialism? Let us turn back and think carefully before we go in too far.

The President's program is a venture in power politics. The American people are being asked to supply the venture capital now, and the manpower later, when and as required. There is abundant evidence that the plan has not been carefully thought out. It is the quarter-back technique already familiar to our people. It would seem from the answers submitted by the Department of State to questions that the President will call the signals without knowing, when one play is made, what the next is to be. Instead of a carefully thought out course in which each move is anticipated and planned in advance, we have a hit-or-miss affair, hastily contrived, with the British holding a stop watch, and threatening to pull the stopper if we do not act by a date they themselves have set.

My third reason is that good will of nations and peoples cannot be bought.

We have tried again and again in the past to buy good will and support of foreign nations, but each time it has proved to be a blunder. Has the President forgotten our experience? Has he forgotten that whenever we have practiced this system it has made for us something less than friends?

When Russia was a brother in arms we supplied \$50,000,000,000 worth of lend-lease to other nations. Russia was given \$11,300,000,000 during the war, and \$232,000,000 after VJ-day. We have sent six separate notes to Russia asking for a discussion about repayment. After being prodded six times, Russia has finally indicated a willingness to discuss the matter. We supplied her satellite nations as follows: Poland, over \$16,000,000; Yugoslavia, \$32,000,000; Czechoslovakia, \$619,000. Can we count them as our friends?

How about China, to whom we sent \$1,500,000,000 during the war and \$747,000,000 since VJ-day? Or France, who owes us \$430,000,000 for goods shipped since the war's end? Have these gifts served their purpose and gained the desired results?

When we agreed to pay over 70 percent of the expenses of the UNRRA, some of us thought that we would not be called upon for these extras. This expense added to the aid given by private agencies comes to over \$3,000,000,000.

It seems that even our worst enemies would acknowledge we have done our share, but the above is not all, because through the Export-Import Bank we supplied other billions in credit authorization to 20 nations in Europe, 20 countries of Latin America, and 8 Asiatic nations. No nation in recorded history has ever been so liberal with money and goods. And for our generosity, how have we been repaid? Is Uncle Sam held in either affectionate regard or grateful respect?

Turkey not only prospered from the war, but became a rich country, richer than ever in its history, but now Turkey, falling in line, asks us for \$100,000,000.

Our experience has not been unique. Britain and France for many years played the role of Santa Claus, trying to buy and keep the friendship of these very countries. Each is now ready to acknowledge her lack of success. Can we afford to give European nations the impression that we are ready and willing to put up further and unlimited sums "to stop communism"? I am convinced that we do not have enough money, raw materials, or machinery to rehabilitate the whole world, and that if we attempt to do so we shall only succeed in reducing ourselves to the level of those that we are trying to help.

My fourth reason is our first duty is to make democracy work at home.

The most important thing before America now is to make democracy work at home, restore industrial peace, stamp out communism—within our own borders and in our own Government—balance our budget, reduce taxes, and put our economy on a sound basis. We are strong today only in comparison with the weakness of the rest of the world. The greatest contribution the United States can make to the world is to rebuild her own strength so that she can remain, as she is today, the bulwark of free government. We have more pressing measures at home than on the Dardanelles. Let us look the economic facts squarely in the face. In view of our swollen indebtedness and with the war boom over, is it within our ability to implement the Truman doctrine? According to the current number of World Report, April 15, 1947, if the President's present program is carried to the logical end, \$21,000,000,000 would be committed in loans and grants in the next 3 years. These estimates are said to be on the basis of what actually will be disbursed each year.

There is already evidence that our economy is beginning to show the effect of strain. The President has noted the widespread complaint in regard to high prices. He has failed to tell the American people that one of the principal reasons for these high prices is the fact that goods and commodities have been purchased in this country in such large quantities by the Government and sent abroad. The Truman doctrine involves not only the money Congress is asked to appropriate now; it involves the prices on everything we eat, and wear, and use in our daily living for years to come. The Truman doctrine offers no prospect of tax reduction. Will we be serving the cause of humanity if, in an attempt to extend free institutions throughout the world, we jeopardize our own?

For these reasons, I support the amendment of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] and I shall vote against Senate bill 938 on final passage.

To summarize, my reasons are fourfold:

First, the United Nations should be given an opportunity to function first.

Second, the plan presented by the President is primarily military rather than humanitarian;

Third, the good-will of nations and peoples cannot be bought, as has been abundantly shown by our own experience; and

Fourth, it is our first duty to make democracy work at home.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, did you ever feel impelled to say something about a big subject only to find that words to do justice to the real importance and significance of the subject just would not come? I feel like that now, Mr. President, as I venture my estimate of the situation involved in the administration's request to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey.

It is my intention, Mr. President, to support the bill before the Senate, but in doing so I want it known that there is little joy in my heart, no stars in my eyes, and few illusions in my head. I shall support, without apology or excuse, the President's program, not because I think it even approximates an answer to the problems, both foreign and domestic, which beset us, for this I plainly do not believe, but because the program was presented in such a way to the world that I cannot reject it, and because the program, from my point of view, possesses a measure of potential merit through which the United Nations may possibly become the instrument for effective force and leadership that its designers, and the faith of countless millions of human beings everywhere, intended it to be.

In his magnificent treatment of the problem the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] referred to the President's proposal as being a plan. He will not think me disrespectful when I refer to it as being at this time nothing more than a directive, an instrument which charges that a plan is to be drawn to achieve the mission set forth in the directive. A part of the plan, but possibly only a small part of the plan to be, is the requested emergency money, material, and manpower to be used and deployed in Greece and Turkey. This premise I believe to be sound, and if it is it ought to be emphasized, dramatized, and spelled out to every American because of what the directive intends to fully accomplish and do.

The President laid down the directive in the speech he delivered to the Congress on March 12, 1947, a day and a speech I shall never forget. The President, who is primarily held responsible for the conduct of foreign relations said in part:

It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. We must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. Our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. I ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries. I recommend that authority be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel. If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

Small wonder, then, Mr. President, that I see in this directive little to cause anyone to shout enthusiastically. All I can clearly see, however necessary, imperative or inevitable, is trouble and sacrifice and turmoil ahead.

The directive has a purpose and a beginning, beautiful and praiseworthy and to be desired, but it has no tangible shape or form or pattern or end. Only a plan can have these things, and there is no plan.

I talk like this, Mr. President, because I want to help our Nation to know what it is being asked to undertake. I want people to know that some of us resent the administration's urging us to move so fast into an unknown and uncharted and uncertain field. I want people to appreciate that it is one thing to write a directive, and quite another thing to carry it out. I want people to understand that they, and not their Government, are going to reap the benefits or the sorrows which result from the action being taken now. I want people to be conscious of the costs and sacrifices and burdens demanded by the program. Only by having these factors uppermost in our national awareness, can we hope, to my mind, for any appreciable degree of long-range success.

The so-called Truman policy frightens me, Mr. President, and for good cause. I cannot fully understand it, and I know of no Senator who fully understands it. We are told that the recommended assistance to Greece and Turkey will not set a precedent. Yet the President set forth very plainly that he would not hesitate to come before the Congress again if he needed additional funds or authority for the broad purposes set forth in his March 12 message to the joint session. I think every thinking American can foresee coming situations abroad which will demand, though they may not get, American money, material, and men. If we do not begin to think now about these possibilities, even probabilities, we shall be as totally unprepared for them as we were when the President let the Congress in on the Greek-Turkey secret for the first time, one short month ago.

While the President's speech included a directive, the substance and purpose of which we can understand and appreciate, it included one statement which I hold to be wholly, but not necessarily meaningfully, misleading, and one which was calculated to minimize resistance and opposition. The President stated that the war having cost \$341,000,000,000, he was asking the Congress for only one-tenth of 1 percent, or \$400,000,000, as an investment for peace. Perhaps some others were as shocked and aroused as I was by the implications of this careless phrase. It implied (a) that we are only concerned with Greece and Turkey, (b) that we shall not be concerned with them beyond June of 1948, and (c) that the cost of war ended with VJ-day.

I trust that not a single American citizen will place any reliance or confidence in that statement. I hope every American is conscious of present-day facts; and if he is not, I trust that he will soon become thoroughly familiar with them.

In recent speeches the senior Senator from Arkansas [Mr. McCLELLAN] and the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] have laid before this body and the country the commitments we have made overseas since VJ-day.

In the 2-year period from the war's end until June 30 of this year, the United States will have spent more than \$16,000,000,000. Two-thirds of that fantastic peacetime sum of money has been loaned, and one-third of it has been given away. All of it has been employed to make peace certain. I know of no other reason for using abroad money and material which we could so usefully employ at home.

We very properly worry about high prices and inflation, but we are adding to these national ills by aiding those in distress across the seas. Yes; long before we ever were confronted with the Greek-Turkey crisis, we had been making a mighty investment for peace.

We hope to have much of the money advanced repaid to us, but history does not give us much encouragement in that respect.

Compared to what the United States has already spent and invested in peace, the requested \$400,000,000 does not loom very large.

But we must remember that it is in addition to the more than \$16,000,000,000 we already have invested overseas, and we must not forget that there are other peacemaking contributions in the offing.

House Joint Resolution 153 would authorize \$350,000,000 to assist in completing the great task of providing relief from the ravages of war to the people of the liberated countries. Still another measure, Senate Joint Resolution 77, would provide for membership in the International Refugee Organization at a cost of \$75,000,000. Add the \$400,000,000 to the \$350,000,000 to the \$75,000,000, and we have \$825,000,000 which the Congress has not yet agreed to subscribe.

If it is right to assume that these measures will pass, where do we go from the date of passage? Which foreign nations and which international problems must be taken care of next? Is there a line which is forming on the right? Or is there reason to believe that once having taken care of Greece and Turkey and a few other odds and ends we shall have no further call on our resources from abroad?

Mr. President, we have not the remotest idea of what lies ahead. We can only assume the we shall be confronted with one further request after another. I wonder whether each future request will be presented to the Congress as a "Crisis"? Can we have any assurance that it will not? I do not think we can. The President said that on the Greece-Turkey problem the executive and legislative branches must work together. I wonder what he meant? The Senate did not know anything about the problem until the President addressed the joint session of Congress. The Senator from Michigan said he knew nothing of the matter until the President called him to the White House on February 27th. The only problem

before us is whether we shall vote the 400 million dollars. Unless we want to repudiate the prestige and honor of America, we must go along. I think that from the beginning we have had no other course to take.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Does the Senator mean to say that he will vote for the pending measure simply because it has been put up to him on a crisis basis and on the basis that we have no other recourse? If that is the case, then if that procedure works this time, it will work at any time, and anything can be presented to the Senator as a crisis; and if that is the way to get everyone in line, it is evidently an excellent technique and will work all the time, because does not the Senator agree that from now on the crises will be more real and more urgent, after we once enter upon this undertaking?

Mr. CAIN. I can only say to the Senator from Idaho that in the remaining few minutes of these remarks. I shall attempt to explain my position more thoroughly with respect to this crisis and the crises which lie ahead.

The President declared to the world by press and radio what he was going to do at the very instant when he was outlining the problem to the Congress. Russia, for example, knew as much about what the President had in mind as we did. Is this the course the President intends to follow in future cases? Let us fervently and vehemently hope not. Perhaps there are others like myself who will go along this time because we think worse trouble would result if we made America look foolish and divided in the eyes of the world by refusing the President's request. But that does not mean that we would go along next time, and the time after that. I do not think we would. But we might if the executive and the legislative begin now to map out and diagram our international future. Problems of real magnitude do not spring up over night. They can be seen as they come up over the horizon, and they must be anticipated. If the President wants to work with Congress as the Congress wants to work with him, I think he had better begin to confer with the Congress long before another foreign loan or gift is requested.

Up to date Mr. President, there has been no bipartisan foreign policy except insofar as support of the United Nations and some peace treaties are concerned.

The Republicans know very little of what is going on in the State Department and in the office of the Executive.

For my part, I think that from now on we had better be given an opportunity to assist in fashioning a consistent foreign policy.

Despite the fact that the Presidential request before us will probably be granted, I feel that we have not been given a fair or intelligent chance to properly evaluate the scores of factors involved.

At the outset of these remarks I suggested that I would vote for the bill because it might help to breathe real life and effective force into the United Na-

tions. Perhaps the wish is father to the thought.

I have the conviction that the United States, regardless of our strength and greatness, cannot long pursue the Truman directive without assuming obligations beyond our capacity to bear.

We cannot buy freedom for others, nor liquidate communism abroad with mere dollars, even though we had a million times more than we have. If we are going to make the attempt by ourselves we shall help others a little, but only temporarily, and then we shall as a Nation, be insolvent with no place to turn. That would be the great American tragedy. Our greatest hope for the future lies through the United Nations. What it cannot do today—as, for example it cannot help Greece and Turkey—it must be prepared to do tomorrow, if any of us are to benefit from our tomorrows.

If we recognize that our immediate obligation is to Greece and Turkey, but that our fundamental and continuing obligation is to the United Nations, we shall do everything within our power in coming months to make of the United Nations an organization which is capable and prepared to assume a score of Greek-Turkish problems. We must hurry, Mr. President, in trying to make this objective come true. We have no time to lose if we are to save civilization.

The Vandenberg amendment encourages the United Nations to assume our Greek-Turkey obligations at the earliest moment. The stage is set for a rebirth of action and positive conduct within the United Nations. I hope those nations recognize how impossible the world situation will become if they long permit the two great powers of the earth to struggle for supremacy and power and influence. If we go on as we are going now, I do not believe that war is just around the corner, but I know that war between the Soviet Union and ourselves can only be forestalled until the day when one nation thinks it is prepared to conquer the other. If I am right, and no man was ever more sincere in his assumption, I foresee that the United Nations will struggle with renewed effort and inspiration to become a fully workable organization before it is too late.

With possibly a few exceptions, I have probably seen more men die, in more gruesome fashion, and more civilians, of every age, sex, and walk of life, suffer in indescribable fashion, and more property and spiritual values destroyed, than all other Senators. There is nothing to cheer or dream about in this knowledge, but out of experience has come the knowledge that war is an answer to nothing. Anybody who thinks at all must understand this to be true. Those who want to see the truth realized must have renewed faith and confidence in the United Nations. The nations included must reconcile their prevailing difference, even if this means that the majority nations must use drastic means to force the minority nations to observe the common good. To be truly effective, the United Nations must create and develop an international police force with sufficient authority and means to defeat any aggressor nation, and to discipline any arrogant or errant member nation.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRICKER in the chair). Does the Senator from Washington yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Let me ask the Senator from Washington, how is the United Nations to grow and thrive if we start the same process that scuttled the League of Nations, the great nations bypassing the United Nations, and taking unilateral action? It will throw it into disrepute, destroy the confidence of the people in it everywhere, and it will wither and die.

Mr. CAIN. In this instance there happens to be a difference of opinion between the Senator from Idaho and the Senator from Washington. The Senator from Washington, rightly or wrongly, has the conviction that in helping Greece and Turkey, through the recommendation which has been made by the executive branch of our Government, we may give to the United Nations an opportunity, and time in which to become prepared, to do the very things I have tried to suggest in the last few minutes. I do not think there would be the faintest possible chance of the United Nations being effective in handling the problem which confronts us this afternoon.

All of us know that an international police force is intended. It is not necessary for me to say, or explain why, no international military body is presently in prospect. Should this force some day be established, I think that the nations of this world could then move in the direction of total disarmament. The senior Senator from Maryland has submitted a resolution which directs the President to call a disarmament conference. I am conclusively and completely in support of this resolution, but I very much doubt that any conference would serve a practical purpose at this time. Power politics continues to run the world, and there will be no change for the better until an international police force makes the maintenance of separate national armies unnecessary and futile.

In a recent splendid contribution the senior Senator from Massachusetts pointed out that in any foreign campaign it was not possible to separate things political from things military. How true this is, and how tragically often we neglected to observe the truth of that fact in the recent war. Perhaps we shall do a better job of combining things which supplement each other in the future.

In recognizing that we cannot dissociate things military from things political it seems equally clear that America cannot separate its domestic and international problems and obligations. The success of our participation abroad will be determined almost entirely by what we do and accomplish at home. If our people have no sympathy or understanding for what is being attempted abroad, we shall certainly fail over the long pull, but there are other ways in which we can fail in the attainment of every international objective.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield again?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Is the Senator familiar with the result of the last Gallup poll?

Mr. CAIN. In what respect, may I inquire?

Mr. TAYLOR. In connection with the move about to be undertaken. Does the Senator know what it indicated as to how the people of America feel toward this proposal? Did the Senator see the Gallup poll last Sunday?

Mr. CAIN. I might make three points in replying to the Senator. First, I have not seen the poll; second, I shall make it my business to look at it; and third, each Senator speaks on the basis of his conviction after considering the facts as they appear to him.

Mr. TAYLOR. That has nothing to do with the reaction of the people to the problem before us. On March 28 the Gallup poll showed 56 percent of the people against what is proposed. That is, the question was asked, "Do you think this should be turned over to the United Nations?" The words "turned over" were used. Fifty-six percent said "Yes." Last Sunday 63 percent said "Yes" to the same question. The people do not like this plan of handling the situation.

Mr. CAIN. That is very interesting. I take it, from the Senator's position, we should automatically cast our individual votes on the basis of what the Gallup poll says a selected group of people in America think should be done.

Mr. TAYLOR. Most certainly not. I was not arguing that at all. The Senator asked what the reaction of the people was, and I was merely trying to inform him; that is all. Certainly we should use our own discretion.

Mr. CAIN. I have considerable respect obviously for what the Gallup poll said a number of people in America were thinking, and I would think about that as best I could, and study the problem in the largest sense that I could, and speak with feeling, as my own conscience dictated.

Mr. TAYLOR. May I say to the Senator there have been times when I voted against the Gallup poll. This time, it just happens that I am in accord with it.

Mr. CAIN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. KEM. If the Senator from Washington will yield, I understand he is willing to support this bill and support an appropriation of \$400,000,000 for the purpose of implementing the Truman doctrine, but he is unwilling to go further?

Mr. CAIN. I would say to the Senator from Missouri that that is not completely my position. In the first place, I shall support it on what to me are reasonable grounds.

Mr. KEM. I suppose the Senator will give us the benefit of those reasons during the course of his address?

Mr. CAIN. I shall, indeed. Primarily, my reason for supporting it is that I think the instrumentality to which all nations should turn in times of strife and trouble and turmoil, the United Nations, is not presently prepared to do the job. I should like to think that this sort of crisis would result in such a situation, recognized by everybody, as would rebound ultimately to the advantage and development of the United Nations. We are going to be given an opportunity, I think, replying to the Senator from

Missouri, to make the United Nations work. It cannot do so today in this instance.

Mr. KEM. Does not the Senator think it would be appropriate to seek an opinion from the United Nations as to whether it is capable, or should like an opportunity to deal with the situation?

Mr. CAIN. I may be wrong, but on the basis of such information as I have at my disposal, the United Nations, above all others, are conscious of the fact that they are not presently qualified to do the job. I believe that to be so.

Mr. KEM. The Senator believes that to be a fact, but has he had any official indication from the United Nations of that fact? Is it not true that Mr. Lie himself has scarcely veiled his displeasure at the action of the United States in proceeding in this matter without consultation or even notice?

Mr. CAIN. That, I do not know.

Mr. KEM. Returning to my first question to the Senator from Washington, as I understand, the Senator is willing to vote for the \$400,000,000 appropriation, but he expressed some doubt whether our economy could stand the strain of implementing the entire doctrine as proposed by the President. Is that a correct statement?

Mr. CAIN. The Senator is entirely correct.

Mr. KEM. Does the Senator think it wise to make a start on a plan which is hastily contrived, which has not been fully thought out, which, as the Senator himself says, is contrary to what he would like to see done with respect to the United Nations?

Mr. CAIN. Having a real hope that coming out of this present problem of Greece and Turkey there will be a rejuvenated and very positive United Nations, which can undertake such obligations in the future, I think it is very much worth while taking a chance with \$400,000,000, which, as is known in this body, represents a ratio of 1 to 40 of the moneys we have invested overseas since VJ-day.

Mr. KEM. Does the Senator feel, in view of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to which we are signatory, particularly in view of the section 1, paragraph 24, of the Charter, that we have the option of deciding for ourselves whether the United Nations should handle this matter or not? Is it not true that we have already committed ourselves in advance to reliance on the United Nations and to entrusting them with the handling of a matter of this kind?

Mr. CAIN. I may say to the Senator from Missouri, that I think it very unfortunate that a complete understanding between the United States and the United Nations was not properly arrived at prior to the time of the declaration of need and the request which was made of us on March 12.

Mr. KEM. The Senator has in effect said he considered it a fatal error on the part of the President not to have given such notice. Does the Senator not believe that it would likewise be a fatal error on our part to proceed with the President's plan, which has been

launched under such inauspicious circumstances?

Mr. CAIN. If I understand the Senator correctly, I take it that my answer obviously must be "No." The Senator thinks there is more virtue in opposing the proposal, because of the way in which the program was presented, than in supporting it. I take the other side of the question.

Mr. KEM. In the first place, I think that we are under solemn covenant to entrust such matters to the United Nations. In the second place, I think if we expect the United Nations to develop into anything more than a debating society we must show our faith and trust at this time above all other times.

Mr. CAIN. We only differ, I may say most respectfully to the Senator from Missouri, in the way in which we are going to achieve exactly the same objective. I think it must be done, under the circumstances, in this way. The Senator upholds the other side, for which I have considerable respect.

I have but a few additional comments to make, and with the permission of the Senate I should like to repeat the last sentence.

If our people have no sympathy or understanding for what is being attempted abroad we shall certainly fail over the long pull, but there are other ways in which we can fail in the attainment of every international objective. Our present heavy international commitments, which are certain to become heavier, are geared to our domestic economy. If anything happens to retard our industrial production or to lessen our national income, failure abroad will become not only certain but absolute.

We can best help nations beyond the seas by doing a much better job at home than we have done for a long time. If we did not have a single foreign commitment, the need for doing a better job domestically would continue to stare us in the face.

The Eightieth Congress came into being to rid this Government of unnecessary waste and extravagance; to begin to whittle away on a national debt which could result in national insolvency; to provide tax relief in order that men would be encouraged to venture capital again; to work out a relationship between management and labor which would insure continuing production. None of these objectives has been accomplished. Until they are accomplished, there is cause for every citizen to be suspicious of any stability in his future.

America cannot be foolish or shortsighted or wasteful or divided at home and have any remote chance of carrying the rest of the world around on its shoulders.

Mr. Henry Wallace opposes the intended assistance for Greece and Turkey. He considers it ruthless imperialism. That I think him wrong goes without saying, but more important to me is the thought that it matters little what he says, for he is generally held to be utterly and completely irresponsible. It was Wallace who shrugged and laughed off the serious work stoppages and industrial strife which followed his tragic, mis-

chief-making statement of some months ago that wages and prices had no relationship.

What America needs is the application of some thoughtful, ruthless economic realism. We shall not pay our debts, carry our foreign and domestic financial burdens, and have peace either at home or abroad unless our industrial machine is fully and continually employed. Freedom for this world is geared to the assumption that America will work as it has never worked before.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, if the Senator from Washington will permit me to ask him another question, I should like to ask why our practice of stark economic realism should be postponed until tomorrow, rather than be undertaken today? In other words, why should we not look the economic facts of life in the face today and try to read whether our economy will stand the strain of the Truman doctrine, whether there is in it any prospect of tax reduction, whether there is in it any prospect of industrial peace, whether there is in it any satisfactory price level for years to come in this country?

Mr. CAIN. That mission has been too long delayed. The Senator from Missouri and I thoroughly agree on that.

Mr. KEM. May I suggest to the Senator from Washington for whom I have profound respect, that there could be no better time for the members of his party and mine to commence the fight for economic realism than on the vote on the pending measure?

Mr. CAIN. I think there are so many aspects to the Senator's point of view that I cannot answer them in one statement. To my mind, if we want to continue to live, we must become much more economically realistic at home than we have been for a long time, irrespective of any pending loan or grant or gift to Greece and Turkey. Secondly, it is a matter of degree. I think we should take a chance on \$400,000,000 which, if its spending results in providing a means qualified to do the job we are now undertaking to do, will then be a tremendous investment in the name of freedom.

Mr. KEM. I think the Senator has the same view of this proposal as I do; that we are taking a chance.

Mr. CAIN. Certainly.

Mr. KEM. Under those circumstances, since it is the taking of a chance, would it not be better to take a chance of letting the money lie in our own Treasury?

Mr. CAIN. All factors considered, from my point of view, I can say to the Senator from Missouri, I think not, sir.

I repeat, what America needs is the application of some ruthless economic realism. We shall not pay our debts, carry our foreign and domestic burdens and have peace either at home or abroad unless our industrial machine is fully and continually employed. Freedom for this world is geared to the assumption that America will work as it has never worked before.

In my considered opinion the President was guilty the other day of uttering a statement which can do as much

harm in the future as the statements of Henry Wallace have done in the past. The President said that if high prices did not come down it was cause sufficient for wages to go up.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Does the Senator mean to say that that is not a fact?

Mr. CAIN. Will the Senator permit me to conclude this paragraph, by the end of which I shall be delighted to answer his question, if I shall not already have done so?

Mr. TAYLOR. Certainly.

Mr. CAIN. The President said that if high prices did not come down it was cause sufficient for wages to go up. This is economic heresy of a suicidal kind. We all know that prices must come down. All of us are looking for ways through which prices can be reduced. But none of us have any right to indicate that the evil of high prices can be cured by the equally great evil of adding to the cost of production. If we worry about inflation now, and every individual does, we know, if we know anything at all, that to take the easy way out by encouraging national wage increases is to speed the day of economic disaster for America and the world.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. KEM. Does not the Senator believe that higher prices for goods, commodities and services are implicit in the Truman doctrine?

Mr. CAIN. I so stated in the earlier paragraphs of my statement.

Mr. KEM. I thank the Senator.

Mr. CAIN. In which I called the attention of America to the fact that one of the reasons for prevailing high prices is the shipments we are making abroad. But there are other elements of the price structure which we hope will help to bring prices down, and in that field I know the Senator and I are in perfect agreement.

Mr. President, along about 1874 or 1875 Mr. Disraeli, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, said "There is nothing around us but ruin and despair. There is no hope." Many a thinking person is inclined to believe that his statements are applicable today. I deny it, not because the ingredients for approaching disaster are not present, for they are, but because I think we have within our own spiritual, mental and physical resources the power to attain peace and opportunity for America and the United Nations.

I look to another one who had been Prime Minister of Great Britain for words and a philosophy to guide my thinking in perilous days like the present. When things were going rather well in the war in 1942 some friend said to Mr. Churchill, "It looks like the end." "No," Mr. Churchill said, "It is not the end, it is not even the beginning of the end. But perhaps," he said, "it is the end of the beginning."

That is what I think about our great problems in the year of 1947. Like many an American I dream and hope and pray that we are working for the end of our

beginning toward a happier day for all mankind.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. CAIN. I yield.

Mr. KEM. It was said on the floor of this Chamber a few days ago that the United Nations is the last blessed hope for "peace on earth and good will toward men." I should like to ask the Senator if he agrees with that sentiment?

Mr. CAIN. If there is hope—and I think there is—it certainly will lie in an organization which is either the United Nations as presently constituted, or a better organization which will take its place. That is where the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Washington are thoroughly in agreement. But I conceive that if we endeavor to load upon them today an undertaking which they cannot accomplish, we shall have lost ever so much more ground than we should have gained. A chance—it is a fantastic chance we are taking whatever decision the Senate reaches.

Mr. KEM. The Senator will recall that it has been frequently said that the League of Nations was destroyed on the floor of the Senate. Is the Senator willing to be one of those who strike a mortal blow at the United Nations?

Mr. CAIN. In my conscious mind that is the very last thing to which I think any Senator in this Chamber would want to be a party. But I do not conceive that, in supporting the administration's request, we are either (1) bypassing, or (2) destroying the future effectiveness of the United Nations. Certainly I would not want to be a party to an undertaking of that character because I think the saving of civilization is the prize we all seek.

Mr. KEM. One more question if, the Senator please. Before the Senator votes on this matter would he not be interested in an official statement or declaration on the part of the responsible officials or the Security Council of the United Nations as to what they believe would be the effect of our action upon the future of the United Nations.

Mr. CAIN. Like every other Senator of the present number of 95 I want as much information as one can possibly receive before any vote is cast.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I should like to make a few remarks which are provoked perhaps by the able and interesting discussion by the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN] of the very vital point which has been raised by the thought-provoking speeches by the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Washington.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that those who oppose this measure use as a most forceful argument the fact that it will bypass the United Nations. I am bound to admit that that is a very potent argument. It is one which I should like to examine briefly from another angle.

In the report of the committee in connection with this bill there is the following language:

During the course of its hearings the committee has carefully explored the relationship between the President's proposals and the role of the United Nations.

I believe that the President made a mistake in the manner in which this problem was handled so far as our relationship with the United Nations is concerned, and so far as the position of the United Nations in this problem is concerned. However, if it was a mistake, it has been made, and it seems to me that it has been ably remedied by the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG].

Reading further from the report:

It has become increasingly clear that by taking the action suggested by the President, the United States will be fulfilling a basic objective of the United Nations Charter—to create conditions of political and economic stability which will preserve the freedom and independence of its members and thus safeguard their sovereign equality.

With that statement I am in hearty accord. I feel that all of us who sincerely and earnestly believe in the United Nations should likewise be in accord with it, because it seems to me that that is exactly what our obligation is. If we believe what we believe sincerely and earnestly, and intend to stand by it, that is exactly what this measure proposes to do.

I read further from the report:

The United Nations was not created to supersede friendly relations between states through assistance from one state to another to carry out the purposes set forth in the Charter.

That statement means to me that when one nation can, by its individual assistance, help another nation which is a member of the United Nations, in a way which basically affects the independence, sovereignty, and status of that nation as a free and independent nation, particularly when the United Nations is unable to do so, we ought not to feel that we are doing violence to our obligation under the United Nations Charter or destroying the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Reading further from the report of the committee:

The Greek Government has requested the assistance of both the United States and the United Nations. At the request of the Greek Government, the Security Council of the United Nations is already dealing with important aspects of the Greek problem. A commission of investigation of the Security Council is concluding an investigation of the disturbed conditions along the northern Greek border.

As we all know, another commission of the United Nations is looking into the question of economic conditions in Greece. In other words, the United Nations was appealed to by Greece, and the United Nations went forward and did the things which it was able to do under the United Nations Charter, with the facilities it then had. As this report bears out—which has not been successfully denied on the floor of the Senate—the United Nations has no relief agency as such. It has no military force as such, and it has no money as such, to do the things which Greece has asked us to do. Therefore it seems to me that rather than being at variance with the United Nations in the proposed policy, we seem to be working hand-in-hand with it, the United Nations doing on its part what it has the authority and the facilities to

do, and we on our part, as a liberty-loving, freedom-preserving people, doing what we have the power and facilities to do.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Is there any prohibition in the set-up of the United Nations which would keep us from furnishing the United Nations with such money as it needs to do the job?

Mr. BALDWIN. I think not, Mr. President; but I would object strenuously to that course. We have already attempted to deal with relief to foreign nations through a united organization. UNRRA was such an organization. We found that our money and our goods were being used, and others were getting the credit. Instead of our goods and money being used in the manner which seemed to Americans the most effective, desirable, and useful, they were being used in other ways. It seems to me that if we are to put American money into this undertaking we should operate it in the American way. If there is any objection, it is perfectly possible, under the terms of the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan, for the Greek people to tell us that they do not want us in their country, and for the Assembly of the United Nations, or even a majority of the Security Council, to tell us to get out. How could we be fairer than that?

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. The Senator does not presume to compare the United Nations Organization with UNRRA, does he?

Mr. BALDWIN. I certainly do not; but in effect our effort to put this money into the United Nations Organization, which has no agency of its own to handle it, would simply require another organization to be established. Then we would be pouring our money into a project and having someone else administer it. We have seen in the past that a combined effort of that kind has not been as effective and useful in the cause of peace and in the cause of the prevention of starvation and the restoration of economic stability as we would like to have it.

Mr. MALONE. Is it not true that all the United Nations now lacks is money with which to do business? Is it not organized to handle international questions?

Mr. BALDWIN. I most earnestly hope that as a result of our action, if we pass the pending bill—and I fervently hope that it will be passed—and as a result of our gesture to the United Nations and the rest of the world, indicating our willingness to enter into any united effort, the other nations which are members of the United Nations will say, "The people of the United States have displayed splendid leadership. Let us get together with them and go forward and do this job." Then we shall begin to build the kind of an organization in the United Nations which can handle a problem of this kind. We shall then give it the power, prestige, and authority which it now lacks to do the job.

Mr. MALONE. Does the Senator expect any other nation except the United

States actually to put up any money for such an organization?

Mr. BALDWIN. None has offered to do so.

Mr. MALONE. No other nation is known to have any money, unless we have previously loaned it to them. Therefore it does not seem very complicated to me to place the money in the organization and pull the trigger.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Is it altogether inappropriate to suggest that what has just been said by the able Senator from Connecticut is a little like one saying in Lincoln's time—and it must be remembered that I am a Confederate descendant, but I am proud, as an American, that all America saved the Union—"The Union is not quite ready to be saved yet; but if it breaks up, after it is all over we will try to form another, which will be a good union"?

Mr. BALDWIN. I do not know that I thoroughly grasp the Senator's analogy.

Mr. PEPPER. The able Senator appears to take the position that we cannot use the United Nations now for relief, or to protect the security of nations which are threatened with aggression, but that if we proceed unilaterally, outside the United Nations, and without regard to it, and save those nations individually, perhaps at some later time we can build up the United Nations to a position of such strength that it will be able to do what I assume we all agree it should be able to do at the present time. That leads to the question, Would it not be better for us now to do our utmost to act through the United Nations Organization, and if it is deficient in power or authority, or, as the Senator has implied, in money, try to supply that deficiency and use the United Nations as the instrument through which to accomplish our objectives, rather than further to weaken it by admitting its impotency and acting unilaterally, even to achieve a good objective?

Mr. BALDWIN. In answer to that inquiry, let me say that if we had a year, 2 years, or 3 years in which to act, it would be well worth while to consider that particular suggestion. But we have not that much time; the time is short; the time is running out. If aid is to be given to Greece it must be given soon. That seems to me one of the chief reasons why we must proceed through this measure rather than through the United Nations, where we would be met with endless problems as to how the money should be administered, how the whole question should be handled, how best to preserve peace, and where to get the military force and the supplies to accomplish the purpose. Then, in the last analysis, what about the veto power when the matter reached the Security Council? What would be done about that? While all these questions were being considered and worked out, time would run on, the crisis would have passed, and Greece would have collapsed.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one other inquiry?

Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly.

Mr. PEPPER. I ask the Senator if the latest reports in the press do not

indicate that the Greek Army, without any of our money and without our equipment and a military mission being there at all, is progressing against the insurgents in the mountains, and does it not seem that the Greek Army is doing fairly well in protecting Greece, which has 7,000,000 inhabitants, against 13,000 insurgents who happen to be in the mountains. Is not the real need in Greece at the present time the need for economic aid? Does not the Senator believe that the Senate and the House could get together in a matter of hours on a program of economic aid for Greece, and then try to preserve the security of Greece either from internal aggression or outside aggression through the instrumentality of the United Nations Organization?

Mr. BALDWIN. I answer the Senator's question by saying that there seems to be in the Senate substantial support for this measure. I do not know whether that had anything to do with inspiring the Greek Army to put up a really energetic defense or to preserve order in Greece. I do not understand, Mr. President, that all of the money is to be expended at once in an effort to help organize the army, to help suppress rebellions. That is the kind of thing we want, and that is what can be done under this bill, and that is what it proposes to do.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, just one other inquiry, if the Senator will yield. Is it not also a fact that the United Nations Organization has taken jurisdiction of the so-called border aggression of Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and has sent a mission to investigate it, which is now preparing its report, and that the matter is to come up on the agenda of the United Nations? Is it not also possible that they may have done some good in bringing about a better situation?

Mr. BALDWIN. It is possible. It may very well be that when we receive the report and have all the information available we may want to change our policy. That is perfectly possible. It may be that then the Greeks will want us to leave. They could ask us to do so, under this bill. It may be that the United Nations Assembly or the Security Council would want to have us leave after they receive this report, and then we could do so under the provisions of this bill. It seems to me that we have a very simple and sound program.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Would it not be possible to obtain some sort of a preliminary report before we vote on this measure?

Mr. BALDWIN. That I do not know. If the United Nations wanted to bestir itself in that matter, it ought to be perfectly possible.

Mr. MALONE. The Senator mentioned emergency. We have talked about emergencies for the last week. In the Senator's judgment, are we starting on another 14-year cycle of emergencies, concerning which we are not able to wait for proper information upon which to base a vote?

Mr. BALDWIN. I agree with the able Senator from Nevada that it is high time

we found some other word in place of the word "emergency." We Americans have heard it over and over again and have heard it enough. I use the word "urgency." I would say that there is the probability of a crisis. It seems to me that our basic interests are involved. It has been more than a month since the President first proposed action, and we certainly have not, in the length of the debate and in the length of time which has elapsed, been treating it as much of an emergency.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. It seems to me that we have gained very little additional information from the State Department during the month of delay. Until we get some report from the Commission which has been over there on the ground, a preliminary report, any kind of direction from someone as to our part in a great international plan for establishing spheres of influence, if that is what it is, where do we go from there? The senior Senator from Michigan said that a move into Greece had no connection with the contemplated move into Korea. It seems to me that if we go into Greece for the reason the President says we are going there, then for the same reason we will go into Korea. I see no other reason to go there. They take care of themselves until someone else moves in. Can the Senator give us an idea of what the reason might be for this continuous emergency?

Mr. BALDWIN. With regard to the question of how much we know about it, as I understand the bill and the proposal a mission will be created on which there will be military representatives and naval representatives, and I have proposed an amendment which the Senate probably will consider, that there be representation from the Congress on this particular mission, so that we shall have our own representatives there who can give information directly to us, and in that way we shall probably know more than we could know from any commission of the United Nations. Furthermore, we shall have the advantage of the knowledge and experience of the United Nations Commission. So there is every opportunity for more complete knowledge than we now have. I share with the Senator from Nevada the regret that our knowledge is not more complete and detailed than it is. As on many other occasions in life, we have to act on the best knowledge available.

Mr. MALONE. We have a commission on the ground. I understand they are on their way back to make their report. We also have two distinguished Members of this body on the ground at this time. I understand that they will return on Monday. Would it be too much to ask that we wait until our own Senators return and ask them a few questions about what they found over there? By the use of the telephone it would not be impossible to communicate with the United Nations committee and ask them if they could throw a little light on this debate as to whether or not they think America should act independently or through the United Nations. We have no information on that score.

Mr. BALDWIN. I would say in answer, that the probabilities are that this question will not be decided before next Monday, and if there is any knowledge or information which the Members of this body who have been to those countries and who are now on their way home can provide, there is every probability that the decision will not be made before they can be here to provide it.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Connecticut yield to the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. BALDWIN. I yield the floor, Mr. President.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee a question. I have referred to the Gallup poll. The poll which was published last Sunday was made on the basis of the same question as the poll published on March 28. The question was, "Do you think the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the United Nations Organization?"

On March 28, 56 percent answered "Yes." Last Sunday, 63 percent said "Yes"—that it should be turned over to the United Nations.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. TAYLOR. I wish to ask the Senator from Michigan a question, and then I shall be happy to yield.

I should like to ask the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan whether his amendments carry out the philosophy and wish of the people, as expressed in those polls. Do the Senator's amendments turn this proposition over to the United Nations?

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, the Senator from Idaho knows the answer to that question, I am sure. I would say that the amendment turns over jurisdiction to the United Nations at any time that it wishes to assert jurisdiction.

What the Gallup poll intended to ask, I do not know. Although I have always found the Gallup poll interesting and encouraging when it agreed with my point of view, I have not formed the habit of considering the Gallup poll to be in the same classification as either the Constitution or the Bible. This is not a pure democracy under which we live, where Gallup polls are the controlling consideration. I quite agree that insofar as they reflect public opinion accurately—and frequently they apparently do—they are of very great interest to a representative body of this character; but if the Senator from Idaho will permit me to say so, I would hardly be able to rest my opinion in respect to a problem of this fundamental importance upon a Gallup poll.

I call the Senator's attention to the fact that in this instance, particularly, the Gallup poll might well be guilty of lacking adequate information on the part of those polled. We find that Senators who rise on the floor of the Senate have been in contact with all the documents and all the debates thus far and have been in personal contact with the President's message, and yet we find them saying that they are not sufficient-

ly informed to be able intelligently to decide what they should do.

How we could expect to sample indiscriminately the sentiment of the American people, as Dr. Gallup does, and be fortunate enough to contact persons who are better informed than Members of the Senate are in respect to the question concerning which they are asked for an answer, it is hard to conceive. I think it is quite obvious that a poll of this particular character is not so impressive as some of the other Gallup polls are.

Mr. TAYLOR. I thank the Senator for his extended answer. I appreciate it sincerely.

My only reason for bringing up the point was that the editors of the Gallup poll—Mr. Gallup himself, I assume, or at least editors writing under his name—say that their poll would appear to bear out the position of the Senator from Michigan and to support his amendments.

That is why I wish to ask him whether his amendments would turn over this undertaking to the United Nations.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, if I have not answered that question, I wish to be very sure that I do, because it is a perfectly fair question. In my opinion, the amendment which has been adopted gives the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations a—shall we call it—residuary jurisdiction to recall this plan whenever it has the votes to do so and has such a disposition. Therefore, since the first instance, in my opinion, it would be impossible for the United Nations to take jurisdiction, I think we have gone as far to give it jurisdiction as, from my point of view, is possible, as a result of the amendment to which the Senator has referred.

Mr. TAYLOR. I was in no way trying to embarrass the Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator is not embarrassing me in the slightest.

Mr. TAYLOR. I wish to point out that Mr. Gallup went a little off base in trying to read into his poll things that the poll itself did not show. That is my sole aim.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator's quarrel is with Dr. Gallup, then, and not with me.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the Senator from Michigan means to say that 1 week after this loan is granted, if the Security Council of the United Nations or the Assembly of the United Nations by majority vote, if I remember correctly, wished to take jurisdiction, it could take jurisdiction and could take this matter out of the hands of the United States of America.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Let me read the amendment, because it is a perfectly clear justification for the Senator's statement:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances.

The second circumstance is:

If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

Even "undesirable," Mr. President. I think the answer to the Senator's question is emphatically, unequivocally, and without reservation, "Yes."

Furthermore, I should like to add, because I feel it so keenly myself, that I do not think anyone in this Chamber would accuse me of any lack of fidelity to the United Nations. I have given my life to it.

In my opinion, in all the story of the United Nations there has never been an act of voluntary allegiance equal to the unanimous adoption by the Senate of the United States of a declaration that we will yield to the judgment of the Security Council, regardless of anyone's veto. I should like to see a parallel to that act of faith on the part of anyone else on earth.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, that is the point I was about to discuss next, as a result of a preliminary question or two. I was about to discuss the very thing the Senator from Michigan has mentioned, namely, the yielding upon the part of this country to the veto power set up in the United Nations Organization.

Anyone who is aware of what has been going on knows definitely, as a result of the using of the veto power by a certain nation now a member of the United Nations, that this matter never could have been handled by the United Nations in the beginning, and, in my judgment, the only way the United Nations could have had any jurisdiction whatsoever was by having us do exactly what has been done through the amendments offered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan.

In my judgment, the United Nations would never have taken jurisdiction of this matter in the beginning, had we depended solely upon that Organization to do it, because the veto power would have been used. In other words, under this amendment, we are almost forcing the United Nations to take jurisdiction—not unanimously, as is suggested under the Charter of the United Nations Organization, but by only a majority of those in the Assembly or in the Security Council. We are hereby yielding some of our precious sovereignty to show our good faith in working toward peace.

Mr. President, I undertake to say that there has never been, in the interest of something that is fundamentally right, in the interest of looking forward to something that is peaceful in this world, in the interest of a suffering humanity, a greater piece of generosity upon the part of any nation, in any great, fundamental world upheaval such as the one we are experiencing at the present time.

The only reason that we do it, Mr. President, the only reason why an amendment of this kind is offered and adopted, whereby the United States of America in a way gives up its jurisdiction and its right to handle a unilateral proposition of this kind, is because we want to demonstrate to the people of America and to the people of the world that we are moving in the utmost good faith toward bringing about an everlasting peace—the kind of peace that mankind has been crying for for so long.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, today we have listened to what I consider to be one of the most spirited and searching

debates I have heard on the floor of the Senate for some time.

I am sure we all appreciate the gravity of the situation which confronts us. I wish to say at the outset that I am not opposing the pending bill. It is my desire to support the President's proposal, and to support the able Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations who presented the pending bill in the Senate.

However, there are certain considerations which I wish to call to the attention of the Senate which may affect the final form the bill should take. I have a few amendments which I wish to present, and I shall develop these matters during the course of my discussion.

The legislation we are considering here is no ordinary bill to provide funds for relief, economic assistance, and military aid to Greece and Turkey alone. This is a bill intended, as the President of the United States said, in addressing the Congress on March 12, 1947, "to implement the foreign policy and the national security of this country."

The bill provides:

That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may, from time to time, when he deems it in the interest of the United States, furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

(1) By rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

(2) By detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

(3) By detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph; and

(4) By providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for, by manufacture or otherwise, and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries.

The President has stated clearly the intention behind this bill. He declared:

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. * * * We shall not realize our objectives unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. * * * I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. * * * The disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war. * * * Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in the fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the west as well as to the east. We must take immediate and resolute action.

Mr. President, the import of the proposed legislation is easy to understand. We are assuming the obligation of defending democracy and opposing communistic imperialism in the world. The able Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE] concisely stated the purpose of the bill when he said it is intended to "put a stop to further communistic imperialism."

Mr. President, I am sure that we all wholeheartedly share the feeling expressed by the Senator from Georgia and other Senators during this debate, that we must not fail to oppose communistic imperialism with all the vigor and resources we possess. Nevertheless, in this resolve we must not fail to recognize that there is a widespread feeling in the country that this is not solely an American problem. It is a problem of all democracies. It is one, from a financial standpoint, that we cannot shoulder alone.

In accepting the challenge of communistic imperialism, however rich we may be, we are engaging in an international undertaking which may lead us into far greater financial commitments than the ones involved in the present proposal.

The able Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], who is recognized as an authority on the fiscal problems of the Nation, has asked that a financial survey of the situation be made so that we might know just what our total obligations will amount to, and so enable us to determine whether we can safely undertake the financing of such a program. Although our assumption of world leadership is important and commendable, the manner in which we assume and discharge our responsibilities is equally vital.

In a recent article published by an investment research organization in New York City, known as Value-Line Investment Survey, I find the following statement, which I quote:

We are of the opinion that even if the United States should establish an anti-Communist regime on the Greek flank of the Dardanelles, Russia would not immediately go to war. But American commitments in Greece, if they are to achieve their purpose, would have to be followed by commitments in other parts of the world, and such extensive undertakings would weaken capitalism in the American sphere. In so doing, they would prove to be self-defeating.

Let me point out, Mr. President, that in Greece we are not dealing at the present time with a democratic government. What we do under this proposal in Greece, therefore, will be scrutinized throughout the world, and in the years to come we will be held accountable for any mistakes we may make. The present government in Greece was originally imposed on the people there by the British Army. The present government is by no means a genuine democratic government. Nevertheless, it is the government that we will, under the present plan, be called upon to sustain until such time as the people of that country may be able to express their wishes in a genuinely free election, if they ever may be permitted to do so.

Frederick R. Coudert, New York lawyer and authority on international law, in the New York Times of April 6 says that the move we are considering is not

a move merely to prevent the infiltration of communism into democratic countries. If that were the only thing involved, we would not have this measure before us today.

"All sane men," says Mr. Coudert, "would recoil from any such religious wars as afflicted Europe in the sixteenth century." Mr. Coudert then asks, "Why has there been this misunderstanding and camouflage regarding our dominant and real reason?" He then goes on to point out that perhaps it was because of the bad odor of the balance-of-power policy that the effort was made to place the move on the ground that it was being used to prevent the expansion of communism.

Mr. Coudert thinks what we are really trying to do by the steps we are taking is the application of the balance of power methods to Russia. We are proposing by this measure, he points out, to hem Russia in on the Black Sea and prevent her passing through the Dardanelles to become a Mediterranean and Atlantic power, and threaten our security and safety. It was to prevent Russia from becoming a Mediterranean and Atlantic power back in 1878 that the British mobilized their fleet to stop Russia from overwhelming Turkey and gaining access to the sea.

Now, Mr. President, the representatives of the Soviet Government understand perfectly well what this program is all about. Russia has been struggling for centuries to get through the Dardanelles. The British are stepping out of the way and turning over to the United States the responsibility of holding the Russians in check. Of course, the British are more anxious to stop Russia coming through the Dardanelles than we are. They are seeking to consolidate their interests in the Near East and in Africa, and if Russia were to get through the Dardanelles at this time the British would be seriously threatened.

Naturally, the United States will have to assume the blame, as well as the credit, for having blocked Russia from becoming a Mediterranean and Atlantic power. But, in this connection, it might be well to consider what some experts seem to think about the situation. It is thought by many that later on the British and the Russians will get together. Their interests will be more complementary than ours, and it would not be unnatural for England and Russia in the years to come to enter into closer relations.

I do not offer these matters as conclusive reasons for rejecting this proposal. But I do think these considerations should give us pause; we should not act precipitately; we should certainly know the facts and pursue the inquiry suggested by the able Senator from Virginia before final action is taken.

The able chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee invited all members of the Senate who had questions or amendments to offer to come before the committee. Accordingly, I appeared with other Senators and presented some amendments. These amendments were considered by the full committee. Two of my amendments were adopted in part by the com-

mittee, and I believe the others were embodied in the committee report accompanying the bill S. 938. Mr. President, I wish to express my high appreciation for the manner in which the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], and members of his committee have handled this legislation which was suddenly thrust upon them for quick action. They felt impelled to abbreviate the hearings, but their frank and statesmanlike action in setting forth in the report the full implications of the bill is commendable. In their report they have set forth with great clarity the obligations to be taken on by the executive branch of the Government in carrying out the provisions of the bill.

The Committee on Foreign Relations, in its report, among other matters, points out that—

The committee is strongly of the opinion that the fullest success will not be achieved unless competent persons are sent to Greece to insure the development of controls at key points and to supervise their application. The United States Government must be assured that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in matters such as the following: Fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, a strict husbanding and control of the foreign-exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These measures are necessary to enable Greece to achieve stability.

Furthermore, Mr. President, while the report specifically declares that the United States is rendering this aid to Greece of necessity "to meet a short-term crisis," it further says, "the proposals made by the President do not preclude longer-range action by United Nations agencies on behalf of Greece. On the contrary, they set the stage for such action." In the bill itself the declaration is made that this legislation is necessary because—

The United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required.

In this declaration I read the intent on the part of the United States that the United Nations should assume this as its obligation as soon as possible. I further read in another provision of the bill the same intent, where it says:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein * * * if (he is) officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of the veto), or that the General Assembly finds, that action or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

These sections of the bill have been widely acclaimed as declarations proving that we are not bypassing the United Nations but that we are accepting only an emergency responsibility to bridge the short-term crisis now confronting Greece.

I am in accord with the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] in his desire to make it clear that we are not bypassing the United Nations.

However, I do not believe his amendment goes far enough. I therefore intend to propose an amendment further clarifying this matter so as to make it absolutely clear that it is the understanding of this Government that the assistance we are rendering is wholly an emergency matter, it being the understanding of this Government that the rendering of such assistance is the continuing responsibility of the United Nations. I intend to offer such an amendment because I feel that we must in clear and unmistakable language set forth that this is an emergency matter, and that the continuing responsibility for assistance to Greece and Turkey by common consent is one of the very fundamental purposes involved in the establishment of the United Nations Organization.

Another amendment to the bill seems to be absolutely necessary. I refer to my amendment proposing that the Congress of the United States establish a Joint Congressional Committee, composed of three members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives and three members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, which shall, not less than twice a year, during the period this act is in effect, visit the countries receiving assistance under it, and shall make full reports to the Congress and to the American people as to the administration of this act, current problems, and the conditions in the countries visited, so that the interests of the United States may be fully understood and protected. The purpose and need of this amendment is obvious, and I will not take up any time in discussing it. It speaks for itself.

Mr. President, this legislation, calling calling for intervention in the affairs of Greece and Turkey in the form of economic and military assistance, presents one of the gravest questions our country has ever been called upon to face. It is a question with so many implications and ramifications that few of our citizens not familiar with foreign affairs can fully comprehend its ultimate significance.

The people of the country generally have not a full understanding of the underlying facts and circumstances. Already it appears to have created widespread confusion and conflicting opinions in the minds of the people. Daily we see in the press evidences of this confusion and misunderstanding. Columnists, editors, private citizens, and groups of citizens throughout the country are giving their views in constantly increasing volume. One cannot pick up a newspaper without observing these conflicting views.

Having only recently concluded the most terrifying and destructive war in our history, our people have been looking forward with hope and encouragement to a period of genuine peace; a period in which they might have an opportunity to recover from the tragic dislocations of the war and readjust their lives to peaceful pursuits.

In the midst of these preoccupations, they have been profoundly disturbed and confused by this sudden and unexpected proposal. Judging from my mail, which I believe is no different than

the mail of other Senators, I find it has produced two conflicting reactions. One section of my correspondents express enthusiastic approval of the proposed policy. They take the view that our Government must have an immediate show-down with Russia; that the constant expansion of Russia's dominions and spheres of influence and the infiltration of communism into other countries requires the prompt and unequivocal approval of this policy. It is argued by some that inasmuch as we have the secret of the atomic bomb, and the greatest military and economic resources in the world, we can fight Russia now and settle, once and for all, these problems that are causing so much fear and uncertainty in the world. They feel convinced that we will be correct in taking a stand in Greece and Turkey to challenge the threat of Soviet imperialism and the onward march of communism which they assert threatens to engulf the world and eventually destroy our own way of life in America.

Of course, if this judgment regarding Soviet aggression is correct, and it cannot otherwise be checked, the proposal is entitled to the wholehearted and patriotic backing of the American people.

But, Mr. President, a large number of our people, perhaps a majority, as indicated by the Gallup polls and the correspondence we are receiving, are expressing grave fear and alarm lest the course proposed may inevitably lead us into national bankruptcy or into a war which may be more deadly and destructive than the one from which we just emerged. These individuals express the opinion that because of the dangerous implications involved in the proposed policy, it should not be assumed as the individual responsibility of our country. It is felt by these persons that this is a responsibility exclusively within the jurisdiction of the United Nations. It is easy to understand the reaction of this large section of our people.

Hardly a family in America escaped the ravages of the late war. Even in the most remote sections of our country few families failed to mourn the loss of sons or relatives. They have been closely touched by the horrors of World War II, the most dreadful and destructive war that has ever afflicted the earth. They do not easily react to the rhetorical appeals and stirring argument of those who feel that America is rich and powerful and should undertake the burden of making democracy safe for the whole world. They feel sincerely that this is a program for all the democratic nations working through the United Nations. If the United Nations cannot shoulder the task, they want this proven beyond any reasonable dispute.

Mr. President, it is true that we all feel thoroughly disillusioned and disappointed with the delaying tactics and maneuverings of the Soviet diplomats at the peace conferences. The press dispatches which we have been reading, and must rely on, have convinced us that Russia is not cooperating in a genuine endeavor to bring an early peace to the world. No one can condone their efforts to delay, confuse, and prevent the prompt consideration and settlement of the many diffi-

cult problems that have grown out of the war.

But, Mr. President, when we talk of military assistance to Greece and Turkey, for the purpose of preventing the infiltration of communism into the outer world or for the purpose of hemming in Russia so as to prevent her expansion and passage through the Dardanelles to participate with other big nations in the economic exploitation of the Near East, I can readily understand how large sections of our people may feel that in following such a course we are undertaking something which may lead us into far greater commitments than we are proposing to make in Greece and Turkey.

Senators on both sides of this body during the present debate have taken the floor and pointed out that this Greece-Turkey program will lead us inevitably into further and even more stupendous commitments. The able Senator from South Dakota [Mr. BUSHFIELD], a few days ago said:

Obviously, we will not be confined to this single request from Greece and Turkey but will have to underwrite all European and Asiatic countries, and I doubt if the United States is either able or willing to engage in that sort of a program. I fear that our attempt to enter the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey inevitably means another war.

Following the Senator from South Dakota, the able Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MARTIN], expressed views along the same lines. Among other things, he said:

It seems to me that in our study and discussion of this proposed loan—or shall I say grant or gift—to Greece and Turkey, we should consider it not as an isolated plan but as a tile in a large mosaic. If the United States proceeds to take the step requested, it should not do so with blinders on. The Nation should act only after a careful look around the barrel. * * * The searchlight of truth should be turned on in full force for the benefit of the American people.

The able Senator from Vermont [Mr. FLANDERS], speaking on the subject of aid to Greece and Turkey, said:

This situation is different. We are embarking on a long, new adventure. We have set out to achieve peace actively, rather than enjoy it passively and precariously. We must shed on this long, new adventure every ray of light which can be gathered from every source. Those rays of light must be directed onto the dim, difficult path which lies ahead.

The distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL] also expressed serious concern over what he calls "this new adventure." Let me quote him:

At this time the Members of the Congress and perhaps the people of the country have been caught by surprise.

Yet, Mr. President, on this matter of need of abrupt and speedy action, the able columnist, Walter Lippmann, writing in the Washington Post of March 4, 1947, said:

There is no apparent reason for forcing so abrupt a decision before March 31 except that this date happens to mark the end of the British fiscal year. The British Government, though it must cut drastically its foreign expenditures, has not suddenly run out of funds as of March 31. The fixing of that most inconvenient time limit is an acci-

dent of the procedure on the budget. * * * The immediate need, therefore, is for a stop-gap arrangement with the British Government which covers the immediate emergency in Great Britain and in Greece, and will permit us to examine here, and with the British Government, the great issues which are at stake. It is not in anyone's interest that they should be dealt with in an atmosphere of panic.

It has been pointed out here before that an over-all program has been presented to the United States calling for aid and development of foreign countries which will aggregate many billions of dollars of the American taxpayers' money. Now, we are asked to underwrite this new and perhaps even more costly program. However laudable such a program may be, it could, in the end, bankrupt us. As a Wall Street research organization recently pointed out, it is not so much the danger of communism which should alarm us, as it is the danger of the deterioration of capitalism itself. This is the conclusion of the Value-Line Investment Survey which I mentioned earlier in my remarks. Let me quote this very interesting study of the proposal a little further:

America investors are deeply concerned over taxation. Taxation far more than communistic infiltration is threatening our way of life.

* * * * *

THE SHIFT OF BRITISH POWER

The number one fact of life to hold onto in this maelstrom of postwar political readjustments is that the British are shifting their Empire. They are moving out of Asia and east Europe to consolidate in Africa and the Near East. Their great adventure is the chance of developing an Arab world and exploiting Africa.

* * * * *

There she could obtain raw materials produced with cheap labor to be processed in England for export at a profit to Britain. By agreement with either the United States or Russia she might be able to share the rich oil fields of the Near East, whence would come the oil to power the air force and fleet that would defend the African empire. The Arabs offer a brilliant opportunity, for they are a people of great ability and no organization.

* * * * *

The big danger to the British scheme is that the Russians may inject themselves into the Near East and North Africa before the British are able to carry their plans for Africa and the Near East to fruition.

It is here that the next American move becomes decisive. If the United States takes up the position in Greece that the British army is evacuating, the burden of defending the British sphere in Africa and the Near East in its formative period falls upon the United States. Not only is Britain's African empire then protected, but Britain is in a strategic position later on to shift her alliance toward a Russia exasperated by American obstruction. Once Britain's African and Near East eastern empires are established she would have stock in trade—Arabian oil—that could be shared with Russia, and foreign markets in the Balkans and in Asia that might advantageously be shared with the Russian cartels on some basis mutually satisfactory to the two socialist governments. The exclusion of American goods from European and Asiatic markets would naturally be required, since England's production competes in export with America's.

The British shift out of the Far East and eastern Europe into Africa and the Near East, and her political reorientation from

the American orbit to the Russian will not come to pass in a day. Britain has still to use up her American loan. She can import only from America, because only America is rich enough to export at this time. But in the long run Britain's interests will dovetail with Russia's more closely than our own and her political alignment with Russia is therefore probable. To think thus may shock the sentiments of many good people. But in the game of power politics, which for four centuries has found England waging wars against Spain, France, Russia, and Germany with complete impartiality, there are no scruples but only interests.

At the same time, the Russian Government is desirous of expanding its sphere of influence to contiguous territories for three reasons: (1) For defense through buffer states; (2) for space in which to build up complementary trading areas; (3) for outlets to the sea.

How, then, will the Russians react if the United States should formulate a foreign policy that has as its obvious purpose control of the flanks on Russia's only warm water outlet?

To Russia the American decision to take over Greece must be a particularly bitter pill to swallow, because not only is it a threat to Russia's security as well as her expansion, but it comes right after the Russians gave their approval to America's claim for control of the militarily strategic Pacific islands. The Russians must think that we Americans want the whole world, including their back door.

The upshot cannot be favorable for the United States. The Russians will be resentful and even more suspicious than in the past. They will close ranks at home, more willingly suffering a low standard of living in order to build up their industrial potential for defense. They will look to Britain as an ally, even as a partner in the development of oil fields in the Near East, and to the exclusion of the United States.

The essential quality of capitalism is this: That it is an economy governed by a free market in which prices, demand, and supply are at liberty to reach an equilibrium without government intervention. Under pure socialism, prices and supplies are determined by the government and the demand is regulated by rationing.

The free economy is clearly the more efficient except during periods of deep maladjustment.

In every instance where the people themselves have had a chance to choose between an economy that has a degree of free determination and an economy of complete government regimentation, the people have always shown a strong preference for the free economy. Since this has been so wherever the two systems came into conflict, it may be concluded that sooner or later the Russian people will themselves insist upon a greater degree of freedom in their country.

To this the foe of Russia replies that there can be no freedom of choice in that country. That is true today. That is not true of tomorrow. Today the Russians must tighten their belts to produce capital enough to build up their income. Once they have forced through their industrialization—a process which the Russians are attempting to complete in a generation though other nations have required centuries—they will be ready to live.

The Russian people have a sincere admiration for America and American achievement, as attested by the dispatches of many responsible men who have visited Russia. Why, then, is it necessary to prove to them

at the point of a gun that our way of life is superior to their own? Especially so when pointing the gun requires that we weaken our own way of life?

It is necessary to be practical. There must be some lines within which the contest for men's loyalties can be fought out by force of example. We are not yet such a perfect race that we can eliminate power politics altogether. But in the practical application of power politics, the first rule is not to bite off more than can be chewed. The natural, the practical sphere, in which to prove the superiority of capitalism and individualism is North and South America and the islands of the Caribbean and Pacific. These happen also to be the territories that the United States has traditionally defended. The area is large enough to be economically self-sustaining. Yet one imagines that if any responsible government authority advocated intervention in South American political and economic affairs, he would be denounced as an imperialist by the very same people who shout isolationist at anyone who is reluctant to see America control the government of Greece.

There is not such a vast gulf between the Russians and ourselves that we could not live together in peace in our own parts of the world. It is implicit in the Russian program to relax the present regimentation of the individual's life. When that happens the difference between us will be no greater than that between us and the socialist state of Great Britain.

The contest of capitalism versus communism will then get down to a question of which works better. That could be settled without warfare. It would seem to be the part of wisdom for America to strengthen capitalism by removing as many as possible of the controls that make it unworkable, such as tariffs, cartels, subsidized prices, labor monopolies, and income taxes that prevent constructive enterprise. Nobody is going to stop the expansion of communism by sticking a \$250,000,000 thorn into the side of Russia. Communism will be stopped by something that works better.

I was greatly impressed today, Mr. President, at a luncheon in honor of a distinguished visitor from England, a Member of Parliament. In discussing the situation in Europe he pointed out that the proper way to stop communism is not by the establishment of Maginot lines but by making democracy work better in democratic countries.

I continue quoting from the Value-Line, Investment Survey:

They can learn, but they will not be taught at the point of a foreign gun. Nor will they learn to admire the capitalist economy unless we capitalists see to it that it works. We have more to do in North and South America than on the flanks of the Dardanelles.

The danger to Americans is not the activity of Communist agents but the deterioration of capitalism itself. Sensing our own weakness we look for a foreign devil to blame it on. But this is self-deception. Communism would have no chance at all in a world, or even in a part of a world, in which capitalism was working. Rome did not fall because of the power of the barbarians but because of the weakness of the Romans. In weakening capitalism in order to "contain" Russia by naked military force, we do not defend ourselves intelligently.

The views expressed by the able Senators whom I have quoted are in accord with the thoughts I have been attempting to express here. I feel that before we act on this matter we must enlighten the whole people on the subject. They must back us up or we will have failed.

Many private citizens and leaders in American public life have discussed this subject during the last few days expressing with varying degrees similar views. I have had many letters from citizens of my State who appear to be considerably alarmed as a result of this proposal.

In one letter from a prominent businessman in Missoula, Mont., I find the following:

I have conversed with a number of people on the subject and the unanimous feeling is that any assistance rendered should be with extreme caution. There are varied feelings as to what might happen, such as inviting another war, encouraging more poverty-stricken nations with high hopes of our being a Santa Claus to them also. The feeling is that we should be more than ever thinking about making ourselves strong, keeping out of other people's business, and that if help in any form is rendered it should be with the thought in mind to help them become able to help themselves.

Another letter from a businessman in Great Falls, Mont., states as follows:

The illness of Greece is critical and severe but in my opinion can be treated and brought to recovery without the drastic military steps this country is contemplating. Each year thousands of people in rural Greece are dying from exposure because their villages have been destroyed and no shelter has yet been provided. Please accept this from one who knows—I was there and saw it. This almost hopeless condition is driving the people to what we term "communism," but be assured that the Greek people themselves are anything but Communists—they are individualists as all their actions of life show but are being driven by desperation to their own destruction by communistic influences. The so-called Red army in Greece is made up mostly of youngsters who were selected when Greece was invaded by the Germans and whose education has been nothing else but a series of economic and political slogans. They don't know any better. The present government has through terrorism, as I have seen it enacted by the country police, has not helped any to alleviate the desperation above mentioned, nor has it taken out of the rebel army the immature youngsters. On the other hand, they have driven them further away from the present government. Without making this too long, be assured, Senator, that if the Greek people were given reasonable shelter by rebuilding their villages, a little assistance in agriculture, a chance to have an education, and freedom from oppression, and allowed to select a representative government without coercion, Greece would be safe and no American soldiers would be required.

I have numerous letters along the same lines warning that this matter should be very carefully studied before we take the course proposed.

Mr. President, these are not ill-considered arbitrary expressions from unthinking people. The citizens of this country will patriotically accept any plan shown to be essential to the preservation of our American way of life. They hesitate, however, when they are called upon to support a course which may possibly lead us into a dangerous position. No one here can justifiably cast aspersions on citizens for frankly expressing their judgment on this momentous question. We must not forget that any course we pursue must have the backing of the people, and it will be wise at the outset to take the people into our confidence and try to adopt a program here which can

be shown to be sound and that will not involve us in dangerous consequences.

The situation calls for speed but not for reckless speed. If the course proposed in this legislation is the only sound course we could pursue, then it must be made clear to the American people and we may rest assured it will be accepted. That has not been done so far, because 90 percent of my correspondents express opposition to it in its present form. No longer can we depend on a select few to determine the destiny of our country. The people of this Nation are well aware of the fact that in the past serious diplomatic mistakes have been made which have been costly to us. We must not now attempt to hurry this matter through the Congress without adequate amendments and safeguards. Otherwise, we may later find that we have adopted a policy by our hasty action which may be under suspicion and distrust in the country.

Mr. President, in my opinion, when this proposal was first announced, the people of our country were not in possession of sufficient information of the conditions to have a proper understanding of its effect and meaning. I believe that the hearings subsequently held were inadequate to fully develop the justification for this program and the ultimate costs we would assume in carrying it out. Very little consideration was given to the conditions prevailing in Turkey and Greece which prompted the program.

I am satisfied, and I think we all here recognize, that the fundamental purpose of this bill is to advance the democratic cause in those two countries and strengthen the democratic position of this Nation in international affairs. If this purpose can be shown to be well-conceived and thoroughly demonstrated to the American people, I am sure that most of the present confusion and misunderstanding concerning the measure would disappear. I say this, of course, with the assumption that it must be shown to be a practical program—that it is feasible and that it will not be so costly as to threaten our national solvency.

I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am not unalterably opposed to this program, but I do feel that it requires more study and that some amendments are necessary. I should like to have seen more extensive hearings in order that all the facts and all the conditions of the program could be completely understood by the people of this country. I want the public to know exactly what we are doing in order that we may have undivided support in any course we take.

Under our democratic system any foreign policy must rest upon public approval for support. The public must be fully and completely informed on all commitments, policies, and actions. To withhold any information would be unwise and dangerous. The American people all understand that ever since the ending of the war, the Soviet Government has pursued a course of arbitrary opposition—a course of delay and obstruction to the early establishment of a just peace and settlement of the problems arising out of

the war. It is generally felt that we must find some way of letting the Soviet Government know that the American people are firmly united in opposition to the imposition of her ideologies or her arbitrary will on other nations of the world. The program which we are providing in the legislation now being considered may be the only effective course for our country to pursue. I feel, however, that it has not yet been demonstrated.

It is therefore important that all its provisions and implications be made clear. I want the country to know the full extent of the burdens we are assuming and the full consequences which may result in the adoption of this policy. Only if we do this, can we have the undivided support of the American people back of it.

I do not wish to be understood as reflecting in any way on the efforts of the distinguished members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the very able chairman of that committee who by reason of his recognized ability has the confidence of every Member of the Senate. I think the able and conscientious chairman of the committee has already made invaluable contributions to our country and to the world in connection with our peace efforts. I wish to assure him of my support to the fullest degree in the heavy burdens which he has assumed and is carrying out on behalf of our country.

In offering the amendments which I have presented to the Senate, my sole purpose has been to aid in making it clear that by our action here we are not bypassing the United Nations Organization. I want to support the President and cooperate with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in this matter, because I fully appreciate the need of national unity in the face of the dangerous conditions which confront us.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I wish to address myself to the able acting majority leader. Of course, I would not make any motion without first having some understanding about it. But I feel very strongly that when we have night sessions and when everyone is acting in good faith in an effort to expedite the business of the Senate, it is only fair that Senators have some time for dinner, and that no Senator be asked to stand on the floor and speak to empty seats, while many other Senators are in the dining room getting their dinner.

I wonder what the acting majority leader would think about frankly taking a dinner recess until 7 o'clock, and then returning here. If we remain in session 3 or 4 hours after that, it would seem to me that that time, in addition to the 6 hours we would already have devoted to the session today, would make a total of 10 or 11 hours of work, which would be a fairly good working day.

I would not wish to ask the Senator to make such a decision without reflection and consultation with his colleagues; and I assume that no Senator would take advantage of the situation by attempting to break a quorum of the Senate and thereby prevent debate this evening.

But I wonder whether it would be possible for us to have a short time for dinner, and then resume our deliberations a little later in the evening.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I did not quite understand all the Senator's proposal. I should like very much to have the Senate continue to follow the announced plan, and proceed until 7:30 or 8 o'clock, at least, and then, perhaps, determine what Senators wish to do thereafter.

I am quite satisfied to have the Senator from Florida yield for the suggestion of the absence of a quorum, if he wishes to do so.

Mr. PEPPER. I was only making an informal suggestion; I would not under any circumstances make a motion to that effect without having first an understanding about the matter. I am simply saying that the Senate has been in session for 6 hours, lacking 5 minutes.

Mr. WHERRY. That is correct.

Mr. PEPPER. And presumably the Senate will be in session this evening until 10 or 11 o'clock. I think the Senator from Colorado expects to address the Senate, and possibly I myself will do so, and thereafter perhaps other Senators will address the Senate. That will mean that we shall have put in a rather full working day.

If the Senator from Colorado begins to speak at this time, many Senators are downstairs having their dinner, and it is a little unfair to call them away from their meal for a quorum, thus interrupting their dinner, and then have them return to the dining room. At the same time I do not wish in any sense of the word to break a quorum and make the evening's efforts futile.

So I am wondering whether the Senator thinks we should proceed without a quorum call and without at the same time having any Senator speak to only a handful of Senators during the normal dinner hour.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I deeply appreciate the suggestion of the Senator from Florida. I should like to suggest to him that yesterday announcement was made that this evening the Senate would have a night session and would continue in session without interruption. Accordingly, I appeal to the distinguished Senator's sense of fairness to let us proceed.

I, myself, think the absence of a quorum should be suggested so as to get Senators into the Chamber, let the session continue until the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Florida have concluded, and then take a recess until tomorrow.

We are up against the same condition we always face in connection with night sessions. We have been attempting to bring this legislative proposal to a conclusion, and I have tried my very best—

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator from Nebraska has been very cooperative.

Mr. WHERRY. I have made my best efforts to have the Senate hold night sessions and to have a full attendance at them. I definitely announced on yesterday, Tuesday, that it was planned to

have a session today, Wednesday, and also a session tonight, Wednesday night, to try to facilitate progress on the pending measure and to conclude action on it.

Mr. PEPPER. I understand that.

Mr. WHERRY. I should appreciate it very much if the Senator from Florida would not make such a motion as he indicated he had in mind. Let us proceed without interruption until the distinguished Senator from Colorado and the distinguished Senator from Florida have concluded their remarks. Possibly by that time some arrangement can be worked out in regard to a vote on this measure, either at the end of the week or the first of next week, in a way that might be acceptable to all of us who understand the situation.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me briefly?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. CONNALLY. I wish to say to the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, as well as to the able Senator from Florida, that night sessions, according to my experience, are wholly inadequate and very seldom prove to be of any benefit. Let me say to the Senator that night sessions are washouts, as a rule, and they interfere greatly with the plans of many Senators. There is a very small attendance at night sessions. Of course, there are many persons in the galleries, if Senators wish to convince them.

But I think it is not fair to the Senator from Florida to ask him to speak at a time when many Senators are eating their dinner or, later on, going to the theater. It is not fair to the Senator from Colorado, either.

I think we would save time by abandoning the plan for night sessions, and by meeting tomorrow and devoting all day tomorrow to the subject now before us. At that time there will be nothing for Senators to do but speak on the pending business.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I wish the Senator from Nebraska to understand that I was not about to make a motion or take any other action in regard to the matter. I was merely making a suggestion.

I somewhat disagree with my able friend, the Senator from Texas, about the efficacy of night sessions. As a general rule, it seems to me we have a better attendance in the Senate at evening sessions than we do at sessions during the day.

But I feel the same way about having the Senate take time for both lunch and dinner, as I have heretofore stated on the floor of the Senate. It seems to me that to have a Senator address the Senate at a time when, as the Senator from Texas has so graciously said, other Senators are out of the Senate Chamber, taking their meals, reflects upon the Senate to those who come here to observe, and also is rather a discourtesy and perhaps a disadvantage and an embarrassment to the Senators who have to speak. Probably we should not here this evening attempt to make new rules.

I desire to suggest to the leadership of the Senate that I think from time to time

we should have evening sessions, but when we run up to 6 o'clock, let us recess until 7, so Senators may go downstairs and have their dinners, and then let us return and have a quorum call and 2 or 3 hours of debate in the evening.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, once again I should like briefly to reply to the observation of the distinguished Senator from Florida. There seems to be argument both ways as to whether or not the Senate should run straight through, when it is to have a night session, without a recess for dinner, or whether we should recess for an hour or two and return at 7 o'clock. We have tried both ways this session, and I submit to the distinguished Senator from Florida that one of the best sessions we had this year was the night when we ran straight through. The distinguished Senator from Florida himself will recall the debate we had on the portal-to-portal bill, in which the Senator took a conspicuous part.

I myself feel that if we are to have night sessions we should run straight through and adjourn earlier. I also agree that it is difficult, when the Senate meets each day, to hold night sessions and secure a full attendance. We have had a pretty stiff session today, sitting for 6 hours, and have had a spirited debate on the pending question. I should like to comply with the Senator's request. I will say that if we are to have night sessions in the future, we will again consider recessing for 2 hours at dinnertime and return after dinner.

Inasmuch as it was announced that tonight we would sit straight through until we got ready to adjourn, we will proceed without a recess, and at this time I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hill	O'Daniel
Ball	Hoey	O'Mahoney
Bricker	Ives	Pepper
Bridges	Jenner	Reed
Brooks	Johnson, Colo.	Revercomb
Bushfield	Kem	Robertson, Va.
Byrd	Knowland	Robertson, Wyo.
Cain	Langer	Saltonstall
Capper	Lodge	Smith
Connally	Lucas	Sparkman
Cooper	McCarran	Taft
Cordon	McCarthy	Taylor
Donnell	McClellan	Thomas, Okla.
Downey	McFarland	Thomas, Utah
Dworshak	McGrath	Thye
Eastland	McKellar	Tobey
Eaton	McMahon	Tydings
Ellender	Malone	Umstead
Ferguson	Martin	Vandenberg
Flanders	Millikin	Watkins
Green	Moore	Wherry
Gurney	Morse	Williams
Hawkes	Murray	Wilson
Hayden	Myers	Young

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-five Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be excused from attendance on the Senate during the remainder of today's session and all day tomorrow.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, consent is granted.

Mr. BRICKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate tomorrow and Friday.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the request is granted.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I wish to discuss at this time another of my amendments. At the end of the bill I propose to insert the following new section:

SEC. —. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this act, the Government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to abolish within 90 days all hereditary offices and titles under such government; (b) to hold within 90 days free and democratic elections for the purpose of determining the chief executive officer of such government and the membership of its legislative body and to grant prior to such elections universal suffrage for all persons over the age of 21; (c) to afford to all political parties full opportunity to participate and engage in election activities prior to the holding of such elections; and (d) to grant immediate amnesty to all political opponents of the persons or parties in control of the government requesting such assistance.

The amendment is directed at one of the evils which is apparent in connection with the undertaking upon which we are urged to enter, namely, that one of the governments we are supporting, the Government of Greece, is not a government worthy of our support. It is a government which does not hold the viewpoint which we cherish. It is not a democracy. It is a military-Fascist government. My amendment is directed toward correcting that evil before we put up our money and place our stamp of approval upon the proposal which is pending in the Senate bill. I most earnestly hope that Senators will give serious consideration to the amendment.

In his message to the Congress the President stated:

No government is perfect.

In a further significant admission the President stated:

The Greek Government has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done, or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

I call the Senate's attention to three words in this rather remarkable and frank statement by the President. He said that the Greek Government has made mistakes. He further said "The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done, or will do." Evidently the President fully anticipates that the Greek Government in the future is not going to be much better than the Greek Government has been in the past. So we are giving them a blank check. We are not necessarily requiring them to adhere to any of the principles which we hold so sacred, but are simply saying, "We

do not like you, we do not like what you have done, we do not like your record, we know that you have not done the right thing in the past, and we know that you will not do the right thing in the future." The President adds the words, "or will do." It seems to me that the Congress of the United States cannot go along with the President in that kind of a proposal.

I heard on the floor of the Senate today questions raised as to what the alternative would be if we rejected this program, and what the alternative would be if we accepted it. From the conclusions which I heard stated on the floor the situation is pretty bad in either event. If we accept the program we face bankruptcy; if we do not some Senators say we are offering the green light to the expansionist program of Soviet Russia.

It seems to me that there ought to be another alternative, and I think there is another alternative. I think we might proceed with a humanitarian program for Greece and still stand on our feet and demand that certain conditions in Greece and in Turkey be fully met before those countries can receive our assistance, and, what is more, before they may have our stamp of approval upon what they are doing.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I am glad to yield.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator has stated correctly that upon the floor this afternoon during the debate on this issue it has been stated that we face certain alternatives. The statement was made by the distinguished Senator from Michigan that he is basing his judgment on what the price will be if we do not accept the proposal. The distinguished Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] asked the question: What will the price be if we accept the proposal? The distinguished Senator from Colorado in years gone by has been a member of the Military Affairs Committee, and has had considerable experience with and a deep knowledge of world problems. I have profound respect for his judgment. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator the same question the Senator from Nevada asked the Senator from Michigan. What is the price going to be if we accept the proposal and send military aid to the countries involved, and then become involved in difficulty with Russia? Are we then in war, and if we are in war, what is the price going to be? Does the Senator care to express an opinion on that point?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I should be glad to give the Senator my opinion for what it may be worth. In my opinion, we face the grave danger of getting into a war with Russia. If we escape from a war with Russia it will only be because Russia feels that she is not strong enough to fight us at this time, and she will be preparing for the day when she may be stronger and when perhaps we may be weaker, when war may come. In other words, if she is not able to set the time now she will set it at her own pleasure and at her own convenience for a later date.

As I see it, we are heading for a military clash with Russia, and there is no

escape from such a clash. If Russia is strong enough I do not see how she can permit the alliance between Turkey and the United States of America which is proposed in this proposal. The proposal is for a military alliance. We are moving the uniform and we are moving the flag into Turkey. Russia cannot accept such a condition. The uniform and the flag are being moved into Turkey. If Senators will read between the lines in the President's message and listen to the debate on the floor of the Senate they will know that the flag and the uniform are going into Turkey to stop Russia. That is the objective; that is the purpose involved. Russia must know that as well as we know it.

As I stated the other evening, Russia knows that if no outside help is given to Turkey, even though she is a fairly strong nation, she will be of no danger to the Soviet Union. But when a great military power such as the United States moves into Turkey with a military alliance and attempts to use Turkey and proposes to use Turkey as a springboard to fly at the throat of Russia, certainly Russia must take note of it.

Mr. President, I have not gazed into a crystal ball, and I am not a prophet, so I do not know what Russia will do, but I feel certain that if Russia feels sufficiently strong she will resist this sort of thing with every ounce of her strength. What is proposed to be done appeals to me to be a military aggression, just as we would consider it a military aggression if Russia should move into Cuba or into one of our Latin-American neighbors. I am sure there would be great consternation and great anger and that the United States would feel terribly displeased if, for instance, Russia should move into Cuba. I am told that there are far more Communists in Cuba than there are in Turkey. So we must go back to the Golden Rule, which was laid down by the greatest Teacher man has ever had, and do unto others as we would have others do unto us. We must put ourselves in Russia's place. We must admit that this program is a threat to Russia.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Inasmuch as this has been said on the floor of the Senate before today, I am not giving away any military secrets when I mention it. If I correctly remember, the junior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] stated that our aid to Turkey would consist of improving her harbors, docks, highway system, and communications system. It seems to me that we are getting ready to unload troops and start a campaign against someone. The purpose is not to strengthen Turkey. It is to establish a landing place for us. If I were a Russian, I would certainly be worried.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The whole proposal is to use Turkey for a springboard. That can be the only objective. Turkey is remarkably well situated on the map for such a purpose. She is well adapted to that purpose.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. The distinguished Senator from Iowa [Mr. WILSON] propounded an inquiry to the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] as to what limitation, if any, there was in paragraph (3) on page 3, with reference to the military appropriation. As I recall the answer, it was to the effect that there was no limitation on the \$150,000,000 as to what the military equipment should be. The Senator has handled a great deal of legislation. Except for the amount of money involved, does he feel that there is any limitation as to what the money can be spent for so far as military equipment is concerned?

I should like to ask a further question. Is there any limitation in the bill on the number of troops that might finally be sent into Greece and Turkey?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I find no limitations, except as to the amount of money. The President and the Senator from Michigan have very frankly stated that more money may be required. The President has stated that he will ask Congress for more money if more is needed. When we undertake a military maneuver we cannot stop to place limitations on costs. This is only the first installment. No man knows what will follow. The President was frank enough to tell us that he would come back and talk to the Congress if he needed more money.

I have repeatedly heard Senators say today, and before today, in the cloak-rooms and on the floor of the Senate, that they intended to vote for the bill because they did not want to let the President down. Suppose we get our flag over there, and establish our troops over there, and the war clouds begin to roll closer and the threat becomes greater. What can we do? We shall have to go on. Congress will be helpless. Congress cannot do anything about it.

During the last war we voted appropriation after appropriation. We never batted an eye. We voted whatever was asked for. We never turned down any requests. We never restricted those in authority to the extent of a single dollar on any occasion. We never questioned the amount of money asked for. We could not. American youth was in uniform. American youth was facing gunfire. It was no time for us to be quibbling over appropriations. We shall be facing exactly the same situation in this case. There is no limitation as to the amount of expenditure, the nature of the expenditure, or anything else with respect to this adventure.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Would the distinguished Senator from Colorado feel as much morally bound to vote for a declaration of war against Russia in the event she should resent our move into Greece and pick up the gauntlet which the President has thrown down as he now feels bound to vote for the bill before us?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The Senator from Colorado does not intend to vote for the bill. However, if this program is carried to the point where we are to get into war, the Senator may be very certain that the Senator from Colo-

rado will not hesitate to do everything in his power to place this Nation in a position where it can win the war. After we once get into war there is no turning back. We must give everything we have. The Senator from Colorado certainly would do that if we were to get into war. But I do not like to play with fire. I do not like to take unnecessary risks.

I can show the Senator on the map an exact parallel to the present situation which occurred in the last World War. We sent troops to the Philippine Islands. General MacArthur was in charge of them. We sent more troops than we had supply lines to take care of in case of trouble. The Philippine Islands were directly in the path of the Japanese on their way to the oil fields, the rubber fields, and the tin mines of the East Indies. Those troops were placed in a fine strategic position—directly in the path which the enemy wanted to travel. We could not have found a better location, and today we cannot find a better location than Turkey. We placed our troops directly in the path of the enemy. We had no way of supplying them with arms, munitions, and other supplies. What happened to them is history. The same thing will happen here, as I see it.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Perhaps I should frame the question differently. On the basis of the Senator's experience in the Senate, if the Congress of the United States should pass the pending bill and we should enter upon this adventure, would we not then be morally bound to go to war with Russia if Russia should oppose us and attack the few men we have over there? Would we not be morally bound to go to war, just as we were in the First World War?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. Whenever the uniform is attacked, of course, we are in war. There is no escape from it.

Mr. MALONE. We could not withdraw.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No. There could be no backing up. That would be humanly impossible. Before the last World War, when we were edging closer and closer, it was said that one cannot take a single step down Niagara Falls and then back up. The same principle applies here. We cannot take one step down Niagara Falls and back up if things do not look the way we want them to look. We had better be thinking about the steps we propose to take before we take any of them. So, in this case, we ought to figure this thing out on a careful basis before we take any risks which might involve us in a war with Russia.

Mr. MALONE. Then, it is the Senator's opinion, I take it, that now is the time to spend a couple of weeks thinking this thing over.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. Now is the time to think it over. This is our responsibility. This is the only opportunity the Senator and I and other Senators will have to think it over before taking action. This is our day. After this day passes we shall be in the lap

of the gods, and whatever they hand out we shall have to accept.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Did the Senator hear the Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM] today? The suggestion he made was that perhaps it would be a good idea for us to request a report from the United Nations as to whether they are equipped to handle this question or whether they want to try to handle it. Would it not be a good idea for us to ask them and to wait until we receive a report from them before we jump in with both feet, or, to use a better expression, as the Senator has said, before we "take one step down Niagara Falls"?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I think it would be only good judgment. It would be consistent with the things we have attempted, with the hopes we have for the United Nations, to have word from them in a positive sort of way. Of course, we are doing it through the Vandenberg amendment in a negative sort of way. They can stop us. It seems to me it is not quite satisfactory. We should go beyond that. We should have a positive statement from them that they want us to go ahead. In other words, I think we should be asked by the United Nations to do this job, instead of telling them, "If you want to stop us, you may stop us." They probably know that already. I hope they will stop us. I think there is some hope that they may stop us—not because of the Vandenberg amendment, but because of their own authority which was given to them when the charter was subscribed. I think they have that authority without the Vandenberg amendment, and I hope they exercise it. I have some small hope that they will.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I gladly yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senator from Colorado has stated that he will vote against the bill and has painted a very gloomy picture, in answer to a question, pointing out all the bad things that can happen by taking this step. It is equally fair, is it not, I ask the Senator, for those of us who will vote for the bill to feel that war is less imminent and can be postponed for a longer time, if it has to come, by taking this step than by refusing to take it and being swept over Niagara Falls? What the Senator has said is equally true, perhaps more true, of the picture if we view it from the other side of the question. Is not that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. I feel very certain, however, so long as I stay away from Niagara Falls, that I shall not be swept over it. What the Senator says, of course, is true, that we should weigh going in as against staying out. We must do that. What I am suggesting is that we weigh both possibilities against a middle-of-the-road course.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senator might very well add one more feature—going in as against staying out, after

the President of the United States has taken the initiative in asking us to go in. What would be the moral effect, the psychological effect, and the physical effect of staying out after that has been done?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. My answer to the question and my recommendation in connection with that kind of a proposal are that we go in with certain reservations; that we lay down conditions upon which we will go in. One of those conditions I am trying to discuss tonight. That is that we require the Government of Greece to be a democratic government selected by the people in a democratic election. I think that is one of the important conditions which we should lay down, so far as going into Greece is concerned. Turkey is a different problem, I must admit. I want to discuss tonight the situation which we are facing in the case of Greece. I think that if the Congress of the United States should prescribe conditions and make them acceptable, we would be rendering most constructive assistance to the President of the United States, to the State Department, and to the people of the United States. I feel that that is one of our great opportunities to do something constructive, to work out of this dilemma, to escape from a position between the devil and the deep sea, which is where we are at this time. Either way we go we shall be in trouble. I feel that to be true, but I believe that there is an opportunity between those two horns of the dilemma to work out a constructive program. That is what I am trying to do.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, we all have the greatest sympathy for the heroic people of Greece. We want to do something, and we have done something in connection with the liberation of Greece. During the debate this afternoon, reference was frequently made to the fact that if we made available \$250,000,000 we would forthwith make relief available which would preserve the autonomy and the confidence of the great Greek people. I am disturbed, because I read recently in the New York Times—and I assume it to be an authentic account—with a Washington date line, under date of March 20, the following statement:

The United States has contributed approximately \$435,000,000 to Greece since that country was liberated, it was learned today. Of the \$354,000,000 Greece received through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the United States contributed approximately 72 percent, or \$254,000,000. The remaining \$181,000,000 was authorized as follows:

Lend-lease, \$81,500,000; surplus-property credits, \$45,000,000; Export-Import Bank loan, \$25,000,000; Maritime Commission assistance for the purchase of Liberty ships, \$30,000,000.

This \$435,000,000 in a period from November 1944 until March of this year was in addition to many millions of dollars provided by Britain and other friends of Greece.

I am wondering how we can justify it. The only way that I could accept it as

being truthful and accurate would be to prove that providing an additional \$250,000,000 at this time would accomplish what \$435,000,000 has already failed to accomplish in providing essential relief for the people of Greece.

I am reminded that Paul Porter, who headed President Truman's economic mission to Greece, recently made a report to a liberal left-wing organization which met approximately a month ago in the Capital City. Porter, who is an astute New Dealer, in thorough sympathy with the New Deal program—his connection with OPA will be remembered—was sent to Greece to make an investigation as head of an economic mission. Of course we know he could not be influenced in the slightest degree by political considerations, because I presume he believes in the bipartisan foreign policy advocated by the President of the United States. Porter, in addressing this group—and I quote from a dispatch which appeared in the Washington Star—had this to say:

Since its liberation from the Nazis, Greece has merely managed to survive. Greece's economic and physical resources are in much the same condition as when the Nazis were expelled.

There we have the statement of Paul Porter, who recently returned from the economic mission to Greece which he headed, that after the United Nations has made available \$435,000,000 in the space of approximately a year and a half, for the relief of the people of Greece, their economic plight is about the same as it was when that heroic country was under the domination of the Nazis.

Now we are given assurances that \$250,000,000 will solve all the problems facing the people of Greece at this time.

I ask the distinguished Senator from Colorado whether we should place any credence in such assurance? The State Department may have other information and data available. I assume it has, or that the President has, but certainly there is little to justify the explicit confidence of the Members of the Senate in the assurance that another \$250,000,000 will do what \$453,000,000 has failed to accomplish in the past.

Can the Senator from Colorado give us any additional information on that point?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course, Mr. President, the Senator's conclusions are inescapable. The \$250,000,000 which it is proposed to send to Greece under the provisions of this bill will be only a drop in the bucket; it will only last a little while, if it is utilized in the same way that the money previously sent to Greece was utilized and if it is poured down the same rat hole. Britain herself made a considerable contribution to Greece, during the time when our money went there and during the time when UNRRA relief went there. UNRRA aid was given to the Government of Greece, to be distributed to the people of Greece. But the Government of Greece sold the UNRRA relief supplies, goods and food, and put 85 percent of the proceeds of the sale of those supplies into the treasury of the Government of Greece. That is what happened. I was given that information

by one who handled UNRRA officially in Greece.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I am greatly disturbed by what the Senator from Colorado has just said; namely, that he does not believe that \$250,000,000 is all the money that the Senate of the United States will be asked to provide for the relief of Greece. Certainly if additional funds will be required from our country, should we not have full information at this time, so that we can act intelligently, rather than merely take snap judgment? It will not be in the interest of the security of our country and, as is alleged, in the interest of avoiding war, for us to go along with the pending bill merely because the State Department and the President have proposed this step.

So far as I am concerned, I should prefer to take some action through the United Nations, so as to force the hand of Russia at this time, rather than to go through the back door into the Balkans or force a showdown a year hence or 2 or 3 or 5 years from now. I think that revelations which have been made during the past few months, tending to show that Uncle Sam and the American people were sold down the river by secret agreements which were made by representatives of our country in dealing with Russia, and in which Britain, our ally, participated, indicate that the time has come for all the cards to be placed face up upon the table, so that the American people and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States may take action predicated upon what the entire program is, rather than to adopt a piecemeal program involving our taking only one step at this time, but inevitably to be followed by other steps which we are reluctant to take.

I hesitate to believe that we are not getting all the information and are not being told the entire truth when it is said that \$250,000,000 is all that will be required to implement this program of relief for Greece.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I do not think the President told us that. I think he told us very plainly that he would be back for more money if he needed it. I think he put us on our guard and gave us the bad news when he delivered his message to us on March 12. If we go ahead with this kind of proposition blindly and without giving that phase of it the consideration it deserves, of course the fault is ours, and the people of the United States will have every right to hold us responsible for it.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I wish to ask the able Senator from Colorado this question: If what is proposed is to be the policy—and it is declared by the President to be the policy—should not and would not it have to be applied alike in all parts of the world where comparable situations exist?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is my understanding of a policy; namely, that it should be applied alike everywhere. In other words, if this is to be the policy, the situation in Greece is not simply a lone incident to be treated without regard to other similar situations. Of course, Greece, as we see it portrayed on the map, is only one small point; and the Greek population of 7,000,000 is not large. The Greek situation is only one small feature of the entire world program which we are facing. I feel that what the Senator has said is correct; and that the Senator is correct in his conclusion that if we are laying down a policy, that policy applies to everyone, everywhere, and is the foreign policy of the United States of America.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. It has been asked on the floor of the Senate what would be said by the Politburo if we do not accede to the President's request. What does the able Senator from Colorado think would be the effect if we stand up for this policy in Greece, and then later, if some other situation arose in some other part of the world, did not stand up for the same policy?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course, it will be a singular situation if we are going to have one policy for Greece and Turkey simply because Greece and Turkey stand in the so-called path of Russia, between Russia and the oil fields of the Middle East, and if we are to have another policy for the rest of the world. If we are to have a policy, it must be applied consistently throughout the world, if it is based on the high principles which the President so eloquently enunciated in his message of March 12.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. If we begin to implement that policy Greece, but do not continue it in place after place all over the world, then whenever we quit, if the Senator's warning to us is valid, the Politburo will be able to say, "Well, they started off with a policy, but they have quit carrying it out."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course; and then our weakness would be shown up. Unless we are able to carry a policy through to a conclusion—right down the road, and all the way down the road—we should not adopt the policy in the first place. That is as plain as anything can be.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Then, if we reach the conclusion that we cannot follow this policy indefinitely, and cannot finance the world forever, what is likely to happen to us is, is it not, that we shall arm Turkey and we shall arm Greece and we shall arm other countries abroad with modern weapons, and then one day we shall find, just as Great Britain has found now, that we have come to the end and cannot go further; and then we shall have to pull out. If Russia then moves in, she will find there armed

countries ready to be turned against us. Would not that be the situation?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The situation could not be different from what the Senator has stated.

Mr. President, let me say that it is quite clear from Mr. Truman's apologetic statement that the present government in Greece is not the kind of government that the American people would approve if they had the full facts before them. First of all, of course, there is the notorious, venal, and corrupt monarchy which the Greek people have struggled against for a hundred years. It is important, I believe, to go back into the history of Greece and remember that early in the 19th century the Greeks fought a war of independence against the Turks. Following that war, the Greeks attempted to establish a republican form of government, but the great powers then governing the world decided that the Greek people must have a monarchy. After considerable maneuvering, the monarchy was established. Not a Greek family, not a family from the Balkans, but in actual fact a German-Bavarian family were made the rulers of Greece. This family, never popular, has had a turbulent history. King Otto was driven from the throne in 1862. The unhappy George I was assassinated in 1913. King Constantine abdicated in 1917; and after his recall in 1920 he was forced to abdicate again in 1922, in favor of George II. The late King George II was driven into exile in 1924. On October 10, 1935, a dictatorship of extreme Royalists, and aided by the Royalist Military League of high Army and Navy officers, was established. Under that dictatorship, a Greek plebiscite was held, and King George II was returned to the throne from exile. Less than 1 year later—on August 4, 1936—this on-again, gone-again ruler, in violation of his oath to preserve a constitutional form of government, authorized the notorious and hated Metaxas dictatorship. Ruthless suppression of civil liberties throughout Greece followed. Greece was attacked in 1940 by Italy. By heroic military action she repelled the invaders. Subsequently, in 1941, Germany joined the Italian-Greco war. The Greek army was defeated, and Greece surrendered unconditionally in August of 1941. King George and his government fled to Cairo, and then to London. Various officials associated with the Metaxas dictatorship were guilty of treasonable collaboration with the enemy, helping to hasten the defeat of Greece, while other officials of the Metaxas government went into exile with King George II. Slowly the resistance forces formed in Greece, and they relentlessly counter-attacked the Germans. King George II, from his place of safety in London, began to prick up his ears.

On March 15, 1943, King George and his government-in-exile returned to Cairo. The various representatives of political parties and groups active in Greece against the Nazis sent delegates to call on the King, and, without exception, all of those parties and resistance leaders urged the King to issue a state-

ment that he would not return to Greece "before people have given their decision on the form of the regime."

It is interesting, Mr. President, that the cabinet concurred with the popular demand, and so expressed themselves to the King, but King George II rejected this proposal, as well as the suggestion by the British for a national unity government. The resistance representatives of the patriots fighting in Greece against the Nazi occupation were placed under house arrest, were kept incommunicado, and later were sent back to Greece under extremely humiliating circumstances. We can go into great detail, Mr. President, as to how the British landed in Greece, how they violated their agreements with the resistance forces, and how the British General Scobie proceeded to conduct civil war in Greece against the resistance forces which had made matters so uncomfortable for the Nazis. We can show in detail how Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Secretary Eden personally flew to Greece and intervened in the internal situation. We can show how the Royalist forces were not disarmed, while every effort was made to destroy the liberal groups that had conducted underground warfare against the Nazis. We can go into the whole history of 2 years of British blundering.

Mr. President, I wish to insert in the RECORD at this point a part of a chapter in Leland Stowe's very timely book entitled "While Time Remains." I shall not delay the Senate in quoting from the book. I regret that every Member of the Senate has not read *While Time Remains*.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COOPER in the chair). Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado?

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT WAS THE GREEK "MOUNTAIN BRIGADE," AND WHO SPONSORED IT?

In April 1944—while Germans still occupied Greece—"mutiny" broke out in the Greek Army and naval forces in Egypt. These were Greeks who had fled their country to fight on beside the Allies. The EAM resistance leaders had smuggled delegates out of Greece and sent them to Cairo. These resistance delegates came to ask that they—like the French resistance delegates to the French National Committee in North Africa—should be represented in the British-dominated Greek Government-in-exile. The Greek patriots who were resisting and dying at home felt they should have some representation in their government. In Cairo the EAM delegates were received with harsh words—and locked up; finally they were shipped ignominiously home to Greece. But the British and American correspondents in Cairo were severely muzzled by censorship. They could not report any of this, nor explain what followed, until long afterward.

What followed was officially described by British officials as a Greek "mutiny." As a protest against the high-handed ousting of EAM delegates, thousands of Greek soldiers and sailors refused to obey orders. They felt that the greatest resistance movement in Greece had every right to be represented in the exile government. Fighting broke out. Many were killed. Thousands of patriotic Greeks were jailed—and Allied correspondents were not permitted to tell the world

how and why this incredible thing had happened. Eighteen months later, in the late autumn of 1945, some 1,500 anti-Fascist Greeks, victims of this "mutiny," were still imprisoned in British concentration camps in remote Eritrea. They had been guilty of demanding a Greek government of national unity. At least until July 1945, it was charged that they had never been granted the right to see a representative of the International Red Cross.)

It was immediately after this ruthless suppression of Greek soldiers and sailors in Egypt—when British guns first shot down Greeks—that the Churchill government proceeded to organize the Greek Mountain Brigade. All Greeks in Egypt were carefully screened. Greek Republicans of all nuances from moderate conservatives to leftists, officers or men, were barred from the new brigade. It was built up as a strictly Royalist and anti-Republican fighting force. Was it a coincidence that the Churchill government was a frank champion of King George of Greece? A Greek officer, a lifelong Republican, whom I knew well in Albania in 1940, told me in Athens: In Cairo I saw the whole thing. They jailed or banned all Republican officers from the Mountain Brigade." Allied correspondents saw this, too, but they were not allowed to inform the British and American people. If the Greeks had "mutinied" in Egypt, then the Mountain Brigade was a Churchill-approved (or invented) Royalist plot.

So the British whipped the monarchist MB into fighting trim. The Mountain Brigade fought in Italy for about 1 month, long enough to help capture Rimini. Then, soon after Athens was liberated in mid-October 1944, the British brought in the Mountain Brigade. The Athenians cheered these men wildly because they were the only Greeks who had fought the Germans as a regular army unit. But the EAM-ELAS leaders knew that the Mountain Brigade was ardently Royalist. And when General Scobie demanded that ELAS, the patriots' half-armed forces, should give up their arms, these Greeks naturally said: "Disarm the Royalist Mountain Brigade, too—or, no, thank you."

It was this dispute over disarming the British-created royalist brigade which precipitated the government crisis, which in turn produced the civil war. In Athens I checked over this, step by step, with Greeks and correspondents—and Allied officers—who were on the spot at the time. Premier Papandreou finally agreed that both ELAS and the Mountain Brigade would be disarmed. Then Papandreou retracted. He gave an EAM member, then in the government, a letter from General Scobie. The letter said that Prime Minister Churchill would not permit the royalist brigade to be disbanded, along with ELAS. The American Ambassador in Athens confirmed to me that this rejection came either from London or from General Scobie. This decision provoked the resignation of the EAM ministers. That brought on a huge EAM street demonstration on Sunday, December 3. The police fired into the unarmed, peaceful paraders. The civil war began. I asked a strongly anti-Communist Greek doctor why Churchill forbade disbanding the brigade.

"Well, who created the Mountain Brigade?" asked the doctor.

A brigade officer made this frank remark to a friend: "We were brought here for one purpose—to suppress the Left. Our men have been promised jobs in the new police force which is going to be formed."

While I was in Athens, Mountain Brigade men were being incorporated wholesale into the new Greek Army, called the national guard; or into the police. So were the pro-monarchist EDES followers who had cooperated with the Germans through most of the occupation. But to get the picture straight:

HOW DID THE GREEK CIVIL WAR START? WAS THERE A RED PLOT?

In Parliament Prime Minister Churchill gave this explanation: "From the depredations and ravages of ELAS there developed * * * a well-organized plot by which ELAS should march down to Athens and seize it by armed force and establish a reign of terror."

In his January 18 (1945) speech Mr. Churchill quoted a report from the British ambassador to Greece. Ambassador Leeper charged that a small, well-armed Communist Party had been practicing a "reign of terror" all over Greece, and added: "Nobody can estimate the number of people killed or arrested before the revolt in Athens actually began." This statement implied that left-wing guerrillas had been pillaging and killing in Athens, and throughout most of Greece, for weeks before the police began shooting on December 3.

In Athens I investigated with great care what had happened between the capital's liberation on October 12-14 and December 3. For those first two October days ELAS forces held Athens alone, until the British arrived. Naturally, they were wildly elated—and, of course, they went after Quislings and traitors. Some were killed, and in the furore of those first 2 days of liberation some innocent citizens possibly became victims of passions long pent up. But as soon as the British came, General Scobie requested ELAS to withdraw their forces from Athens—and ELAS withdrew. That, indeed, was a strange procedure for "well-organized plotters" who, in Churchill's version, later planned to march on Athens and "establish a reign of terror." On October 14 ELAS vastly outnumbered the British and held Athens in their power. Why, then, did they obediently withdraw?

In Athens I met many old colleagues. We had worked together in many parts of Europe. These British and American correspondents I knew by long observation. They were journalists of great integrity and reliability. I asked them, as I asked Greek friends of the Italian war period, if looting and killing occurred on any important scale before December 3. Since British troops arrived, they told me, there had been nothing remotely resembling a "reign of terror" in Athens. The terror had started only with the civil war—and then it was war, with ruthless fighting on both sides. Frank Gervasi of Collier's and M. W. Fodor of the Chicago Sun had journeyed from Athens all the way north to Salonika and back without encountering any "massacres" or hint of ELAS "depredations." In Salonika the British commander, Major General Hollworthy, told them there had not been a single reprisal execution by ELAS since that city was liberated on November 7. Although I sought evidence on every side, Ambassador Leeper's statement about vast killings "before the revolt in Athens actually began" simply could not be substantiated. Along with other correspondents I had to conclude either that Sir Reginald had been a victim of highly emotional rumors, or that he had become involved somehow in a deliberate falsification.

Once the civil war started, many upper-class Athenians talked wildly about acts of "Communist terror." Certain ELAS extremists had run amok, they said, and committed all sorts of crimes. But when you tried to get specific dates, you could almost never place serious disorder before December 3. And American officers and officials, on the whole, confirmed this important distinction. Mike Fodor, as foreign correspondent, had known Greece for more than 20 years. No one who has ever met Fodor can question his honesty. He summed up the pre-civil war situation to me in these words: "In 25 years I've seen almost every revolution in Europe. This, right here, was the quietest, calmest, and most civilized revolution I've

ever seen—until the shooting began by the police and the British intervened."

BUT HOW DID THE SHOOTING IN ATHENS BEGIN?

During the week before December 1, the Papandreou government was stalemated on how to get ELAS and the Mountain Brigade disarmed and disbanded. When the British command, or Government, insisted that their hand-picked brigade of Royalists must have special treatment over the resistance patriots (who had opposed the Germans at far greater cost), the six EAM ministers quit the government. Yet when Winston Churchill told the world about the Greek civil war he made no pretense of reporting all the facts. He never so much as mentioned his government's stand in support of the Royalist Mountain Brigade—nor so much as mentioned the existence of the brigade.

On December 2, EAM leaders asked for governmental permission to stage a protest demonstration—and gave their word that it would be unarmed. Papandreou granted permission for the parade on December 3, next morning. Out of 1,250,000 Greeks in the greater Athens area, probably 80 percent or more were EAM supporters; mostly workers and the poor. That afternoon they got word that the demonstration was permitted. Most of them had never possessed telephones or radios. They went to bed early, so as to get up at 4 or 5 o'clock and start marching to Constitution Square in the heart of Athens. But Papandreou had a long parley with General Scobie that night, and shortly before midnight the premier canceled permission for the parade—when the people could not possibly be notified. Papandreou also decided to declare martial law. From British sources I was told that General Scobie told Papandreou it was time to "get tough" with EAM.

On Sunday morning tens of thousands of Athenian workers and their wives and children marched toward and into Constitution Square. The police had machine guns on the roofs—something no correspondent had seen before then. The EAM supporters carried placards. Some of the slogans read: "Why, America, have you abandoned us?" "America, we are tired, and we don't want civil war." "Bring the traitors to trial." "We want a real national unity government." The square was jammed with people, but correspondents close beside the police lines said there was no disorder. Then, suddenly, some of the police began firing into the tight-packed throng. In a short time 25 were dead, including a boy, aged 6. Scores more reddened the pavement from their wounds. Now it was not merely martial law, but civil war.

Later on I had a long conversation with British Ambassador Leeper. He talked so readily that I had little opportunity to ask questions. At the end of some 40 minutes, I was keenly aware of the fact that the British Ambassador had scarcely looked me straight in the eye twice throughout his prolonged monolog. This is a fact which I am compelled to report. There was a further fact. In years of rather frequent encounters with ambassadors of many nations, I had never left a consultation with such an unpleasant impression as I took away this time. I regret to have to say this, but I believe it is too important to be glossed over.

This happened, oddly enough, without so much as asking an embarrassing question. Perhaps this was because the official Churchill-Leeper version of the tragedy in Greece had won only one ardent supporter among some 20 British and American correspondents who were making their own investigation of facts in Athens. The Churchill-Leeper version badly needed support in the world press, yet about 90 percent of Anglo-American correspondents on the spot rejected large sections of it in toto. As a more recent arrival, I was probably thought to merit an extensive official review of the situation. In the course of this review, Ambassador Leeper said: "The police did not shoot first. Grenades were

thrown first by the ELAS. The Communists put their women and children in the front row, as they always do, to hide their armed men. They had their guns behind and were shooting."

This statement was so completely contrary to everything I had previously heard that I maintained a poker face to hide my amazement—and did not question it. But I went back and talked again to about a dozen correspondents who—unlike the British Ambassador—had been eyewitnesses. Again I asked if there had been any shooting by the EAM demonstrators.

"None whatever. Only the police shot."

That was the unanimous verdict. "We never saw any EAM people with weapons in their hands," they said. "If any of the EAM were shooting, how was it that not a policeman was wounded?" The British correspondents were particularly incensed over their Ambassador's statement. One of them said: "There were never any women and children out in front to hide men with weapons. That's a lot of —."

I am absolutely convinced that he was right.

In fact, the absurdity of Ambassador Leeper's accusation was demonstrated by the news photographs which Dimitri Kessel of Life risked his own life in taking that morning of death and disgrace. These pictures show Greek workers—men, women, and children—being mowed down by police fire, without a weapon in their hands. Was it merely as a precaution that Papandreou was persuaded, the night before, to declare martial law? By the record of what happened, the Athens police should have been placed under martial law.

The massacre by the police prompted the EAM-ELAS supporters to attack police stations all over the city. British troops were ordered to uphold the forces of "law and order." And within 24 hours the British and their Greek royalist bands were in serious danger from ELAS forces, which outnumbered them greatly and were backed by the overwhelming mass of the Athenian population. That was when 100 United States Army transport planes were called upon to intervene in the civil war. American pilots flew in British and Indian troops as reinforcements. All of Athens, that lovely and shining metropolis beneath the brow of the incomparable Acropolis, became a battlefield. For 33 days the common people fought against lend-lease tanks and RAF dive bombers. They were bombed and machine gunned in their pitiful shacks and hovels in Ghizi and Kaisariani. They were "terrorists" and "Communists," the "liberators" said. The strongest of EAM and ELAS leaders were Communists, and so were a small minority of their extremely large following. But who were the terrorists? Who had started the terror? Let history answer—let time bring its own retribution.

But in these first days, even with all the organized military units on their side and even with the best and heaviest weapons, the British and the Greek royalists were pushed backward and backward. So it happened, just 2 days after the fighting started, that General Scobie accepted other allies—the Quislings and Lavals of Greece. By Scobie's order, or by his permission, the traitor "Security Battalions" were released, rearmed, and thrown against the ELAS forces.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. At this point in the RECORD, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed a United Press report under the date line New York, April 10, quoting from Winston Churchill with respect to the civil war in Greece. Churchill makes an admission in his statement, and I am sure that nothing will be found inconsistent between what Churchill said and what Leland Stowe stated.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WINNIE SAVED GREECE FROM REDS, HE SAYS

NEW YORK, April 10.—Winston Churchill said today in an article in the New York Times that if he had not given the order to fire on the Communist guerrilla bands in Greece on December 6, 1944, the Communists would have taken over Greece. The defeat of the Communist coup d'etat was necessary, he said, to insure free elections in Greece.

Churchill wrote that "not only has the Communist peril been recognized as the gravest that now overhangs the world, but a series of measures of a resolute character has been taken to resist further encroachments and expansion by the Russian Soviet state in Europe and Asia."

CITES FULTON SPEECH

Churchill pointed out that this policy backs up the statements that he made in his controversial speech in Fulton, Mo., on March 5, 1946, when he warned against Russian expansion and asked for close Anglo-American cooperation.

"On Greek affairs in 1944-45 I seemed to find myself out of step. But today it seems I was pursuing the exact policy which, little more than 2 years later, the United States has adopted with strong conviction."

"All the talk of denunciation of British imperialism in Greece was sheer nonsense," Churchill said. "We had no special interest to serve, except the cause of freedom; and many others are involved in that."

"WE SEEK NOTHING

"We sought and seek nothing from Greece but to give her a fair chance of revival and thus do our duty to which we had pledged ourselves by long sentiment and alliance."

Churchill further stated that "the ambitions of this mighty Communist empire and oligarchy go far beyond the dreams of czarist days. The domination of the whole of the Balkan Peninsula by Communist rule under Soviet guidance, and the conquest and probably incorporation of Turkey are the two immediate objects of Russian desire." According to Churchill, President Truman's declaration of March 12, 1947, involves the decision of the United States to take a leading part, so far as it is necessary to world peace, in the eastern Mediterranean, or what is commonly called the Middle East.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, Leland Stowe is a reporter in whom the American people have every right to have great confidence. He tells an unbelievable story of the beginning of the civil war in Greece, how the people had petitioned for the right to assemble, and were given permission. Late the night preceding the morning when they were to assemble, the order was changed, and they were not to be permitted to meet. But they did not get the word, so they came early in the morning, and the British machine guns were turned on them. The Royalist guard turned their guns on them and mowed them down in cold blood when they appeared for a peaceable assembly. It was one of the cruelest things that has ever happened in history. Even children were murdered. It was one of those happenings in history that make one's blood boil.

Mr. President, the substance of the recent history of Greece is nothing but another chapter in the history of broken promises by an arrogant and corrupt monarchy, which for 100 years has exploited seven and a half million people

for its own personal aggrandizement. Now King George II is dead and he has been succeeded by his brother, Prince Paul. From all available information, it is quite useless to attempt to hide from the fact that Prince Paul is more hated than any other member of the Greek royal family.

During the Metaxas dictatorship, Prince Paul was titular head of the Greek Fascist youth organization, the EOM. This organization carried out the customary training and monkey-shines of the Hitler youth group. They had the customary Nazi uniforms, salutes, paraphernalia, and creeds. Its creed, to which Greek children had to subscribe, read like this:

We believe in one divinely inspired and God-sent leader and savior and guide of the nation, creator of its present and future history, father of the Greek youth and outstanding fighter, John Metaxas.

Does not that sound like something that happened under Adolf Hitler? It does to me. That, of course, was in the days when Metaxas was the dictator of Greece.

This hated Greek monarchy is the pattern which the British have employed in India, the Near and Middle East, and in the Malay Peninsula to obtain agents for their policies of exploitation. This pattern of imperialism has nothing in common with the tradition, heritage, or concepts of democracy enjoyed by the American people.

Mr. President, I believe that as far as possible the Senate should wipe its hands of the lackeys who have been scattered throughout the world by the clever, empire-conscious British Government. There is no reason why we should pour out the money of American taxpayers to sustain and continue the basic mistakes of British foreign policy in Greece during the past 2 years. The American people, Mr. President, are anxious to give millions for clothing and food for the hungry, but they are not willing to expend one cent to maintain a corrupt and venal monarchy any place in this world. The Members of the Senate ought to bear this in mind when they vote on my amendment.

My amendment provides not only for the abolition of hereditary offices and titles, but it provides for free democratic elections for the purpose of determining the chief executive of such government and the membership of its legislative body.

For a people famous throughout the world for their love of liberty, who by their heroic deeds have inspired poets for centuries, the Greek people deserve a chance at democratic government once more. It is absurd, ridiculous, and stupid to pretend that the present Greek Government in any way represents the democratic choice of the majority of the people of Greece. It is pure, unadulterated sophistry to contend that the Greek Government has the support of 85 percent of the people, when in truth it has merely the support of 85 percent of those political parties with seats in the present Greek Parliament.

Roughly, half of all the Greek political parties did not participate in the

election held a year ago. Not only did they not participate but a large proportion of those who did did not vote for candidates now sitting in the Parliament. Supposedly, more than a million people voted in those elections; yet the fact is that this constitutes roughly 15 to 16 percent of the population of Greece, and of this percentage many did not vote for the present Government. In other words, 85 percent of the present Parliament members support the present Government, but this 85 percent represents less than 15 percent of the people who live in Greece.

The so-called elections recently held in Greece were in no sense free or democratic. It is necessary, if one is to make a judgment on those elections, to remember that just previous to the elections civil war had raged in Greece; that the country was occupied by British troops; that neither the press nor the radio was free; that election campaigning was not allowed in any genuine sense. It is necessary to understand that the government had control of the existing food supplies. It is most relevant to remember that the Royalist groups were armed while their opponents were not armed. It is essential to understand that the political leadership of the existing political parties did not participate nor have the opportunity to participate freely and actively in those elections. The most clever apologist in our State Department cannot produce the facts to sustain the contention that free and democratic elections were held. It may well be, Mr. President, that under the eyes of allied observers, large numbers of docile, terror-ridden peoples were herded to the polls. It is impossible, as all of us know, for outside observers unfamiliar with the history and background of the situation, with no understanding of the confusion resulting from the absence of trusted leaders, to render an accurate judgment.

If those elections, Mr. President, were fair and democratic, why would any one object to the provisions that free and democratic elections should now be held within 90 days after the request for aid has been made?

I should like to ask at this point to have inserted in the RECORD a report by Arthur Krock, which appeared in the New York Times on Tuesday, April 1, 1947. I shall not detain the Senate by reading Mr. Krock's report, except just one part of it:

This correspondent today read a report of this character:

"I feel," this trained observer wrote, "that, while the motives of the President's program to combat communism are the very best, he is repeating the same mistake which lost us Poland and other areas now behind the iron curtain and conceivably might even lose us South America. This mistake is in endorsing the worst elements of reaction in Greece and ignoring the center and the non-Communist left."

He continued:

"All responsible and reasonable disinterested Americans with whom I have talked in Greece felt that our money would go down a rat hole unless political stability accompanies economic stabilizing and that any stability is simply unobtainable under the present Government, and possibly not without new elections following a general amnesty."

And that is what my amendment provides for.

"Whether or not the last elections were fair, it is still a fact that a substantial section of Greek public opinion feels they were not. In any new election the Left stands no chance of winning, which makes denial of the electoral test by the Government even stupider."

I ask permission to insert all of Mr. Krock's statement in the RECORD.

There be no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREEK GOVERNMENT IS A DIFFICULT CLIENT

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 31.—Although the administration has stressed that part of its newly announced foreign policy which provides aid for the Greek people, and played down the aid to Turkey, which is much more strategic from a military standpoint, the attention of critics of the current government in Athens has not been diverted by this tactic.

These critics share the general admiration of the western world for the gallant Greek resistance to the Axis, and the widespread sympathy for the economic and social plight of the Hellenes. But this has not removed the objection of some to extending the proposed aid while the Greeks are governed as at present, or distracted others from insisting that the projected Turkish intervention shall be weighed more realistically than officially it has been. Senator Austin, for example, in his explanation of the new policy to the United Nations, discussed the Turkish program very briefly indeed.

A REPORT FROM GREECE

The provision that any government representative of a majority may request withdrawal of the plan in Greece and Turkey is especially designed to meet the point that the government in Athens is neither truly representative nor democratic. The President passed this over lightly in his address to Congress. But nearly every day a report comes to Washington from reliable sources, sometimes brought in person, which suggests that Mr. Truman made an understatement when he said the Greek Government is not perfect. This correspondent today read a report of this character.

"I feel," this trained observer wrote, "that, while the motives of the President's program to combat communism are the very best, he is repeating the same mistake which lost us Poland and other areas now behind the iron curtain and conceivably might even lose us South America. This mistake is in endorsing the worst elements of reaction in Greece and ignoring the center and the non-Communist left."

He continued:

"All responsible and reasonably disinterested Americans with whom I have talked in Greece felt that our money would go down a rat hole unless political stability accompanies economic stabilizing, and that any stability is simply unobtainable under the present Government, and possibly not without new elections following a general amnesty."

"Whether or not the last elections were fair, it is still a fact that a substantial section of Greek public opinion feels they were not. In any new election the Left stands no chance of winning, which makes denial of the electoral test by the Government even stupider."

"The announcement that the United States is going to bail out Greece has served to impede many good things Paul Porter (the President's special Ambassador) wanted the Athens government to accomplish on the home front. It was also the signal for a new

campaign of repression by the Ministry of the Interior, which is neither better nor worse than the Soviet NKVD or the Yugoslav OZNA (secret police)."

ARRESTS BY NIGHT

This observer, who would not be quoted in this space had he not impressively established his reliability, disinterestedness, and capacity to report objectively, further asserted that the Ministry, in its renewed campaign of repression, is following the secret-police technique made familiar for years in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Spain, Japan, and Soviet Russia. Arrests of citizens were made between midnight and 5 o'clock a. m., and within 24 hours those seized were deported to a lonely island without a public trial.

"In one 3-day period," he added, "after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professional—doctors, lawyers, etc.—and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint. There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' 3,000 wealthiest citizens whom the Government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation. And the rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the center is almost as traitorous as the left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the Government."

This observer concluded with the statement that, as much as he detests Communists, he would go to the mountains if he were a citizen of Greece.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. If the present government really, genuinely believes it is representative of the people, it has nothing to fear. That is just as Mr. Krock has reported. If it is a free and democratic government, it will not object to free and democratic elections. Only the enemies of democracy are afraid of the voice of the people. The American people do not want to pour out hundreds of millions of dollars to sustain governments which essentially are royalist, antidemocratic in their hearts, and who are not supported by the people. The American people still believe that the power to govern is derived from the consent of the governed.

Mr. President, I would like to ask the Senators who have favorably reported this legislation exactly how many political prisoners are held today in concentration camps by the present Greek Government.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. I may say that probably there are not very many prisoners held at one time in Greece, because political prisoners are not fed, and so it is impossible to keep very many on hand for a very long time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. The Senator thinks they do not last long?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I wish we had exact information on the conditions under which the prisoners suffer, so we could present it to the Senate and to Congress while this bill is being considered.

I should also like to know how many Greek political prisoners are held by the British in Egypt and other areas under

British control. My information leads me to the belief that the number of such prisoners runs well over 20,000.

It is reported from Athens by the correspondent of the Overseas News Agency that within 24 hours after the President's speech on Greece, the Government announced that it had arrested, sentenced, and deported to island prisons nearly 600 leftists. That was when they got news of the President's speech. That is what happened in the city of Athens.

Mr. President, if this present government is free and democratic, why are thousands upon thousands of Greeks in political concentration camps? Free and democratic elections cannot be held if political tyranny of this kind continues. If free speech and free press exist in Greece, why are such measures necessary? The obvious answer, of course, Mr. President, is that democratic procedure and democratic liberties do not exist in Greece. The excuse is given that several thousand Communists in the mountains are attempting to overthrow the Government. If those people now fighting in the mountains did not have the support of the Greek populace, would not the present Greek Army be able to disperse such a woeful handful of men? And if the men and women now fighting in the mountains have the support of large parts of the Greek people, is not this by itself prima facie evidence that the present Greek Government does not represent the rank and file of the Greek people? Remember, Mr. President, the average Greek worker is paid 7,000 drachmas a day, but he needs a minimum of 10,000 drachmas a day just to buy for his family 2,500 calories of food which, as everyone knows, is roughly 500 calories above the starvation limit. Can a government which enforces a regressive taxation system, which makes no effort to stop disastrous inflation, ever entertain the support of the majority of its people? It must be obvious to everyone that for such a government, military dictatorship is necessary if it is to remain in power.

I should like permission to insert in the RECORD a remarkable article by Raymond Daniell, which appeared in the New York Times magazine, April 6, 1947. I have marked parts of it which I shall ask to have printed. I wish that I had time to read the whole article to the Senate, but I shall read a few short excerpts. Mr. Daniell is a very conservative and reputable correspondent. I am sure everyone will agree that he is not given to exaggeration, nor is he given to propaganda in the articles he writes. He is an accurate reporter. He is a reporter upon whom the readers may absolutely depend. He simply states the facts without bias, and without attempting to distort or to make it appear that one side is in a better position than the other.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COOPER in the chair). Does the Senator from Colorado yield to the Senator from Nevada?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I should like to ask the Senator from Colorado a question. He has shown by his usual logical presentation that the Government of Greece

probably does not actually represent the people of Greece, or at least represents less than a majority of the people. Is it not a logical conclusion further that Greece as a matter of fact is simply a pawn in this game, regardless of what her government is? If our policy, as the President has laid it down, conflicts with the Russian policy, then whatever government Greece should have, we would do what is now proposed to be done, and probably would follow that policy into other countries regardless of what kind of governments they had. Is that not true?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Unfortunately, I am afraid that is the situation. I am afraid we are giving no concern whatever to the kind of government we propose to help. I heard the statement made on the floor of the Senate today, "Oh, well, Greece is an independent government," and therefore we should help her. When we can no longer support the kind of government that exists in Greece, it is proposed to fall back on the statement, "There is an independent government, and therefore we must support that country."

I cannot go along with that kind of a proposal. I do not think the American people want to go along with such a proposal. I do not think the American people can effectively fight communism by doing such a thing. If we are going to fight communism we must have something better than communism with which to fight it, not something which is far worse than communism. As between communism and the kind of government now existing in Greece, communism is a bright and shining star. There is a much better form of government than communism, and it is a democracy. Even some of the democracies which are not exactly pure democracies are much better, in my opinion, than communism. In my opinion, communism is pretty well down the scale in forms of government. But I do not think that communism is quite as far down the scale as is the kind of government the Greek people are afflicted with at the present time.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes, I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Is it not a further logical conclusion, then, that almost throughout the ages—and we are following in the footsteps of those who have gone before—whenever for any reason one country wants to go into another country for interests of its own, it finds reasons for doing so? Then, as a matter of fact, does not our talk about the kind of governments we are going to support, the four freedoms, and all, fall a little flat?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; of course it falls flat. That is the difficulty, and that is why I cannot go along with Senators who say on the floor of the Senate "We have two choices." I say, let us make a third choice. Let us lay down some conditions. Let us insist that the situation so far as the Greek Government is concerned, be clarified and purified and improved so that it meets the standards—not the

highest standards, but acceptable standards on the part of the people of the United States. Before we do anything else that is what we should do. A strange thing in connection with this matter is that if we would do such a thing there would not be civil war in Greece. There is civil war in Greece because of the depression, there is civil war in Greece because of the inefficiency and the inability of her tyrannical fascist government to do the job that a government is supposed to do. So what we should do in Greece, unless we want to pour money down a rat hole, is to do first things first, and the first thing to do there is to straighten out the Greek Government.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Then, as a matter of fact, for whatever reason we want to go into Greece now, whether it is to protect our fuel supply in Turkey or whether it is to protect the Mediterranean and keep Russia from obtaining full possession of the Dardanelles—and it is suspected in rather high quarters that that may have something to do with the program—for whatever reason then, we would take occasion to find an excuse to go into Greece regardless of what kind of a government they had. Is that not a rather logical conclusion?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I am compelled to reach that conclusion. So long as the President's new policy of interfering in civil wars—and he has laid it down in so many words, and it is the new policy—continues to be American policy, whatever kind of government we find in the country involved is not of importance to the policy; that does not make any difference. The President says that hereafter it is to be the policy of the United States to take sides in any civil war or strife we find any place on earth. That is a new policy for the United States. As a matter of fact, no nation has ever had such a policy. We complained bitterly during the War Between the States when England was more or less taking one side in the struggle, and she had to pay heavy damages when the war was over for the position she took.

The President, in his message before the joint session of Congress, said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

"By armed minorities"—that is a civil war. That sounds very fine. The policy is to support "free peoples." But we decide who are the "free peoples." We decide whether the "free peoples" are the Greek Royalist Government or the poor peasants and workers in Greece fighting for a chance to live and a chance to feed their families and take care of their families and escape from the terrible miseries which surround them. It is proposed that we go into Greece and decide who are the "free peoples" of Greece. Of course, that is what nations always do when they intervene in civil wars. They pick out the people they are

going to help and try to cast the robe of purity around them. That is what we are doing in this case.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. If we went into Greece, would we not actually suppress the very thing we would like to see exist in Greece, if our talk means anything?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is true. We are going in to shoot down the very people for whom the American people naturally would have a great sympathy, and I am not referring to the Communists. As Arthur Krock has pointed out, it is the middle class. It is not the Communists on this end of the line or the Royalists on the other end, but it is the great ordinary common people—those who are in between. They are the ones who would be shot down.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MALONE. As a matter of fact, the debate brought out today, I think, very clearly that the crisis, if there is one, was precipitated by the withdrawal of English support from Greece. Then if we rush in and take up the mantle which England has cast off, are we not simply picking up England's fight without taking the time to form a clear policy of our own?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes; and we are making a great mistake, because the English people are very clever at colonization; they are very clever at working with other people. They have made that a career. They have an excellent brand of diplomacy. Our diplomacy is far less efficient than British diplomacy. Yet where England has failed dismally and is getting out because she has failed, we are going to take over, and we have had no experience in that sort of thing. Usually the British go into another country to help it; they make it pay its own way. But we do not do that. We go in with great grants out of our Treasury and try to make the program succeed with grants from our Treasury. The British do not do that. I feel very certain that we are only heading for serious trouble when we attempt to do something that the British have failed to do.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Without discussing the merits of this program, whether it is the right thing to do or the wrong thing to do—and that is a question which could be debated—are we not going in to stop the Russians from taking over the Dardanelles, the Mediterranean, and the oil fields in Turkey? Is not that the logical conclusion? Without debating whether we should do it or not, should not the truth be told to the American people?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes, if that threat actually exists. I have not seen any evidence that Russia wants to take over the oil fields or take over Greece, or even Turkey. What Russia has asked for is the right to fortify the Dardanelles. If one looks at the map and considers the position of Turkey, he

will see what a magnificent springboard it offers for any nation which wishes to attack Russia. When we look at the Black Sea, we must remember that it has 2,000 miles of shore line. Russia desires to defend herself. She wishes to build bases around her country. The area around the Black Sea is the only point on the compass where Russia is vulnerable. One can very readily see why she would rather place fortifications on the Dardanelles than fortify the entire shore line of the Black Sea. The Black Sea reaches up into the bowels of Russia. It is the right road to travel if we want to attack Russia. Of course Russia knows that, so Russia wants to protect herself by building fortifications on the Dardanelles. Is not that sensible?

The Senator has made some reference to my service on the Committee on Military Affairs. I recall that more than a year ago the War Department—as it should have done—figured out the defense of America. It planned bases beginning at the Philippines, on the one side, and extending into the Arctic Circle in a northerly direction. The other leg of the horseshoe was in the Azores. That is what the War Department said was needed to protect America. Those were the bases which it claimed were needed; and I think we needed them. I am sorry that the plan was not put into operation and the necessary bases established, because I think they represent the very minimum in our defenses, and that we should have them.

But when we make such military plans as that, how can we say that Russia should not make similar plans to protect herself? I think it is entirely reasonable that Russia should be given the right to have fortifications and protection on the Dardanelles. The Dardanelles is free to everyone to use. But, of course, in time of war it is a pathway into the interior of Russia. I do not think Russia is blind to that fact. I know she is not. I know that if she could place fortifications on the Dardanelles they would cost perhaps 1 percent of the cost of the fortifications she would have to have on the entire coast line of the Black Sea. She knows that, and so do we.

We are going into Greece and Turkey with our flag and our uniforms, to keep Russia away from the Dardanelles. As nearly as I can determine, that is the only object. Our whole purpose and objective is to keep Russia out of the Dardanelles with her fortifications.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. It was brought out on the floor of the Senate today rather clearly that England has always been able to stop Russia from entering the Dardanelles area. Is not that correct?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes. England has followed that policy for a hundred years. She has kept Russia out of the Mediterranean. She has kept Russia from having a warm-water port.

Mr. MALONE. She stopped Russia with her fleet on at least one occasion.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. As the Senator well knows, Britain has been the mistress of the seas for many years, and

she has been able to keep Russia at bay. She has been able to keep her out of the Mediterranean. But that day is gone. Britain is no longer mistress of the seas. We are taking over her job. She can no longer keep Russia out of the Mediterranean. It is not possible for her to do so, so we step in and assume that job. Why we should assume it, God only knows. I do not.

Mr. MALONE. After witnessing two world wars, being in one officially and in the other unofficially, and now having this responsibility, I have long since come to the conclusion that any vote I cast on the floor of the Senate will be on one basis alone, and that is whether it fits the policy of protecting the United States.

My next question to the Senator from Colorado is this: What study has been made, if the Senator knows of any, to determine whether it would be in the interest of the United States to prevent Russia from entering the Dardanelles?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I cannot see that our intervention in that area would be in the interest of the United States. I hold the opposite opinion. I do not think it has anything to do with our defenses. I believe that our defenses lie entirely outside that area.

As I stated a moment ago, our War Department has figured out the defenses of the United States in a great horseshoe, beginning at the Azores and ending in the Philippines, with air bases all along the way. I think that is the way to defend America. I think that was a fine plan. It was designed by our highest military strategists.

I have never heard of any necessity for us to build air bases in Turkey—at least until the 28th of February, when this new plan came out. So far as I know, such a plan was never previously proposed. The War Department was a little reluctant to propose the horseshoe defense plan which I have described, because it was feared that the American people might not accept it. But now we have gone far beyond that point. We are going into the Mediterranean and attempting to build air bases far removed from us, bases which we cannot supply, bases in which we are likely to be caught if there is any trouble, just as we were caught with our bases in the Philippines. We shall probably reap the same results which we reaped at Bataan and Corregidor.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. How much closer would the Russian armed forces be to the United States of America than they are at this moment if they were allowed to come through the Dardanelles?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. They would not be any nearer to the United States. They are very close to us now over the North Pole. That is the place where this Nation is vulnerable to Russia, through Alaska and through the Arctic Circle. Russia is a very close neighbor of the United States in that area. She is many thousands of miles away from us by way of Turkey. That is a long distance away, halfway around the world. But across the Arctic Circle

Russia is a very close neighbor of the United States, as the Senator well knows.

Mr. MALONE. The next observation on which I should like to have the Senator's opinion is this: Supposing we agree with Russia on a situation in which we would both be admitted to the Dardanelles, including England; supposing we are all friendly and at peace, what would be the effect of such an agreement upon the peace of the world?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is an agreement which should be worked out. That is an agreement which is more or less on the way. It is an agreement that should be worked out in the United Nations Organization. The United Nations was created to immunize fever spots. That is one of the world's fever spots, and I am certain that it can be dealt with around the conference table in a peaceable way, which is the way we envisioned it when we created the United Nations.

Mr. MALONE. Does the Senator feel that our hostile move—I must conclude that that is what it is—in connection with the announcement by the President of the United States that we are there to stop Russia's form of government at the borders of Greece would promote such an agreement?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No. I think that our threat in Turkey and in Greece is primarily the cause of the disagreement we have been having in the United Nations and which we have recently witnessed in Moscow. I do not see how we can expect other than that. I do not know how we can expect to reach an agreement around the conference table when we have a program such as the one outlined in the bill.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Does the Senator, consistently with the answer he has just made, think this has made the solution of the German problem any less difficult?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. It has made the solution of the German problem absolutely impossible—not only the German problem, but all the other problems and controversies that stand between the two great powers, Russia and the United States. Conditions can only drag on from bad to worse.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yes.

Mr. LUCAS. Of course I have to disagree with my able friend upon that point. I think I would rather follow, under the circumstances, the opinion of our great Secretary of State, George Marshall. I have no knowledge as to Marshall's position with respect to this measure, but I think it is pretty safe to assume that he did not go to Russia without some knowledge of the problem we are now discussing, and it was undoubtedly his judgment, after having been closely allied with the Russians during the great war and having a world of experience in dealing with all types and kinds of people, that a move of this kind would strengthen, rather than weaken, his hand in the conferences at Moscow. That is my position; and I cannot help but think that it is George Marshall's position also, or he would not have gone to Russia under the circumstances.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I think the Senator is correct in his statement that Secretary of State Marshall knew about this. As a matter of fact, I think he is the author of the plan. I think it is the Marshall plan.

Mr. LUCAS. That may be. I do not know that it is.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I presume it is.

Mr. LUCAS. I certainly think he is at least favorable to the plan, or he would not be where he is at this moment. The only point I am making is that a man who has occupied the world position which George Marshall has occupied during the last few years has undoubtedly weighed this proposition carefully and reached a very definite conclusion as to what effect, if any, it might have upon the conference now proceeding in Moscow.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I have no doubt of that. However, the Senator well knows that many well-laid plans backfire and do not work out the way it was hoped they would.

Mr. LUCAS. I know that. I do not assert that George Marshall has all the wisdom in the world. He has no monopoly of it. The able Senator from Colorado may be correct in his conclusions. Time will tell. We have to take one or the other horn of the dilemma which is presented. I submit that either road we take is a dangerous one. It is merely a question of judgment as to which way we should go to try to bring about a peaceful solution of the world's affairs.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course it has been a very difficult road. Russia has adopted an obstinate and, I think, stupid policy of negation for many months, and certainly her policies and her position in world affairs have been enough to try a saint. I think we must admit that. It is not an easy problem to work out. I do not see how we can expect to work it out by launching in Turkey a military threat to Russia. I do not see how we can expect to reach an amicable agreement with Russia when we have that kind of a proposal in the making.

Mr. LUCAS. If the Senator will yield for one more observation along that line, I will say that I have never considered the situation so serious from the standpoint of a military threat as many other Members of the Senate have considered it in this debate. We have created more furor and fuss in this country regarding the question of war with Russia than has been created in any other place on the globe. I have never read a statement by anyone in authority in Russia that indicates what has been indicated on the floor of the Senate—that we are leading this country to war. I have never seen a statement come out of Russia that indicated that the policy which we are pursuing in advocating the Greek-Turkish loan was a policy of war against Russia. There may be some statements along that line. I have followed the newspapers daily and I have seen some critical statements coming from the Russian press and from some of the leaders in the political life of that nation, but I have never seen anyone go so far as those who are opposed to this

loan have constantly gone on the floor of the Senate, and in some instances by gentlemen who are not Members of the Senate of the United States. We are not proposing to do any more—in fact, we are proposing to do less, as I see it—than the British have been doing ever since the war in both Turkey and Greece. I have never seen any protests upon the part of the Russian people with respect to what Great Britain has been doing in Greece with her thousands upon thousands of soldiers there, loaning money to Greece, and selling her military equipment, and being all the time back of Turkey both during the war and since the war.

If I understand the situation correctly, when Great Britain moves out of Turkey and Greece we will take over under much less favorable circumstances, from the standpoint of a military venture, than Great Britain has experience ever since VE-day.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Of course Britain went into Greece during the war and is getting out of Greece now that the war is over.

The Senator complains about alarmist statements which were made upon the floor of the Senate. I should like to read to him what a distinguished American had to say on March 12 in the House of Representatives when the Senator was present. The President of the United States thought the situation was so serious that he came before Congress personally and delivered a message under the most solemn of conditions. This is his first sentence:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

Then the President continued his address. I have never seen a more solemn occasion than that one. The President further said:

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

The President did not deceive us any; I am not calling the President an alarmist, but I do not think any statement which has been made on the floor of the Senate could be more alarming than the President's statement on March 12. Certainly a very serious situation exists.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, if the Senator will further yield, let me say that I agree with him that the situation is serious. A moment ago I said that either horn of the dilemma which we take will lead us down a dangerous road. There can be no doubt of that, in view of the conditions which now exist throughout the world.

The President did come to the Congress with that message, and it is a serious one, but I am satisfied that the President sincerely and honestly believes that this is the only step which will keep the peace. In my humble judgment, that is his position, and it is the position of the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. And it is the position of the Senator from Colo-

rado, likewise, that whatever he is doing has those same objectives. I have no quarrel with the Senator over his objectives, and I have no doubt at all that the President is absolutely sincere in what he is doing, and that he believes it is for the best interests of the United States that we take the action he has suggested. I have no quarrel with that. Of course, it is only natural that he should take that position.

I am not charging bad faith on the part of the President, nor am I charging bad faith on the part of Senators who do not agree with my position. I want the Senator to understand my position. I believe that we face two horns of a dilemma, as he has mentioned, and that either one of them is bad enough. So I am trying to find a middle course which will be devoid of the dangers attaching to the two horns of the dilemma which we are facing. My intentions and my objections and my motives are just as good as those of any other person who is attempting to deal with this problem.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, no one can question the sincerity and integrity of the able Senator from Colorado. No one has ever done so since I have been a Member of the Senate. I have frequently disagreed with the Senator, but no one has ever questioned his sincerity of purpose in relation to any of the great and important matters which frequently come before the Senate of the United States; and I am always glad to listen to the views the able Senator expresses from time to time, even though I may disagree with him.

Let me ask the able Senator this question: Does he believe that the policy upon which we are embarking is an imperialistic policy?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not exactly call it an imperialistic policy, because I am not too well informed as to what our motives are with respect to the petroleum deposits in the Middle East. I will say that it has some of the earmarks of imperialism. We have discovered the greatest petroleum deposits in all the world, and we know that the State Department and the private oil companies—the Standard Oil companies—have been working for years to settle the difficulties between other nations so that the American private oil companies can have ownership of that oil. I call that imperialism, and I think that oil will be extracted from the earth and those resources will be exploited for profit. I do not know whether the State Department or the United States Government has laid down any policies of reimbursement to the poor, miserable natives who have lived such lives of hardship in that area. I do not know whether they are to be reimbursed for the removal of that great natural resource, but I fear that they will not be taken care of.

If it is our purpose to go into the Middle East and extract that very valuable deposit of petroleum, then I say we are getting very close to a policy of imperialism, as I understand the term.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield, and then I shall not interrupt him further.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I wish to say that I agree with the purport of the Senator's amendment which he is going to submit in due course, as I understand. I do not think it is pending at this time.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. No; it is not.

Mr. LUCAS. But it deals with the oil situation. I shall support that amendment because, so far as I am concerned, I do not wish to leave the slightest impression that the Government is making this loan to Greece and Turkey in order to protect the private oil interests that now are in the Middle East—not at all. I shall support the amendment which the Senator from Colorado is going to offer along that line.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I am grateful to the Senator.

Mr. LUCAS. I think the amendment is a good one, even though it may not be necessary; but in order to make the position of the Senate of the United States clear and certain, I shall support that amendment.

I support the Greek-Turkish loan solely on the theory that in my judgment it is in the interest of the safety and security of the United States. I am trying now to look far down the mountain-side into the future, and not just consider the situation momentarily, as we are discussing it now.

I may be wrong; I do not say I am infallible; but I certainly hope I am right.

In the great issues that come before the Senate of the United States, I do the best I can, as every other Senator, I am certain, does. I pray that God Almighty will give us some light to enable us to see aright in regard to the issue before us, solely in the interest of free men and women everywhere.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Certainly, Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois is entitled to his opinion, and I think he is searching for the right road in that connection. I certainly hope he finds it; I hope he is correct, because as I contemplate what is likely to happen in the Senate a few days from now, it seems to me that the Senator from Illinois will have his way in this matter. So I am tremendously interested in having him be right. I reluctantly disagree with him at the present time; I see these things somewhat differently from the way he sees them. But I have no quarrel at all with his objectives or his purposes or his hopes.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. I am somewhat confused in regard to one statement contained in the address which the President made before the joint session of Congress. I mention this in line with the discussion between the distinguished Senator from Illinois and the distinguished Senator from Colorado. I read the following statement from the President's address to the joint session of Congress:

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

I think it is well known and freely admitted that the governments of both countries which we intend to enter are totalitarian. From what totalitarian government are we to protect these countries? I address the question to the distinguished Senator from Colorado or to the distinguished Senator from Illinois.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. So far as Greece is concerned, they have a tyrannical dictatorship, and it is a totalitarian government. The Government of Turkey is, I think, a much more democratic government than is that of Greece, although it, too, is a Fascist form of government. Very few of the rights which are so precious to our people who believe in democracy are enjoyed by the people of Turkey. But I think the Government of Greece is much lower in the scale of government than is the Government of Turkey. Of course, the present Government of Turkey is a great improvement over the Government of Turkey prior to World War I. But it lacks a great deal of being a government which the United States of America, with its ideals of democracy and right living, can approve.

Mr. MALONE. Will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. MALONE. Apparently we are supporting the governments of both these nations, and could it be that the inference is that we are protecting them from the totalitarian Government of Russia?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. It is presumed that that is the reason for our military maneuver, to protect Greece from infiltration, and Turkey from outside pressure or coercion.

Mr. MALONE. From the Russian Government?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. From the Russian Government.

Now, Mr. President, to proceed with Mr. Daniell's splendid article in the New York Times, I wish to read two short paragraphs. He says:

It will take more than the injection of dollars to put things right, as the British have learned to their sorrow.

He is talking about Greece.

Nor will the cure be effected speedily.

Later in this splendid article he says:

General reaction to President Truman's proposals is to accept them—

This refers to the reaction on the part of the Greeks—

General reaction to President Truman's proposals is to accept them as a just reward for the long struggle against their latest invaders, the Italians and Germans. The more cynically minded smile and say that if the United States is terrified of Russia, she, no doubt, is willing to pay her frontier guards lavishly.

There is something for us to consider. That is what the Greeks are saying, that if we are terrified of Russia, we should be able to pay her frontier guards, such as Greece and Turkey, lavishly.

Mr. Daniell continues:

For the concept of America here is based on Hollywood movies largely and consists of a picture of a land where everybody owns a sleek, shiny car, a lavish home and generally makes a million dollars before he dies.

Among the extreme right, American intervention in the domestic troubles of Greece has encouraged extravagant talk of an imminent war with Russia.

The Senator from Illinois said he had not heard of any talk of war except on the floor of the Senate.

On the March day, when the nation celebrated its liberation from the Turks in 1821, Royalist groups sang songs in which there was a warning to Stalin that "Truman and the atom bomb will make dust out of you."

That should make a very gruesome kind of a song, I should think.

Mr. President, there is one other paragraph I wish to read, because it shows how this relief is handled in a country like Greece. They have had a tremendous amount of relief, as the Senator from Idaho [Mr. DWORSHAK] pointed out a few moments ago. Mr. Daniell proceeds:

Another factor which may help is that, without security, rich Greeks who formerly kept their capital abroad may bring it home and submit to taxation. Peasants and retailers likewise have been hoarding gold sovereigns in fear of foreign invasion and the necessity for flight. With the release of this money and the flow of goods and services, the desire to work, which is not very strong right now, may return. It must, if Greece is to recover and stand on her own feet when her present troubles are over.

In other words, the thing that is going to save Greece is what is going to save the rest of the world, that is, a little sweat and a little hard work.

Mr. President, I ask permission to insert the marked portions of this splendid article in my remarks at this point.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

It will take more than the injection of dollars to put things right, as the British have learned to their sorrow. Nor will the cure be effected speedily.

The next thing that strikes one is the vast quantities of cheap American motion picture and adventure magazines which drape and obscure the news kiosks, which, in the center of the city, average about three to the block. The shops are full of luxury goods, such as have not been seen in London since the war began, and all imported since liberation with borrowed funds, to be sold at inflated prices to the well-to-do.

The reason for this anomaly in a land of hunger, violence, and terror is not hard to find. A large part of 80,000,000 pounds sterling which Britain lent to Greece has been used to import expensive articles like radios, wrist watches, and cosmetics, instead of wheat, fats, clothing, and shoes, so desperately needed in the country outside the capital. The same thing will happen to American dollars unless we devise some more effective method of controlling their expenditure than the British have done. The British on the scene, who will soon turn over their function to their American successors, are the first to admit this and to warn against repetition of their methods, which consisted largely of serving in an advisory capacity.

The truth is there is no effective control of imports and the Government has been unable to resist the pressure of business interests for importation of articles which bring high prices and handsome profits, such as new American automobiles, British bicycles, and

pure slick. There is no rationing of food and price controls are a joke. There is no confidence in the currency and all rents and large contracts provide for payment in gold, which the Government has to import to sell, with results that have been ruinous for its foreign exchange. Legally, the exchange is fixed at 5,000 drachmas to the dollar, but the black-market price ranges from 6,000 to 7,000.

Prime Minister Maximos gets a salary of 1,000,000 drachmas monthly. * * *

Twenty months ago clothing, textiles, and shoes worth \$13,000,000 began arriving at Piraeus. Most of the 6,000-ton shipment remains unopened in the warehouses. Months of effort to have it released and distributed were fruitless, and only in the last days of March did it begin to trickle out at the rate of 500,000,000 drachmas' worth a day through retail shops which collected 3 percent from the Government for disposing of it.

The British proposed that it be released at one-third of cost to poorly paid civil servants, of which there are some 80,000, but they encountered only excuses for delay, whereas the real reason is that if it were put on the market it would force down prices of privately owned stocks in the shops.

* * * * *

For Greece's trouble is not only economic. It is hard to say which is the gravest trouble or which must be brought to a halt before the other is cured. To this correspondent, it seems that there can be no sound economy here until the bitter feuds which divide the people of the same family can be reconciled and conciliated, but members of this Government seem inclined to other methods and are now planning extensive military operations against the leftist bands in the north.

Officially, the Government has declared war on all bands, whether of left or right, but in practice it seems somewhat less than impartial. For instance, recently when a rightist leader slew some Communists he was extolled by Government spokesmen as a hero, but when he in turn was slain by Communists, General Zervas, Minister of Public Order, said:

"We will answer terrorism with terrorism ten times as strong, disaster with disaster ten times as strong, and slaughter ten times greater. And this is not anti-Christian, because God has taught us how to behave to anti-Christian Communists, who have sold their souls to the devil."

The Government points with pride to the statement that it represents 85 percent of the legal loyal parties, to the amnesty it offered the rebels who would give up arms and surrender, and it claims to believe wholeheartedly in democracy. But those who question this are not all Communists. Themistokles Sophoulis, former prime minister, who refused to join the coalition, declared to this correspondent that the Government is "stifling civil liberties." The 87-year-old leader asserted that thousands of Greeks have been exiled to islands without trial on mere police denunciation, and said that the civil service was being purged of political opponents of the regime and coercion was being used in the Army against reading anything but approved party newspapers.

Sophoulis also ridiculed the Government's claim to represent 85 percent of the people, pointing out that, while it was true that it represented that much of Parliament, it was probably representative of less than half the people. Besides the Communists, who may represent 15 percent of the 7,000,000 population, he said his own party represented 20 percent, and half a dozen smaller parties represented together about as much more.

In his view Greek public opinion has undergone a radical change toward conciliation since the election was held. He advocated an early election.

General reaction to President Truman's proposals is to accept them as a just reward for the long struggle against their latest invaders—the Italians and Germans. The

more cynically minded smile and say that if the United States is terrified of Russia, she no doubt is willing to pay her frontier guards lavishly. For the concept of America here is based on Hollywood movies largely and consists of a picture of a land where everybody owns a sleek, shiny car, a lavish home, and generally makes a million dollars before he dies.

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Another factor which may help is that, with security, rich Greeks who formerly kept their capital abroad may bring it home and submit to taxation. Peasants and retailers likewise have been hoarding gold sovereigns in fear of foreign invasion and the necessity for flight. With the release of this money and the flow of goods and services, the desire to work, which is not very strong right now, may return. It must if Greece is to recover and stand on her own feet when her present troubles are over.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, since the liberation of Greece, more than \$850,000,000 worth of goods, including UNRRA supplies, have been sent into the country; yet, by common consent, Greece's economy is acknowledged to be worse off today than before. That was the point which the able Senator from Idaho [Mr. DWORSHAK] brought out a few moments ago, that UNRRA relief, help from the United States and from Great Britain, has amounted to \$850,000,000 since the war, yet Greece is in worse condition than she was before. So why should we expect that the \$250,000,000 now planned to be spent under the bill would perform any great miracle? It simply will not do it.

Now it is proposed that several hundred millions of additional dollars be placed at the disposal of a Greek government which has proven, beyond a shadow of a doubt, its basic incompetence either to deal with the economic or the political situation. What happened to the eight hundred and fifty millions is certain to be the fate of the additional three hundred millions. In fact, Mr. President, the current expenditures of the Greek Government for its armed forces are running at an annual rate of, roughly, \$240,000,000. They will use up all the money in 1 year with the Army.

If we are to foot the bill for the military tyranny of the present Greek Government, what portion of the funds we are to provide will actually go into reconstruction? Of course, the answer is: Not one thin dime. And if the present Greek Government is never able to establish real order, never able to attain genuine support of the Greek people, how will our funds be used effectively for reconstruction of the Greek economy?

The Associated Press carried a dispatch on April 7 stating that the Greek Parliament appropriated \$40,000 as a dowry for Princess Catherine, the sister of King Paul, who is to be married very shortly to a British officer. Here is a nation, many of whose people are starving to death, a nation which is asking for help from the United States Treasury, and yet their Parliament, according to

the Associated Press dispatch of April 7, appropriates \$40,000 for a dowry for a princess. Of course, she will have an expensive wedding, and the United States Treasury will have to stand all the expenses of it.

Obviously, until a genuine political democracy is established in Greece, it will be impossible to restore the economy of Greece. That seems to me to be as plain as anything on this earth. The mere military conquest of this people, the mere saddling on this people of a mercenary army, can never create conditions of political stability. A mercenary army is what this bill provides for.

If Senators do not believe that, I want them to read carefully paragraph 3 on page 3 of the bill. It provides for a mercenary army, and the army is to be paid for by the Greek and Turkish Governments.

The mere military conquest of this people, the mere saddling on this people of a mercenary army devoted to an outworn and hated monarchy, can never create those conditions of political stability under which the economy itself can be improved. We must face the blunt fact, Mr. President, that the economy of Greece can only be restored when a genuinely democratic government, supported by the vast majority of the Greek people, is established. Otherwise, the funds which we have now been asked to appropriate will be wasted, will be thrown away, in precisely the same manner in which the eight hundred and fifty millions of the past 2 years have been. Remember that despite the eight hundred and fifty millions, the economic situation in Greece is worse, worse, worse, not better, and if we now commit ourselves to a half billion or a billion a year to subjugate the Greek people with bayonets to a government which they hate, we will never be able to restore the Greek economy.

Mr. President, the primary requirement for defeating communism in Greece is the establishment of a democracy—a genuine political democracy—in Greece. Whether or not the Senate is determined to have a genuinely democratic Greece is the issue. Let us be clear. Everything depends upon the establishment of a political democracy in Greece. If we do not base our foreign policy on a political democracy, we are engaging in imperialism, either our own or someone's imperialism, and in the maintenance of a corrupt monarchy. In using the American taxpayers' money to foster an unwanted military tyranny, it would be, by the most conservative standards, a colossal piece of international effrontery. Furthermore, it would be a complete waste of the American taxpayers' money. America could gain nothing but hatred by such a policy. It would profit no one; it would cultivate and breed communism; it would prove that the peoples throughout the democratic world cannot look to America for encouragement.

I shall ask now that I be not interrupted until I conclude. I have a few more pages, and I will go ahead as fast as I can, because the hour is growing late.

If our aim is to stop the spread of communism and the expansion of Soviet

Russia's influence over Greece and Turkey, I do not see how we can achieve it through this bill. It is obvious that we cannot stop Russia or communism by increasing the strength of the Greek and Turkish Armies.

Communism is an idea and not a tangible object. You cannot fight ideas with guns. The only way to fight them is with better ideas.

The conditions which breed and spread communistic ideas should be our concern. Whatever money we invest in such an enterprise should go to fight hunger and disease, and, in Greece especially, to repair the terrible destruction of her cities and farms which has been her legacy from this war.

We certainly cannot spread the ideals of democracy throughout Greece by giving arms to a Greek Government which does not practice these ideals.

The events of the past few years in Greece should teach us a few lessons. Germany and Italy tried to suppress the Greek people and failed. The Italians, with 300,000 soldiers, scattered over the country, and the Germans, with 50,000, could not subjugate them. When the Italians surrendered in 1943, the Germans increased their own garrisons, bringing them up to the strength of almost 15 divisions. Still, the guerrilla movement grew stronger every day.

Then, the Germans tried using quivering troops, but the result was stronger and stronger guerrilla units, and the creation of a deep-rooted division of the Greek people—separating them into camps of resistance fighters and collaborators. This was the beginning of the civil war which is going on today.

What happened after the liberation of Greece? The British Government brought in troops to establish order and found itself embroiled in a civil war. Ten thousand Greeks lost their lives, and approximately 500 British soldiers were killed. The British realized that the resistance movement was strong and came to a compromise. The Varkiza agreement was drawn up between the resistance forces and the government in power at that time. This agreement, indirectly backed by the British, guaranteed full political amnesty to the resistance fighters if they were to lay down their arms, and in February of 1945, the guerrilla fighters surrendered their guns to the Royalist Government. Immediately, in every city, town, and village, there sprang up government-sanctioned terrorist organizations, composed of Royalists and former collaborators, and a campaign was launched to plunder and terrorize all those who had in any way participated in the underground movement against the enemy. This terrorism grew more and more violent until it reached its peak in the summer and fall of 1945.

In the midst of this, the elections were announced, along with the plebiscite which returned the king. Of course, we sent observers to these elections. Their reports declared that the voting had been orderly and that the elections resulted in a fairly clear expression of the will of the Greek people.

What these reports neglected to mention was the terrorist campaigns before

the elections, which were most effective. These reports did not explain that no Greek would dare to vote against the wishes of the local terrorist organization. They did not mention that his life would not have been worth two cents the next day, or that his family's safety would have been sacrificed if he dared to vote against the groups in power.

Our observers witnessed only the outward peaceful conduct at the polls. They did not detect the seething turmoil beneath the surface. They did not see that many candidates were prevented from visiting their districts, that they had no chance to present their platform to their constituents.

Let us examine this present Greek Government closely before we act. Under this regime, people are arrested, imprisoned, and detained indefinitely without trial. Men, women, and children have been deported to dry, barren islands without trial or right of appeal. There is no freedom of speech in many areas. Freedom of movement has been limited by the activities of the terrorist bands of the left and the right. The Greek Army which we propose to aid with equipment and military advisers has been cleared of the greatest part of its democratic elements, and is now staffed by more than a thousand officers who were members of the security battalions, those formations which were created by the Nazis during the war and which the Allies have repeatedly labeled as traitorous.

Let us look at the record of its Minister of Public Security, the man to whom the guerillas would have to surrender if they accepted the proffered amnesty in which our State Department seems to place so much faith. The man who holds this office is Gen. Napoleon Zervas. His position, in Greece, is identical with the position of J. Edgar Hoover in this country. He is at the head of the police department of Greece.

During the war, this general, with British money and arms, created a guerrilla force which at its height was composed of 8,000 well-paid and well-equipped men. This force, from 1943 till the time of the German withdrawal from Greece in 1944, did very little to disturb the enemy.

For example, Mr. President, the Minister of Security, Mr. Napoleon Zervas, is reliably reported to have collaborated with the Germans during their occupation of Greece. I had a visit from an American officer, a second lieutenant from the Office of Strategic Services, who served 8 months behind German lines and who was in Greece 9 months after the liberation of Greece. This officer testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations while this bill was pending. This lieutenant, an American citizen, showed me a German document which had come into his hands which indicated that Zervas had collaborated with the Germans. This man who now takes in Greece a place comparable to that held in this country by J. Edgar Hoover, was a collaborator.

There is no doubt, Mr. President, that the people of America do not believe that the Greek people have had a fair deal—

that they have had genuine free and democratic elections.

It is worth noting that the statement that 1,500 officers now serving in the Greek Army, who served in the notorious security battalions which maintained order in Greece for the Germans during the Nazi occupation, has not been challenged. We are going in to back up that kind of crew in Greece with money from our Treasury.

It is a fair thing for the Senate of the United States to face this fact: Why are 1,500 Nazi collaborators today officers of the Greek Army? Could a genuinely democratic government tolerate such a situation? We shot them in Germany. We hung them in Germany, as we should hang them in Greece when we go in there.

I believe that the Senate, if it does nothing else, should indicate its faith and belief in democracy. We would not vote \$400,000,000 to maintain the Fascist Dictator Franco. We would not vote \$400,000,000 to assist the Nazi Peron government in the Argentine. We are opposed to tyranny everywhere. We should demand that a free and fair election be held in Greece. That is what my amendment provides. As an essential feature of Greek elections, it is vital to establish full opportunity for all political parties to participate and engage in election activities. It is essential also to grant immediate amnesty to all persons who have fought the present government.

Mr. President, I have in my hand this German report which fell into the hands of the Allies. It is a military situation report from the Twenty-second German Mountain Army Corps, which speaks of the "lawful attitude" of General Zervas toward the German Army. It mentions no sabotage on the part of Zervas' guerillas against the German invaders, while it shows that Zervas devoted his energies to fighting his rival Greek guerillas, the men who were waging an effective underground battle against the Germans. Now we are going to help Zervas destroy the men who are on our side.

I ask unanimous consent to insert excerpts from this German report in the Record at this point.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Following are some extracts from a German Army document in connection with the collaborationist activities of the present Greek Minister of Public Security, Gen. Napoleon Zervas. During the period under consideration Zervas was chief of the guerrilla groups known as EDDER, or as the document refers to them "Nationalist bands." The references to "Communist bands" means the ELAS, or Leftist guerrillas.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS XXII (MOUNTAIN)
ARMY BUREAU IC—No. 8813/44, CONFIDENTIAL—SEAT C L OCTOBER 8, 1944

1. REPORT ON SITUATION ON JULY 8, 1944

1. Political situation: The fact that Zervas after a temporary recurrence of activity has again returned to his lawful attitude toward the German troops was received with satisfaction by nationalist circles.

2. Situation of the bands:

(a) Nationalist bands (Zervas' bands):

At the beginning of July he (Zervas) abandoned his lawful attitude, which he had kept until now, and under pressure from the Brit-

ish, he attacked various posts, camps, and convoys on the road from Jannena to Igu-menitsa and Arta, also on the road Philippias-Louros-Preveza. After a few days, however, he stopped the fighting and since then has kept a neutral position and does not follow any more the orders of the Allies to start again his attacks against the German troops.

(b) Greek Communist bands (ELAS bands):

The bands of the ELAS developed continuous lively activity in the southern district occupied by the corps especially on the road of Arts-Agrinion and on the railway line of Agrinion-Messolongi there took place surprise attacks and repeatedly attacks by mines and mine-laying which in part caused us considerable losses.

3. Defense situation:

(b) Enemy activities and sabotage:

Mine explosions, blow-ups, and general sabotage activities against our mail routes continued in the southern sector with the same frequency as before, and became more frequent in the northern sector, where during last month attacks were extremely rare. In Zervas' territory no sabotage took place.

5. Conclusions on the situation: The important factor to the above would be if the allies would be able to force Zervas to give up his until now lawful attitude and thus use his troops again for attacks against the German forces. We must also expect continuous activities from the Greek Communist bands in the entire sector of this corps, if these forces are not stopped with frequent mopping-up operations (translator's note: Meaning on the part of the German Army), or if they are not distracted by attacks on the part of Zervas' forces.

For General Headquarters, the Intelligence Officer (signed the draft):

BURKER.

JUNE 8, 1944.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, a few days ago the newspapers carried reports of the murder of 32 political prisoners being held in the prison of the city of Gythion in Southern Peloponesos by Royalist terrorists. The Government declared martial law in that section and General Zervas rushed to the spot personally to take care of the situation. Three weeks elapsed and not one of the murderers had been arrested. Instead, General Zervas used the forces under him to fight the Leftist guerrillas of the region.

Does our State Department really expect the guerrillas to hand over their guns to General Zervas? Do we hope to spread American democracy and ideals through such a man?

Remember, Senators, that when the British first intervened in Greece to "establish order" they were greeted with wild cheers. Today, as they are preparing to leave, the Greek people show no signs of sorrow over their departure. From all the reports coming out of Greece we can see that there is little but hatred in the hearts of all classes of Greeks for the British.

Mr. President, 2 years from now I do not want the same thing to be said about America.

I do not want to see us intervening in the internal affairs of another country, with the avowed intention of bringing democracy to its people, and achieving nothing but hatred in the hearts of those we intended to help. That is why I say that we must be very careful to select the right way to achieve our ends. We cannot go into Greece with half-baked

plans about what can be done and no clear-cut idea of how it can be done.

Anything we do must be carefully weighed, not only insofar as it concerns our future relations with Greece, but as to how it will appear in the eyes of the rest of the world.

How will we appear to the people of the world who look up to us for our democratic institutions and our traditional championing of the oppressed and weak, if we use our money and arms to fortify an antipopular Government with such an undemocratic history?

The loss of prestige which would result from a failure of our program to bring democracy to Greece would be incalculable. We have announced to the rest of the world that we want to strengthen democracy in Greece—to establish peace and enable the Greek people to start repairing and healing the wounds which they suffered in their heroic resistance against the Germans and Italians;

We must succeed in this objective; we dare not fail; but we cannot succeed if we attempt to work through the present Greek Government.

However, I do believe we can achieve our declared ends by seeing to it that before we give any money a government is formed which represents all shades of political opinion in Greece, with a man at its head who has the confidence of the Greek people. There are several men in Greece today who have that confidence and more than enough leaders of all parties to form such a government.

With the formation of this coalition government, it would be possible to bring the civil war to an end without firing a single shot. Until we bring the civil war to an end there can be no restoration, no rehabilitation of Greece, and no real relief to the Greek people.

I think it is clear from the reports coming out of Greece today that the guerrillas would be more than willing to lay down their guns if there were any hope that they could do so without being thrown into prison. After all, these men have been fighting for over 6 years. They are sick of it. They were sick of it in 1945 when they laid down their guns. If there were a government in Greece which could be trusted not to indulge in reprisals against them and their families, there is small question that they would once again be willing to surrender their arms.

If the aid which we propose to send to Greece were conditioned upon the creation of a broad, coalition government which would honestly offer complete amnesty to the guerrilla fighters, we could bring peace and democracy to Greece, and the stature which we would gain in the eyes of the rest of the world would be even greater than what we would lose, if we were to take the wrong course, and fail.

Senators, the answer rests in our hands. We can offer to Greece the only gift which she really wants—peace, and a start on the road to the democracy which she has fought so hard to gain.

We do not have to indoctrinate the Greek people in the ways of democracy. They know and prize them as highly as we do. But they have been prevented

through foreign interference from ever holding their democratic institutions once they had gained them. Now we can show the Greek people and the people of the world that we believe in our democratic principles and institutions and that we will actually help others to attain them.

It has been said many times that the democracies were weak because they did not believe in their own principles strongly enough to support and strengthen them wherever they existed.

We have now proposed to give evidence of our faith in democracy's ability to withstand the dynamic force of communism and all other totalitarian principles.

Let us then be even overly careful in seeing that no Fascist-like elements are allowed to benefit from our aid.

We are on trial before the world.

There is no way to measure the extent of our loss if we fail. Nor is there any way to measure the strength we will gain if we succeed.

Senators, we have a glorious opportunity in this bill to aid Greece. Let us take full and courageous advantage of it. Let us offer our aid to the Greek people and see to it that there is a truly democratic government in power to administer the aid. But on no condition should we send arms to the present undemocratic government and strengthen those elements which, by their Fascist-like tactics, have done more to spread communism in Greece than a thousand Russian agents could have ever accomplished.

Mr. President, many governments may come knocking on our doors during the years ahead. Are we going to submit to blackmail from every military dictatorship throughout the world on the grounds that if we do not fork over our cash, they will go communistic? Let us set up now, let us establish now, the requirement of political democracy as a basic condition for assistance from the American taxpayers' pocket. My amendment should be adopted. It would accomplish this purpose.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. I notice that the Senator quoted generally his sources of information from New York newspapers. I do not believe he once quoted from a Washington newspaper. Has the Senator ever seen any article in any Washington newspaper giving the truth respecting the situation in Greece, that is, any dispatches of any kind from the scene over there?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I have been very much disappointed, I will say frankly to the Senator, at the attitude taken by the Washington press concerning this great controversial question, which has so many phases and which is of so much interest to the people of the United States and to the people of the city of Washington. I have been grievously disappointed by the way they have handled this question. They have gone all-out to put over the pending measure as quickly as possible, without giving any consideration whatsoever to the points which have been raised in the de-

bate and which have been made available to us largely from the press of New York.

Mr. TAYLOR. I found that to be the case. When I was preparing my material, I had to go to newspapers outside the city of Washington. The newspapers of Washington did not give both sides of the case. They are all-out for the Greek-aid proposal. In my opinion, the way the question has been treated by the Washington press is a sad abuse of the privilege of a free press.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Certainly they have not been fair to their readers.

Mr. PEPPER obtained the floor.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to inquire of the Senator from Florida if he expects to make an extended address this evening.

Mr. PEPPER. I had expected to do so, Mr. President.

Mr. WHERRY. Will the Senator yield to me so that I may propose a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I feel that the time has finally arrived when the proponents and the opponents of the pending measure can look forward to a reasonable prospect of obtaining a vote not only on the amendments but on final passage of the bill. At least, the opportunity should be provided to arrange a definite time to vote on the amendments and on the bill itself. Let me say to the Senate, and also to the distinguished occupant of the chair, that I have received suggestions from both the proponents and the opponents of the bill as to a suitable time to vote upon the amendments and upon final passage of the bill; and with the idea in mind that at least we can make the suggestion and obtain the consensus of opinion of Senators, I send to the desk a unanimous-consent request which I ask to have read, after which I shall ask that it be adopted if it is satisfactory.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the proposed order will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, That on the calendar day of Monday, April 21, 1947, at the hour of 5 o'clock p. m., the Senate proceed to vote, without further debate, upon any amendment or motion that may be pending, or that may subsequently be proposed, to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and upon the final passage of the bill itself.

Ordered, further, That on said day of Monday, April 21, the time intervening between the meeting of the Senate and said hour of 5 o'clock be equally divided between the pro-

ponents and opponents of the bill, to be controlled, respectively, by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that it will be necessary for the Senator from Nebraska to ask unanimous consent that the necessity for a quorum call be waived.

Mr. WHERRY. I make that request, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the first request of the Senator from Nebraska? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Is there objection to the main request?

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I feel that the pending measure is very important. It is a well-known fact that public opinion is turning in favor of the opponents of the measure, and more particularly in favor of having the United Nations handle the problem.

I have also pointed out that the press apparently refuses to print one word of the statement made by those of us who are in favor of turning the problem over to the United Nations. I do not know what the people of the Nation are basing their opinions upon, unless it is what they hear over the radio, which makes them take the attitude that this problem should be turned over to the United Nations. Perhaps those who come into the galleries and listen go out and tell others, but that is a slow process.

I should like to take all the time possible. I may point out that the House committee has not concluded its hearings, so the House is not prepared to take up the question, and we are not actually losing time by discussing it.

I dislike to agree to the unanimous-consent request, but if the date were made Tuesday, April 22, instead of Monday, April 21, I would agree to it. I can see no hope of delaying a final vote beyond Tuesday. I am hopeful that by that time the American people will express themselves fully, and that we shall then be ready for a vote.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator for agreeing to the date of Tuesday, April 22. I have no hard and fast date in mind. I simply wish to bring the suggestion to the attention of the Senate.

I modify my unanimous-consent request and ask that the date be made Tuesday, April 22.

Let me ask the distinguished Senator from Idaho if he has any objection to making the hour 2, 3, or 4 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon?

Mr. TAYLOR. I do not object to the hour of 4 o'clock.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator. Perhaps if I were to speak at length I

could persuade him to agree to the hour of 3 o'clock. However, I appreciate his cooperation.

Mr. President, I modify my unanimous-consent request so as to make the date Tuesday, April 22, and that the hour be 4 o'clock, the time to be divided as already suggested.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Nebraska, as modified? The Chair hears none, and the order is made.

The order as modified is as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, That on the calendar day of Tuesday, April 22, 1947, at the hour of 4 o'clock p. m., the Senate proceed to vote, without further debate, upon any amendment or motion that may be pending, or that may subsequently be proposed, to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and upon the final passage of the bill itself.

Ordered, further, That on said day of Tuesday, April 22, the time intervening between the meeting of the Senate and said hour of 4 o'clock be equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill, to be controlled, respectively, by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON].

RECESS

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, it is now 8:30 o'clock. The distinguished Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] would like to make some extended remarks. We have worked pretty hard today, and I feel that in justice to him and to the Senate we should take a recess until tomorrow.

I ask unanimous consent, if the Senate is to take a recess at this time, that the distinguished Senator from Florida be recognized and have the floor tomorrow at noon.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Will there be a night session tomorrow?

Mr. WHERRY. It is my present opinion that there will not be a night session tomorrow. That will depend, however, on what the majority leader decides. However, my opinion is that there will be no night session tomorrow night.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Nebraska asks unanimous consent that the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] be recognized and have the floor upon the convening of the Senate tomorrow. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 8 o'clock and 38 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, April 17, 1947, at 12 o'clock meridian.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 16 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: In lieu
of the committee amendment beginning on page 7, line 16,
and ending in line 8 on page 8, insert the following:

- 1 The President is directed to notify the United Nations
- 2 that the United States is prepared to take certain action
- 3 in the case of Greece and Turkey and to provide certain
- 4 assistance to Greece and Turkey, wholly as an emergency
- 5 matter, it being the understanding of this Government that
- 6 the taking of such action and the rendering of such assistance
- 7 are the continuing responsibility of the United Nations.
- 8 Such action will be taken and such assistance will be ren-
- 9 dered by the United States in the manner provided and

1 subject to the conditions in this Act, but the President is
2 directed to withdraw any or all such aid authorized herein—

3 (1) When notified by the United Nations that the
4 Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the
5 United States waives the exercise of the veto) or that the
6 General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance fur-
7 nished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such
8 assistance on the part of the United States unnecessary or
9 undesirable; or

10 (2) If the President finds that any purposes of the
11 Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of
12 any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the
13 purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accom-
14 plishment.

15 The President is further directed to notify the United
16 Nations that the United States stands ready to assume its
17 full share of the financial costs of taking certain action and
18 providing certain assistance to Greece and Turkey as con-
19 templated in this Act, if and when undertaken by the United
20 Nations.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 16 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 16 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947
Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: At the
end of the bill add a new section reading as follows:

1 SEC. . There is hereby established a joint congressional
2 committee to be composed of three members of the Com-
3 mittee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives,
4 to be appointed by the Speaker, and three members of the
5 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, to be ap-
6 pointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, which
7 shall not less than twice a year during the period this Act
8 is in effect visit the countries receiving assistance hereunder,
9 and shall make full reports to the Congress and the American
10 people as to the administration of this Act, current problems,

1 and prospective conditions in such countries, to the extent
2 that the interests of the United States may be affected. The
3 committee shall elect a chairman from among its members.
4 Disbursements to pay the expenses of such committee, which
5 shall not exceed \$, shall be made by the Secretary of
6 the Senate out of the contingent fund of the Senate on
7 vouchers approved by the chairman, such contingent fund
8 to be reimbursed from the contingent fund of the House of
9 Representatives in the amount of one-half of disbursements
10 so made.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. MURRAY to
the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to
Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 16 (legislative day, MARCH 24), 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

per. 17

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 18, 1947
For actions of April 17, 1947
80th-1st, No. 72

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	13	Economic Report.....	6	Natural resources.....	17
Adjourned.....	11	Flood control.....	8	Personnel.....	19, 22
Budgeting.....	24	Foreign affairs.....	3, 16, 25	Prices.....	23
CCC.....	1	Labor.....	2, 15	Rehabilitation, rural.....	9
Committee.....	6, 14	Lands.....	4, 17	Social security.....	20
Dairy industry.....	18	Law revision.....	21	Trade, foreign.....	12
Decentralization.....	7	Marketing.....	10	Transportation.....	5

HIGHLIGHTS: House received proposed CCC charter; to Banking and Currency Committee. Senate committee reported bill to reincorporate Export-Import Bank. House to debate farm-labor bill Mon., and Interior appropriation bill Thurs.

HOUSE

1. COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION. Received from this Department a draft of proposed legislation which would be a permanent Federal charter for CCC, authorizing it to carry out the responsibilities of the Secretary in connection with price supports and to administer other programs of the Corporation now being carried on, which are enumerated in the 1948 Budget. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 3750.)
2. LABOR. Passed, 308-107, with amendments H. R. 3020, the labor-management bill. (pp. 3694-748).
3. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. J. Res. 153, providing for relief and assistance to people of devastated countries (p. 3750).
4. PUBLIC LANDS. The Rules Committee reported H. Res. 93, to authorize the Public Lands Committee to investigate any matter under its jurisdiction (H. Rept. 275) (p. 3750).
5. TRANSPORTATION. The Rules Committee reported H. Res. 153, to authorize the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to investigate the transportation situation (H. Repts. 277) (p. 3750).
6. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT. Rep. Herter, Mass., was appointed to the Joint Committee on the Economic Report in place of Rep. Judd, Minn., who resigned (pp. 3748-9).
7. DECENTRALIZATION. Rep. Stevenson, Wis., recommended decentralization of Government activities from D. C. to facilitate evacuation in case of a disaster (pp. 3693-4).

8. FLOOD CONTROL. Received flood-control survey reports on the Genesee, James, and Salinas Rivers (H. Docs. 206, 207, 208). To Public Works Committee. (p. 3750.)
9. RURAL REHABILITATION. Received this Department's report on progress of liquidation of Federal rural-rehabilitation projects. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 2750.)
10. FOOD MARKETING. Received from the Federal Security Agency a proposed bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act by providing for seizure of foods, etc., that become adulterated or misbranded while held for sale after interstate shipment. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 3750.)
11. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 21 (p. 3750). As announced by the Majority Leader, next week's program includes the conference report on the farm-labor supply bill, to be considered Mon., and also the 1948 Interior appropriation bill, on which debate is to begin Thurs. (p. 3748).

SENATE

12. EXPORT-IMPORT BANK. The Banking and Currency Committee reported without amendment S. 993, to provide for the reincorporation of the Export-Import Bank of Washington (p. 3753).
13. FSCC AUDIT. Received from GAO an audit report on FSCC for the period July 1, 1945, to Mar. 14, 1947; to Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee (p. 3752).
14. COMMITTEE. Agreed to S. Res. 99, to change the name of the Civil Service Committee to "Committee on Post Office and Civil Service" (p. 3753).
15. LABOR. The Labor and Public Welfare Committee reported an original bill, S. 1126, to amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide additional facilities for the mediation of labor disputes, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and to prevent monopolistic labor practices (S. Rept. 105) (pp. 3753, 3786-7). Remarks (pp. 3786-7):
16. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 3759-86).

BILLS INTRODUCED

17. LANDS; NATURAL RESOURCES. H. R. 3107, by Rep. Welch, Calif., to provide for the disposal of materials or resources on the public lands of the U. S. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3750.)
18. DAIRY CONTRACTS. H. R. 3103, by Rep. Peterson, Fla., to provide equitable relief to contractors supplying dairy products to the armed forces and Veterans' Administration. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3750.)
19. PERSONNEL. H. R. 3101, by Rep. Knutson, Minn., to extend until June 30, 1949, the period of time during which persons may serve in certain executive departments and agencies without being prohibited from acting as counsel, agent, or attorney for prosecuting claims against the U. S. by reason of having so served. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 3750.)
20. SOCIAL SECURITY. H. R. 3097, by Rep. Bryson, S.C., to amend the Social Security Act so as to change the age for old-age and survivor benefits from 65 to 62.

To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 3750).

21. LAW REVISION. S. 1120, by Sen. Wiley, Wis., to repeal certain obsolete laws, and to amend certain laws by striking out obsolete parts. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3753.) Remarks of author and a statement on the bill (pp. 3753-5.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

22. PERSONNEL. Sen. Taylor, Idaho, inserted a letter to the N. Y. Times on the Executive Order to investigate the loyalty of Government employees (pp. A1858-9).
23. PRICES. Rep. Smith, Wis., inserted a Chicago Daily News editorial criticizing the "Truman Price Policy" (p. A1867).
24. BUDGET. Extension of remarks of Rep. Dirksen, Ill., comparing Britain's budget for 1948 with the U. S. budget (p. A1846).
25. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. A1856-7, A1857, A1862-3).

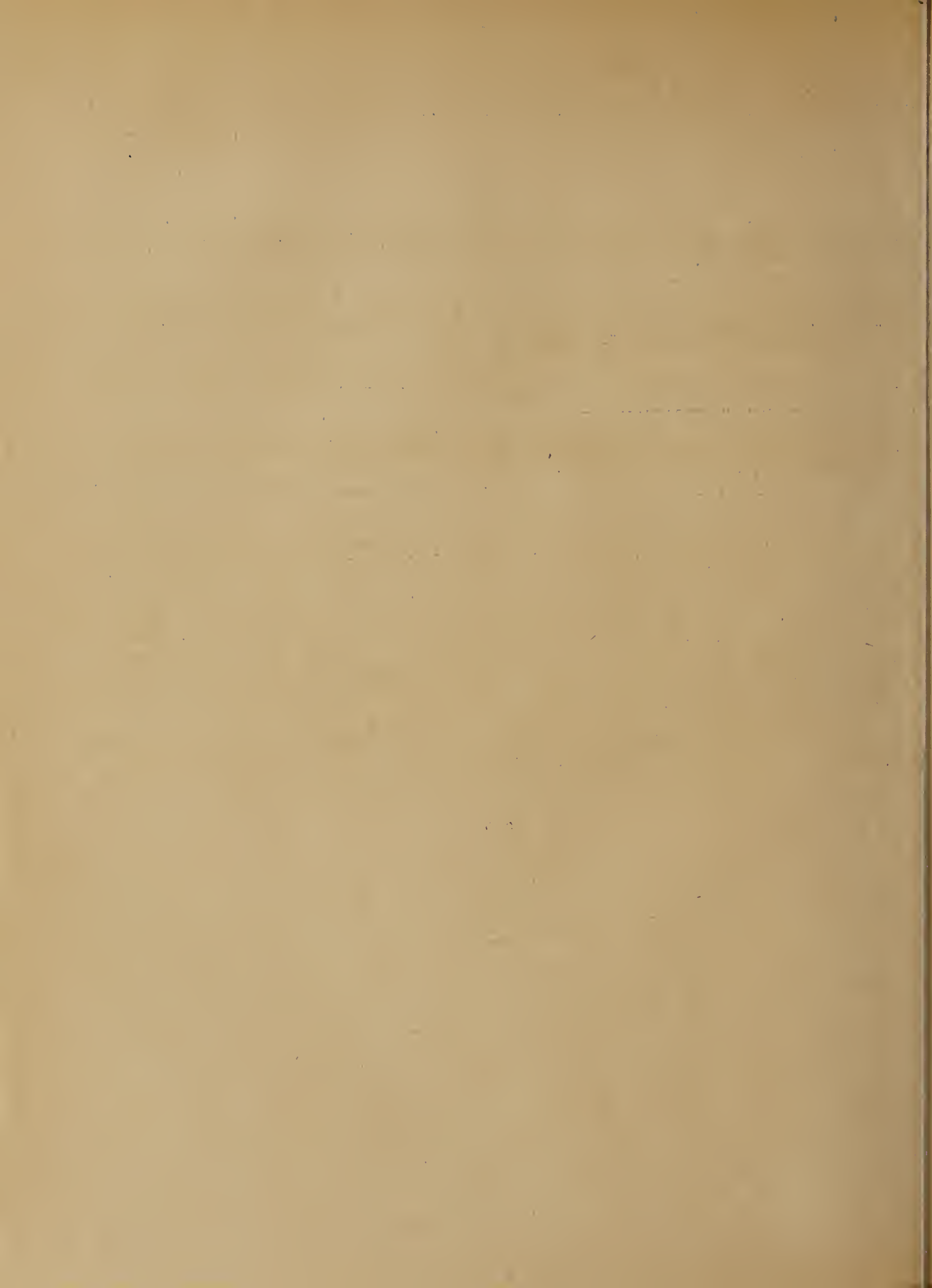
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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 18: H. Appropriations, USDA, deficiency, Government corporations, and independent offices appropriation bills (ex.); H. Agriculture, marketing of poisons and devices (ex.) and fur situation (open); H. Public Lands, Alaska Statehood bills, abolishing Jackson Hole Monument, amendments to Reclamation Act; H. Ways and Means, reciprocal trade agreements; H. Small business, housing; S. Appropriations, first deficiency bill (ex.); S. Banking and Currency, housing bill (ex.); S. Public Lands, amending Philippine Rehabilitation Act.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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During summer the bulk of the output would be gasoline.

This would avert any such gas shortages as have handicapped Pittsburgh in recent winters because existing gas distribution lines here would be used.

The plant's gas production would be equal to that carried by the Big Inch and Little Big Inch pipe lines combined.

In launching the radical venture for the coal industry, Pittsburgh Consolidation is shaking off a 157-year lethargy in improvements of coal marketing.

For more than 150 years coal in this country has been sold in chunks, transported in open-top vehicles and burned at its destination.

[From the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick]

GIGANTIC INDUSTRY

Oilmen in all fields will be interested in the mammoth project now being launched by Standard Oil of New Jersey and the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co. This plans the production of gas, high-octane gasoline, Diesel, and other fuel oils and commercial alcohols from mine-run coal by a synthetic process of gasification and liquefaction.

This process is still in the development stage. However, enough progress has been made to warrant the organization of an \$120,000,000 enterprise which will be located in Washington county. This means taking the 100,000-acre coal reserve of Pittsburgh Consolidation and converting the carbon and hydrogen into various products, using the raw material owned by the coal company and applying to its treatment the various processes developed by the big oil company. The coal company is exploring the same field through another cooperative venture with Hydrocarbon Research, Inc., at Trenton, N. J.

This means eventually 6,000 more jobs. West Virginia and eastern Ohio may be considered as possible sites for future plants. Output of the plant now under consideration would match the capacity of the Big and Little Inch lines in high-heating gas and at the same time open a large new source of gasoline, Diesel, and other fuel oils. It is claimed the conversion process would produce 400,000,000 cubic feet of gas per day during the winter months. This would do much to relieve the situation which faced us some weeks ago. It would also produce 14,000 barrels of gasoline per day.

If the enterprise is successful it will do much for Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal, which says it cannot mine its untapped reserve of upward of 700,000,000 tons of coal and show a profit against the coal of neighboring areas, even considering river freight costs. It estimates its reserves will insure at least 30 years' operation for two major gasification plants, with cleaning and screening costs eliminated.

Just now we have no idea how this development will affect the Pennsylvania oil industry. We still have the best lubricating crude in the world, but in spite of the fact that there is still a lot of oil in the sands, production has been declining. Let us hope that some of these days someone will come along with a process which will make possible the recovery of this great reserve which is now useless.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY BEFORE WISCONSIN MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by him on April 15 before the Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association at Milwaukee, Wis., which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR O'DANIEL BEFORE ROTARY CLUB OF DETROIT, MICH.

[Mr. O'DANIEL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "Blind Staggers in Washington" delivered by him before the Rotary Club of Detroit, Mich., on April 16, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR IVES BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK

[Mr. AIKEN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Senator IVES at the one hundred and sixty-first dinner of the Economic Club of New York on April 16, 1947, in New York City, which appears in the Appendix.]

JEFFERSON DAY ADDRESS BY SENATOR HOLLAND

[Mr. BYRD asked and obtained leave to have inserted in the RECORD a Jefferson Day address delivered by Senator HOLLAND at Richmond, Va., April 12, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

MR. BARUCH'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE

[Mr. MAYBANK asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by Bernard M. Baruch before the South Carolina Legislature on the unveiling of his portrait at the State Capitol, Columbia, S. C., on April 16, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

REPORT OF MASSACHUSETTS LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

[Mr. SALTONSTALL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD the report of the Governor's Labor-Management Committee of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY—EDITORIAL FROM AMERICA

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Summons to Intervention," relating to the proposal to extend aid to Greece and Turkey, published in the March 29, 1947, issue of America, which appears in the Appendix.]

DON'T DELAY: SPEED GREEK AID BILL—EDITORIAL FROM THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Don't Delay: Speed Greek Aid Bill," published in the Philadelphia Inquirer of March 17, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AFFECTING LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "The Chamber's Formula," referring to a statement of principles affecting labor-management relations, published in the Pittsburgh Press of April 12, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—ARTICLE BY PAUL JONES

[Mr. MYERS asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article referring to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and to Congress, written by Paul Jones and published in his column Candid Shots in the Philadelphia Bulletin of April 17, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE LOYALTY ORDER—LETTER PUBLISHED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter relative to the executive loyalty order, written to the

editor of the New York Times by four members of the faculty of the Harvard School of Law, which appears in the Appendix.]

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Florida has the floor.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hayden	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	O'Daniel
Ball	Hill	O'Mahoney
Brewster	Hoey	Overton
Bridges	Ives	Pepper
Brooks	Jenner	Reed
Buck	Johnson, Colo.	Revercomb
Bushfield	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson, Wyo.
Byrd	Kem	Saltonstall
Cain	Knowland	Smith
Capehart	Langer	Sparkman
Capper	Lodge	Taft
Connally	Lucas	Taylor
Cooper	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Cordon	McCarthy	Thomas, Utah
Donnell	McClellan	Thye
Downey	McFarland	Tobey
Dworshak	McGrath	Tydings
Eastland	McKellar	Umstead
Eaton	McMahon	Vandenberg
Ellender	Malone	Watkins
Ferguson	Martin	Wherry
Flanders	Maybank	White
Fulbright	Millikin	Wiley
Green	Moore	Wilson
Gurney	Morse	Young
Hatch	Murray	
Hawkes	Myers	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] and the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] is absent because of illness.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is detained on public business.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. STEWART], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, 36 days ago the President of the United States submitted to the American Congress a momentous proposal. The President presented the proposal with characteristic courage and forthrightness. There was neither evasion nor equivocation in his utterance. The first sentence he employed was:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my ap-

pearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The second sentence was:

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

It has now become apparent that the decision to be made by this Congress will be one of the truly momentous decisions made by any Congress in American history.

Mr. President, the human mind would be dull indeed if it did not learn by study and if it did not profit by reflection; and the parliamentary system of government in the world would be sterile if it did not gain in wisdom by consultation and by counsel. Democracy would not deserve the great repute which it has in history if the people themselves did not afford a constant, illimitable storehouse not only of confidence but of information for their representatives and for their Government.

Therefore I think I am justified in saying that we have profited by the period which has elapsed since the President's recommendation to the Congress. The Congress has had an opportunity to debate the question. The people have had an opportunity to consider it. It has had the regard and the earnest concern of the press, and indeed, Mr. President, of the pulpit. It is now apparent that any division of opinion in the Congress or in the country which exists today is not about objectives; it is not about aims; it is not about ideals. It can only be about the methods by which high American aspirations can best be achieved. It is to method that I address myself today.

The address of the President was on the 12th of March. There elapsed between the 12th of March and the 21st of March a period when there was a degree of shock in the Congress and the country respecting these proposals. Everyone wanted to support our able and patriotic President and wise leader. Everyone wanted to do his or her patriotic duty. Everyone wanted to support policies the objectives of which were as defined by the President in his message to the Congress. But there were those who immediately began to ask the question as to what would be the effect upon the United Nations Organization of seeking to reach those aims in the manner suggested, and there were those who were very earnestly and deeply concerned over the question as to what the effect would be upon the United Nations Organization if the proposals were carried out by the method suggested.

The American people have had a great conversion in the last generation. At one time they may have acquiesced in the United States withdrawing from world affairs and, like Pilate, washing its hands of its international responsibilities and obligations. But, Mr. President, the American people no longer embrace such a philosophy of false interest or of folly. Today we have repented and have been baptized into a new conversion of collaboration with the other nations and peoples of the world to keep the supreme hope of mankind, peace on earth, and to encourage the highest Christian aspiration, good will among men. So the American people believe

that there is no hope of future peace, there is no way to prevent future war, except by the kind of international working together of nations and peoples which is possible alone through the United Nations Organization.

The American people knew that this was not a world government. They knew that sovereignty of nations had not been given away or destroyed. They knew that this was a toddling infant, if a potential giant. They knew that it would take time to build this device to the majesty and might to which they prayerfully looked forward. But they believed in their hearts that we had made a real beginning, that something of substance and form had been accomplished, that something tangible had been built—built not only in institutional concept, but actually with reality and material substance here upon American shores.

We have a charter to which we had committed our sacred national obligation and honor. It has been subscribed to by 51 nations. But more than that, this good land of ours, this soil sacred to freedom, this America, has been made the permanent seat of the United Nations Organization, in recognition by other nations that if this Organization were to succeed, America must bear the brunt of it, must carry the principal load, must be able to sustain its great weight; in recognition by the other nations of the world that if the United Nations failed it would be America's failure, and that if the United Nations succeeded it would be America who would be the Atlas able to carry this colossal universe upon its strong shoulders.

So, Mr. President, it was only natural that, when this proposal was made, which seemed, in the language of the day, to bypass the United Nations, the American people were deeply concerned. That concern was not limited to persons outside the Congress. There were in this body Senators who had participated in the building of this edifice. There were those who had labored long in its establishment. There were those who had been the representatives of the Senate in its construction and formulation and had honorably written their names indelibly into the sentiments of those all over the world who love peace. They were concerned if events are permitted to speak their sentiments.

Mr. President, what do we find? On the 21st of March the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who had carried as great a load and deserved as great a credit as any man for the Charter of the United Nations, hope of world peace, aided by his distinguished colleague from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] who had labored so grandly with him in all this great endeavor, introduced upon the Senate floor a proposed amendment to the bill introduced pursuant to the President's recommendations to the Congress. That Vandenberg-Connally amendment, Mr. President, was for the purpose of making it clear that we were not bypassing the United Nations Organization by its recitals added to the bill as a preamble. It was for the purpose of making it clear that we recognize

our obligation to that organization, that we intend and determine to support it now and in the future. That was a very creditable effort on the part of these able and eminent Senators. But, Mr. President, it was an act that was *ex post facto*. It was not before the bill was introduced; it was afterward. It was the first conscious, clear effort on the part of the Senate or on the part of the leadership of the measure to allay the disquieting fears which were agitating the hearts and minds of the people of this country that the United Nations was being weakened by what we were proposing to do.

That, as I said, Mr. President, was on March 21. On March 25, the senior Senator from Florida and the able senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] offered an amendment in the Senate which endeavored to provide that the relief to be given and the protection that should hereafter be accorded to the security of Greece and Turkey should be accomplished through the United Nations Organization.

On the 26th of March, Mr. President, in words that must have been intentionally meaningful, we find the press attributing to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization the following words, which I quote from the Washington Post of March 27:

Lie—

Referring to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization—

told the Council that UN will succeed only if all countries "resort to the UN even when the most vital national interests are at stake."

That, Mr. President, as I said, was on the 26th of March. On the 28th of March the able Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] offered a series of amendments, the general effect of which was to exclude from what we should do in aid for Greece military missions and military aid, and to exclude from what we should seek to accomplish any aid for Turkey of the character proposed in the pending bill. There were other amendments identifying our procedure in connection with the truly democratic forces of the countries which we might assist.

Then, Mr. President, on the 28th of March, 16 days after the proposal of the President to the Congress, in spite of the fact that the Security Council was in constant session, our representative in that body, our former distinguished colleague, Mr. Austin, for the first time officially gave notice to the United Nations Organization of what we proposed to do in this matter.

Then, Mr. President, there were other amendments offered on the Senate floor, some by the able senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY], and there were statements given to the press, even by members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in which it was set forth that at least a tactical error had been committed by our unilateral approach to economic aid for Greece and to an effort to accord military security to Greece and to Turkey.

Then, on April 1, came the statement of the able senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] in which he squarely proposed that this matter be brought within

the jurisdiction of the United Nations Organization and that any issues involved be squarely fought out in that body.

Finally, Mr. President, on April 3 the Committee on Foreign Relations went further in recognition of the disquiet which was in the minds and hearts of the people of this country that we were bypassing the United Nations Organization, and reported an amendment by which the United Nations Organization was given what has been called a veto power over actions which the United States shall take in giving to Turkey and Greece the aid which had been requested by the President.

There we have recognition not only on the part of Members of the Senate, but also on the part of the Committee on Foreign Relations itself, that there is some justification for the disturbance in the minds of those who feel that there may be some basis, at least, for the charge that we, who have been the principal founder and supporter of the United Nations Organization, have now turned our backs upon it and regard it as either impotent or incapable of averting the crisis which we propose unilaterally to meet in that remote part of the world. So, Mr. President, it must give some corroboration to the belief of some of us, at least, that we erred in the method by which we attempted to give aid to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I gladly yield.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator has just said that the amendment referred to was a recognition of the fact that we had erred in the method we chose of granting aid to Turkey and Greece. May I suggest to the Senator that the method has not been changed at all. The method remains the same. The only thing the amendment did, or does, was to make it crystal clear that the method adopted and proposed was not and is not in any way a bypassing of the United Nations Organization, and that the committee was as anxious and as much concerned to make the United Nations effective where it could be effective and whenever it could be effective as was the Senator from Florida or anyone else. But the method has not been changed.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, if my friend will allow, I will have to take issue upon that question. The bill first introduced did not allow, as a legal matter, the United Nations any authority whatever with reference to the program which might be undertaken under the bill by the Government of the United States. If the Vandenberg-Connally amendment had not been agreed to, no matter how many resolutions the Security Council might adopt, no matter how many votes the Assembly might take, the program in Greece and Turkey as authorized by the bill originally introduced could go straight ahead without any compulsion on the President to interrupt it in any way whatsoever pursuant to any action by the United Nations.

Not only that, Mr. President, but that amendment provides that we shall cease the aid that we propose to give if a government representing a majority of the people in either one of those countries

requests us to cease it. That, too, imposes a legal obligation upon the President—one which would not have been imposed had not that amendment been proposed and adopted.

But now the matter is not left to the discretion of the President. The Congress proposes to write into the law the imperative duty, legally conferred by the Congress upon the President, that if the Security Council by a majority vote or if the Assembly by a majority vote requests that we discontinue what we shall be doing under this measure in Greece or Turkey, the President, under his constitutional oath to discharge the law of the land and to observe it, must discontinue and desist from what we would otherwise be doing.

Mr. President, I think I am on sound legal grounds, therefore, when I say that my able friend the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] overlooks the fact that by that amendment we are reposing in the United Nations the legal authority to stop what we, a single, sovereign Nation, are about to do in Greece and Turkey under this measure. I submit to my friend that that is the correct interpretation of the committee amendment.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield to me?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. Let me say that I think the present discussion has no point whatever; I really am sorry I interrupted the Senator, because we are perfectly agreed on the purposes of the amendment and its desirability.

However, I still insist that the method has not been changed. The amendment recognizes the fact, in short, that when the United Nations Organization is able and ready to carry on in the emergency which is presently existent, we shall gladly surrender and give that power to the United Nations, when and if ever that time comes to pass. But the amendment recognizes that that time has not yet come, that the United Nations is not now in position to take over that obligation, and the method originally proposed continues in effect until the United Nations is able to assume the obligation and states that it wishes to do so.

I have said that the argument is without point, because I know that the Senator wants, and I know that I want, and I know that our committee and all Members of Congress and the people of the Nation want to have the United Nations Organization assume that responsibility as soon as it is able to do so. As soon as the United Nations Organization can carry that responsibility and that obligation, we shall be most happy to surrender it and deliver it over to the United Nations Organization.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank my able friend, but let me say that he will have to recognize, I think, able lawyer that he is, that the difference is that we would have decided, had not this committee amendment been proposed and adopted, when the United Nations was able to take over the obligation or when we should desist from what we now propose to do. But after the amendment has been adopted, then it is the United Nations which will decide when it is in a position to take action adequate to meet the objectives

which we seek to serve, and the United Nations will decide when it is desirable for us to stop. That decision, under the committee amendment, will be made by the United Nations, not by us.

So what has been done, and consciously done, here is that we have given a clear indication that we are acting subject to the veto of the United Nations, if we did not start to act through it in the first place. We submit ourselves to its jurisdiction, and if it did not start us on this course, at least it can stop us whenever it chooses to do so. I think that is a fair interpretation of what has been done by the able committee in an earnest effort to meet the criticism which has been made in Congress and in the country, not to speak of in areas abroad, with respect to our violating our obligations to act through the United Nations in collective efforts to keep the peace of the world.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Who has made the decision as to whether the United Nations is capable of handling this affair? Has anyone referred this matter to the United Nations? Has anyone asked the United Nations whether it is capable of handling it or whether it wishes to handle it? Have we had any opinion from the United Nations, other than a gentle and probably as forceful a reminder as Mr. Lie thought advisable? Has there been any other official word?

Mr. PEPPER. That is obviously the point to which I am coming, Mr. President. I thank the Senator from Idaho for his usual prescience. Obviously, I shall proceed to the argument that if the Senate has now recognized that it is proper that the United States submit to the jurisdiction of the United Nations in this matter, would it not be still better for us to go a step further and give such temporary relief as we can immediately give, and then see whether we can discharge our entire duty to our United Nations obligation and proceed in the first place, in respect to the security aspects of the matter, at least, through the United Nations? Obviously I shall address myself to that point.

Mr. SALTONSTALL rose.

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, after listening to the questions asked by the distinguished Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR], I am prompted to ask a question of the Senator from Florida. The Senator from Florida is a man of ability and high intellectual capabilities—

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator for the compliment. I wish I might deserve it as generously as he has given it.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Let me ask the Senator whether it is not a question of plain, common sense, in the mind of the Senator from Florida and in the mind of the Senator from Massachusetts that the United Nations is not now capable of handling this relief situation immediately and promptly, as it must be handled? Is it not a question of

plain, common sense in the mind of each one of us?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, let me say that I know the sincere and earnest spirit in which the able Senator, whose ability, integrity, and patriotism cannot be excelled, has asked the question. It is a little further along in the argument which I propose to make; but I digress here to discuss, for example, what the Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] and I propose, namely, that the President be authorized to make available \$75,000,000 of Reconstruction Finance Corporation funds, which he might employ in such aid, and that the President also be authorized, acting through the United Nations, to contact other nations—I should suggest that he do so through the Secretary General—to ask if they would join us in meeting the immediate relief problem, stating that obviously we feel that others should assist us, though in view of the emergency we are willing to do more than our part, but we wish to know whether others will give us some help, and whether they will do so at once.

If the President had such authority, he could do one of two things: In the first place, he could authorize the Secretary General to begin to use our funds immediately through the UNRRA personnel which today is in Greece, which is familiar with the problem and is trained and experienced. In short, I think our money could get there in that way as quickly as any funds could be sent there. In that way, at least, our \$75,000,000 would, in a matter of days, if not in a matter of hours, be available to relieve distress in Greece, through the amendment which the Senator from Idaho and I propose.

However, if no other country joined us in making such contributions, or if other countries did not have time to observe their own legal requirements in that connection, we would not be spending any more money, if we provided it in that way, than we shall be spending if we provide it in the way that is now proposed.

I would go further, although what I shall now say is not spelled out in our amendment, and I would say that if, before this matter were legalized through the Security Council or the Assembly, we were to put up all the money through the Secretary General, then I think it would be proper for the Secretary General to appoint an American commission to supervise the expenditure of the money; and I would emphasize that, even in that case, the commission would be an American commission, appointed by the Secretary General of the United Nations, and we would actually be acting through the United Nations Organization; and our personnel, while being American and patriotic to America, would at the same time be a part of the United Nations Organization.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will permit me to speak for a moment further before yielding to him, then I shall yield.

Mr. President, the Senator from Florida ventures to suggest that that is one practical way by which we might give immediate relief through the United Nations up to \$75,000,000. If the Sena-

tor from Massachusetts wishes to enlarge that figure I can assure him that the Senator from Idaho and I will not object. But I think we can give him practical assurance that in that way prompt and immediate help will go through the United Nations Organization itself.

As to the permanent, long-range help, I think that can be met in two ways through the United Nations Organization itself.

First, I am cognizant of the recommendation of the Food and Agricultural Organization Committee, which went out there as an instrumentality of the United Nations and investigated the entire situation in Greece, and came back and made a very solemn and serious recommendation, which has been published since we have been debating this matter in the Senate. That commission recommended that the only temporary aid that should be given by England and the United States should be some food and some necessary imports, and the suggestion and the connotation of the report is that the amount is not large in number, and it is emergent in character. But they recommend, the Senator will recall, that for long-term permanent rehabilitation of the Greek economy, the assistance should be furnished through the World Bank.

I am not saying that they were right or wrong, but I am saying that when there is an official commission, several members of which were Americans, and the chairman of which, I believe, was an official or professor of one of our great universities, I believe the University of Utah, and they study the situation on the spot and make recommendations, some credit should be attached to that committee's recommendation about meeting the long-term needs of the Greek economy. And they did not recommend that the United States provide all the long-term rehabilitation money, they recommended that the World Bank should do it.

So far as I know, no one has come before the Committee on Foreign Relations from the World Bank and said that the World Bank could not do it, or denied that the World Bank has the money. I suggest that the American Government has great influence with the World Bank, because its president is an American citizen, we are its largest stockholder, and it is located here in the United States.

There is another way by which, as a long-term matter, the United Nations Organization could give aid to the Greek economy. In the Security Council or in the Assembly I think we could work out additional long-term funds which might be advanced by the member nations, if we did not in the last analysis choose to use the World Bank as the source from which the funds should come.

Mr. President, I have already seemed to be unappreciative of my able friend from New Jersey by not yielding when he has been on his feet seeking recognition, and I now yield to him.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I should like to recall to the Senator that when this issue first arose, I think I was as urgent as the Senator was that we must not bypass the United Nations. He will

recall that he spoke to me about the matter. The Senator did me the honor to ask if I would join in an amendment or substitute he proposed.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. SMITH. I told the Senator then that I could not join with him because I was not prepared to oppose the President, but was prepared and intended in every way possible to implement—and let me distinguish the word "implement" from "oppose"—the President's program. I have followed through with that. I was glad to see that Mr. Austin, the representative of the United States on the United Nations Security Council, followed up the President's message with a very clear statement of the whole purpose of our Government. He made it clear that what the President proposed was a temporary move by the United States because of the exigencies of the situation. He made it clear that the United States would move out just as soon as the United Nations was prepared to pick up the matter. He made it clear we were doing everything we could with the United Nations.

In addition to that, if I may say so to the distinguished Senator, I regret that he could not attend all the hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, because what became absolutely clear was that from the time of the original set-up of the United Nations Organization the United States has tried to act through the United Nations in every way possible. In Paris, Mr. Byrnes and his associates, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], tried to work out all these treaties, and at every step Russia did prevent the effective functioning of either our delegation at Paris or the United Nations in their operations and did prevent the use of the Security Council in the only way it could be effective on the Greek border by opposing the organization of its armed forces. We came to the point where we had to say, "We cannot perfect the United Nations unless you stop these obstructionist tactics."

The whole purpose of the proposal before us is to say to Russia, in the kindest way, "We cannot tolerate your resisting and vetoing the development of the United Nations Organization." As I tried to say in my remarks a few days ago, the whole point is whether we can simply say to Russia, "We are determined to go forward perfecting the United Nations Organization, and we do not expect you to be putting these vetoes and blocks in the way any longer. We propose to maintain the status quo until you sit down with us and settle these matters with the United Nations. Since the United Nations Organization was first set up you have been unwilling to do that."

That is the spirit of what Senator Austin has said, the spirit of the Vandenberg amendment and the action of our committee. The President has set forth, a forthright American doctrine, that we are going to do everything we can to make the United Nations effective at this time, and to urge Russia to stop blocking it. By the statement of former Senator Austin and the amendments

proposed by the Committee on Foreign Relations we are implementing the President's program and clarifying its spirit and purpose.

Mr. PEPPER. I think the Senator, undoubtedly unintentionally, would leave with the casual listener the impression that we have striven, in respect to the particular matter now under consideration, to act through the United Nations, and I am sure the Senator does not mean to suggest that. We have never brought up the question of aid to Greece through the United Nations and had it turned down by members of the United Nations Organization. I am sure the Senator does not mean to suggest that.

Mr. SMITH. Greece itself applied for help to the United Nations and could not get it.

Mr. PEPPER. I am glad the Senator brought that up. Greece did apply, not for economic help, but applied for help against alleged aggression across the northern border of Greece by people or by organizations or governments in Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. But instead of the United Nations turning down Greece's appeal and making it necessary for little Greece to go somewhere else saying, "The United Nations has failed; you must now help us," the United Nations took jurisdiction, the United Nations appointed a commission, the commission went to Greece and investigated on the spot. The commission is now preparing its report, and the action on the part of the President, and the proposal on the part of the Congress, is ahead of any receipt of the report from the commission of the United Nations Organization. In short, instead of acting through the United Nations, while the United Nations was engaged in acting we intervene and propose to act unilaterally. Can the Senator call that help through the United Nations?

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I should like to call the attention of the distinguished Senator to the fact that Mr. Austin opened his address to the Security Council by calling attention to the very commission of the Security Council on the border, and the whole purpose of his address was to explain the President's action in backing up the Security Council, and asking the commission to come back and report as promptly as possible in order that the Security Council could carry out its function. It cannot meet its obligation because Russia will not allow it to organize and do it. That is why we have to put our men in there, until Russia lets the United Nations organize; then we will withdraw any military help we are giving.

Mr. PEPPER. I think the Senator from New Jersey was giving expression to what the substance of the matter is rather than meaning accurately to indicate what the bill provides, by saying we are sending our men in there. We are not actually sending men in there, except the military mission, but we are paying for the Greek Army, we are equipping the Greek Army, we are training the Greek Army. The Senator was, therefore, per-

haps inadvertently correct when he said they are our men. That, in substance, is what we are doing.

Mr. President, I said at first that this Greek border matter had been put by the complaint of Greece into the jurisdiction of the United Nations, in conformity with the Charter, and I said the United Nations had attempted to act, and there had been no veto by anybody in the United Nations of anything pertaining to this action on the part of the United Nations in regard to this particular alleged aggression across the Greek border. What is the ordinary course, when a case is in court upon the claim of a complainant and the court has the matter in its jurisdiction? If, while the jury is out, one should go out and kill the fellow whom the jury by its verdict might later hang, would anyone think that was helping the court by accelerating its decision?

Mr. President, we did not take an obligation to do what we wanted to do; we took an obligation, in becoming a member of the UN, to act collectively with other nations in trying to keep peace in the world, in resisting aggression on this earth, and in trying to find a peaceful and honorable adjustment of situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. At that point I should like to say that I agree with everything the Senator says. The action we are taking today is doing that very thing.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes, Mr. President; in our way.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I gladly yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Regardless of what has been said, what does the word "personnel" mean, if it does not mean soldiers?

Mr. PEPPER. It does, in one case, intentionally mean soldiers, because we are going to send a military mission to both countries, and while we have been told by testimony that there would not be but about 30 or 40, there is no limitation in the bill to 30 or 40. The President can send as many as he chooses to send, according to the language of the bill which might be covered within the amount of money available. Of course, the other personnel is expected to be civilian in character.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. There is nothing in the bill that says it might not be two divisions, is there?

Mr. PEPPER. There is nothing in the bill that limits the number of military personnel or the character of the military personnel that we shall send. Now, I want to make it perfectly clear, however, that I am not saying that this is a design on our part to send our own combat soldiers into Greece or Turkey to act in a combat capacity in either of those countries. I am not charging that, Mr. President. I do reiterate what I just said that it does authorize military personnel to be sent. It is intended that they shall be sent as a military mission. The bill does not limit the number of military personnel that may be sent, nor define the

character of the duties of the military personnel that may be sent, so far as I recall.

Mr. President, I venture to assert that there is this possibility, if they are going to teach those armies how to use our modern equipment, I do not see how they are going to sit in a safe, air-conditioned office in Athens and effectively do it. I do not see how they can take the sergeants and the corporals, who are going to use that equipment in combat in the mountains, behind some thick wall where they cannot get shot, and carefully instruct them in the use of that equipment. I venture to predict the possibility, at least, that some day some of our uniformed men are going to be at some field headquarters, and some of them are going to get shot, or get hurt, either by accident or by act of the enemy, and that there is nothing in this bill that excludes the possibility that American military personnel may leave their sacred blood, by the command of their Government and the authority of their Congress, upon this already torn and rent land.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I should like to take issue with the last statement, because the bill provides for a "military mission." That term has been defined time and time again. It is the purpose not to send exceeding 40 men. What can they do in the way of fighting? They do not intend to go to fight. They intend to go to help the Greeks take care of themselves, until the Security Council can say there is no further need.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, Horatio stood very well at the bridge, though he did not have 39 other men to stand with him. The Spartans stood very well at Thermopylae. There was not a large army at Thermopylae, but I think they left a very good report in history.

Mr. SMITH. I doubt that Horatio could have done much against modern tanks, in the way of resistance.

Mr. PEPPER. I assure the Senator that had Horatio lived in our day he would have employed the best weapons obtainable.

Mr. President, I should like to go back to the point at which I deviated a little bit ago. I was first saying that the Congress itself, at least the Senate, has tried to the best of its ability, so far, to correct the original errors which I feel the executive branch of the Government committed by not going through the UN in the first place. Senators were trying to quiet the rising storm of disapproval from the country that we were bypassing the United Nations by the amendments which were not only offered on this floor but by the amendments recommended by the Committee on Foreign Relations itself, and already adopted into this bill by the Senate.

Mr. President, I have here a Washington Post story of April 6 entitled "Diplomats See Greek Aid Hurting UN." This is dated Lake Success, N. Y., April 5, United Press:

A magazine poll indicated tonight that 82 percent of the world's diplomats believe the American handling of the Greco-Turkish problem hurt United Nations prestige.

It goes on:

The magazine's representatives counted 83 diplomats from 38 countries.

Let us remember the words of "Bobby" Burns—

O wad some power the giftie gie us
To see ourself as others see us!

Mr. President, this is how 83 diplomats from 38 countries, according to this poll, saw what we were proposing to do in relation to the United Nations Organization. I continue with this poll:

Sixty-eight regretted, as a matter of principle, that the United States did not come before the United Nations with the Greek and Turkish problems, the magazine reported. * * * Thus while 82 percent condemned the United States for bypassing United Nations, nearly half (41) approved the American initiative. Twenty-two predicted war.

These are not men of no experience or little knowledge, Mr. President; these are experienced world diplomats here from their several countries, at the United Nations.

Twenty-two predicted war for the spring of '48, or even for the summer of '47, unless there is a decisive change in big power policy and a complete agreement at least on the unlimited international control and inspection of atomic energy.

Mr. President, I have referred to what the diplomats say. I want to go now a good long way away from Lake Success, N. Y., out to a little city called Huron, in South Dakota. I have in my hand a paper published in Huron, S. Dak., dated April 6, 1947, the name of which is the Huronite and the Daily Plainsman. Before I determined to use this newspaper I went to the able Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], the present chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the Senate. I wanted to be sure that this was not a publication whose patriotism or integrity could be questioned by anybody. I thought it was pertinent to know what an honest, patriotic newspaper in Huron, S. Dak., might be thinking on this matter, and especially what the people of that neighborhood might be thinking. I was assured, as I said, of the patriotism and the thorough repute and capacity of the proprietors of this newspaper. Substantially, the whole issue is devoted to the problem of foreign policy, which we are now debating in the Senate. The heading of the front page article is: "Let us work through the United Nations in solving international problems."

The first subheading is: "Only if the United Nations fails should we act alone."

The next subheading is: "Let us not pit one nationalism against another nationalism."

The third subheading is: "But let us have world-wide atomic control immediately."

Then it gives the result of a poll conducted among its people.

The first paragraph is as follows:

1. It is geographically, politically, and economically impossible to be an isolationist nation at this time. (Unanimous concurrence.)

That is unanimous concurrence of the people polled.

2. Because in a democracy foreign policy rests upon public approval and support, the public must be fully and concurrently informed on all commitments, policies and actions. It should be brought up to date at this time. Where consistent with security, advance information must be given. The withholding of information in the past has been unwise. (Unanimous concurrence.)

3. To implement our foreign policy we must have a strong and successful democracy at home. (Unanimous concurrence.)

4. The imposition of any political ideology upon a people without true consent of the majority presents a menace to world peace. (Unanimous concurrence.)

5. We favor the immediate and effective world-wide control of atomic energy. (Unanimous concurrence.)

6. (a) America's first approach to the solution of world problems should be through the United Nations. (b) Only upon failure of the United Nations to act should the United States act unilaterally. (There was only one dissenting vote.)

I believe the Huronite and the Daily Plainsman is speaking the sentiments of the American people. I believe that is the way the people of this Nation feel today. I think they are harkening their Government back to its obligations assumed under the United Nations Charter.

Mr. President, I have some evidence of that in the latest Gallup poll. This poll was published in the April 13 issue of the Washington Post. The question was:

Do you think the problem of aid to Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the United Nations Organization?

The following are the answers, Mr. President. On March 28 those answering "Yes" were 56 percent. On the date of the poll, April 13, the percentage answering "Yes" was 63 percent.

On March 28, 25 percent answered "No." On April 13, 23 percent answered "No."

On March 28 those having no opinion were 19 percent. On April 13, those having no opinion were 14 percent. Is that not rather interesting, Mr. President? The more the debate, the more the discussion, the more the consideration, the more the reflection, more the people who were first undecided become decided; more had an opinion. The more the debate and consideration and reflection, the greater the number of our people who say "yes," that we should turn the matter over to the United Nations Organization. That is what the Senator from Virginia said as well in his resolution. And there are fewer who say "no," that it should not be turned over to the United Nations Organization.

Mr. President, if this question were submitted to a referendum of the American people: "Shall we go ahead with this proposal unilaterally, even with the committee amendments giving the United Nations the power to stop us after we start, or shall we back up right now while there is still time, and if need be, let Greece have some emergency money directly, and then submit the matter to the United Nations?" I will venture that nearly two-thirds of the American people

will say, "Yes, the latter is the better way to do it." That is what we are advocating here. We advocate, and the sum total of these amendments means in substance, that we shall, if we give any aid to Greece, let it be temporary economic aid exclusively, and if we are to give long-term aid, let us try it through the UN, and if we are going to dedicate ourselves to the protection of the security of Greece and Turkey, at least let us try it to the utmost through the UN. Let us not resort to unilateral action until unmistakably before God and man the United Nations has failed and there is no hope on earth save through what we do alone. Is that not sound doctrine? Is that not sound foreign policy? Is that not good principle? Is there any lack of idealism in that? Is there any swerving away from duty in that proposal? I do not think so. I think we will rue the day if we ever make a contrary decision.

When this proposal was made we thought it had to be done immediately, for three reasons. The first was that the Greek economy was about to collapse.

The President made this recommendation to us on March 12, and this is now April 17. I have not seen anything in the press nor has anything, to my knowledge, been reported to the Congress by the Executive that the situation has gotten materially worse in that period of time. No doubt it has gradually dragged on to a greater impasse than was first perceptible, but that is not the fault of the United States Government but the fault of the Greek Government in not adopting legislation and rules and regulations in that country that will protect their own economy. If they would make the rich pay some taxes, as we do here, that would help a great deal. I wonder if the people are aware of the fact that there is no income tax in Greece.

Mr. President, I love the Greek people, and I hope I can say that without immodesty because I have for a long time tried to indicate in some tangible way my affection and regard for them. I was the author of the resolution which the Senate unanimously adopted which said that it was the sentiment of the Senate that the Dodecanese Islands, which are Greek in character and had been held by Italy, and northern Epirus should, by the Council of Foreign Ministers, be given to Greece. The Dodecanese Islands were awarded to Greece by the succeeding Foreign Ministers Conference. Well, I was not responsible for it. I do not claim that the Senate was responsible for it. But I do claim that the Senate adopted that resolution, and the RECORD speaks for itself as to who was the author of it.

I have had many honors conferred upon me by the Government of Greece and by the Greek people when I was there in 1945 and subsequent to that time for which I am profoundly grateful. I have an honorary degree from the University of Athens. I have been given the freedom of the city of Athens. There is a street named for me in the city of Athens, and a square in the Island of Patmos is named for me, and I am deeply touched by these moving deeds.

An emissary from the foreign office came to my room in 1945 in Athens and presented me with a beautiful ribbon characteristically colorful which signified that I was a member of the Order of Phoenix. I was especially honored by being made a commander of the Order of Phoenix. I speak with deep apology for having said those things lest they be misunderstood, but I thought I might fairly say that I do not place any Senator's affection or admiration for the Greek people ahead of my own. I am not standing here trying to keep us from helping the Greek people. If \$100,000,000 is not enough, I am ready to vote for \$200,000,000 or \$300,000,000 or whatever sum may be necessary.

Mr. President, I cannot too strongly emphasize that it is not a question of aid to Greece. I am protesting a policy which will commit America for the first time, because the Greeks need help, to sending military aid to a foreign army and using American taxpayers' money to maintain and support foreign armies upon foreign soil. In my opinion, that comes dangerously near to going violently outside the democratic traditions of our country. That is what I warn against. I am saying that since we took an obligation to act collectively in meeting the challenges of aggression in the world, we are under a duty to try to act through the United Nations Organization. I shall later try to emphasize that I believe that the United Nations can act and will act adequately if America will only take the lead in holding up its hand and making it possible for it to act.

If Senators did not come to the Senate, these bare seats could not legislate. If judges did not go to the courts and decide cases the courts would become sterile marble edifices. If leaders did not lead and soldiers did not fight, an army would not exist. What can the United Nations do if all of its members forsake it? What can it do if the strongest member forsakes it without a trial and says that it is incapable of acting in this crisis? For 16 days after the President's proposal there was not even official notification to the United Nations of what we proposed unilaterally to do. Is it fair to call that a failure on the part of the United Nations when it has not had an opportunity to act? I do not think we have any right to hurl the criticism of impotency at the United Nations Organization. I do not think we have a right to disillusion every hope on earth that that organization can and will function to keep world peace, before it has failed after a fair opportunity to succeed.

As I said, when this proposal was made, we were told that we must act immediately because the economy of Greece was about to collapse. It is now 36 days since the President made his recommendation, and the economy has not yet collapsed, so far as I know.

In the second place, we were told that we must act immediately, that we could not wait for the United Nations Commission to report; we could not wait for the United Nations to act; we could not even consult other countries lest the Greek

Army collapse and the insurgents take over the country. Not only have we not conferred with the United Nations, but we have not consulted with any other countries or asked them to help us, unless one could say that the notice which the British gave us that they were getting out of Greece was a consultation. Many persons have been anxious for a long time to see the British get out of Greece, as a part of a general policy of everyone getting out of everyone else's country. That is what I have always advocated. I think that is what Senators believe in. I wonder if we could not have a simple resolution for everyone to get out of everyone else's country, and make no exceptions. That is a simple, understandable rule, it seems to me. Let everyone get out of everyone else's country with armed forces. I will support such a policy to the limit of my ability as a Senator and a citizen.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. McGrath in the chair). Does the Senator from Florida yield to the Senator from Connecticut?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. The Senator speaks of armed forces. I assume he would ask Dimitrov to get out of Bulgaria. The Senator would send him back home, too, would he not?

Mr. PEPPER. It seems to me that everywhere in the world where the armed nationals of one country are in the land of another people they ought to go home, especially if their presence has any military significance. I make no exception. Let the penalty fall wherever it may. I am not trying to protect anyone in any aggression upon any other people anywhere in the world.

As I say, the British gave us notice that they were going to withdraw their economic and military aid from Greece, and were going to get out of Greece on March 31. I understand that we requested them not to get out so soon, until we could equip the Greek Army with our weapons and train Greek forces in their use through our military mission, and until we could provide for the maintenance of the Greek Army so that it would be an effective instrument of the state to protect the solidarity of Greece. We did not want the British Army to get out. Whether we should have taken the position of encouraging another country to keep its soldiers in the land of another country which was an ally during the war, because of an internal disturbance in that country, I submit is a matter which might be argued by conscientious men.

We have just read a moving article in Life magazine by one of the great and honored names of the world, the Right Honorable Winston Churchill. Mr. Churchill claims great credit for having ordered General Scobie, the British general in command of the British armed forces in Greece, in the early hours of a certain morning, to go out and hurl back the armed Greek forces which, as he said, were marching upon Athens itself, and endeavoring to take over the gov-

ernment of that country. A great many Greeks were shot down in Athens and its environs by the British forces under the order of the Prime Minister of Great Britain. British soldiers were also killed.

Mr. Churchill thought he was doing democracy a service. I have no doubt that he was conscientious in what he did. He is one of the great men of all times. I honor what he did in World War II in saving democracy on the earth. Had it not been for Winston Churchill, when Britain stood alone against the Nazi hordes, not only Britain, but Europe, and perhaps America, might have been unable to stand up and preserve, in good time, their independence and freedom. So men will honor the name of Winston Churchill for that as long as glorious pages of history shall be written.

But, Mr. President, Mr. Churchill is mortal. He eats and sleeps, even if he does not drink like ordinary mortals. But Mr. Churchill has the ordinary emotions, and, I might add, even the predispositions, if not the prejudices—to which the humble and feeble are heir, because to err is human. Mr. Churchill thought he was saving democracy in Greece, that he was discharging a British duty, when he ordered British troops to shoot down Greeks engaged in a civil war in Greece.

I respectfully submit that honest men may differ on that question. We had the War Between the States in the United States, through four tragic years of American history. My grandfathers wore the gray, and I have a Southern lineage since my family has been in this country, for more than 200 years. Does anybody suppose that today I, a descendant of two Confederate soldiers, relish the fact that certain foreign powers in the War Between the States thought seriously of intervening on behalf of the South. When the Southern forces were at Bull Run, some might have felt that it was their duty to preserve the kind of government they wanted in the United States, and to bring British warships up the Chesapeake Bay to help the Government save Washington and reverse the results of the Battle of Bull Run, causing the running to be in the other direction. Would southerners thank God for the British having saved them from the Yankees? I suppose we wanted recognition at that time and appealed for it, but are we not all very happy that we did not get it?

It will be remembered that the Russians also had a little part in that affair. When the British for one reason or another were pretty sympathetic to our Southern brethren, the Russians sent a fleet over to New York Harbor, or thereabouts, and let it be known that if the British intervened on behalf of the South in the War Between the States, or the Civil War, as it is sometimes called, they would have something to say on the side of the Union. Are we not all glad that that never happened either?

I wonder if a nation has a right to have a war of its own. It is a tragic thing. I think all wars should be stopped. Again, men may honorably differ about the best method by which to stop wars. The American Secretary of State

Is one of the greatest men that has ever adorned that office. He spent a year in China. With his great knowledge, and with the year of on-the-spot understanding, what did he come back and tell his countrymen? He said, "Let us get our troops out of China. Let us not take part in their civil war. Let us try to urge both sides to get together. The Chiang Kai-shek Government is a reactionary, corrupt regime, and the Communists in the north are equally objectionable. They are extremists on one side and the Chiang Kai-shek group are extremists on the other. Let it be our policy to try to get the forward-looking, patriotic, liberal leaders of China together and let them take over the government of China."

Is it not to be supposed that history will approve what General Marshall recommended? How much better that counsel to his country than if he had said, "Let us now take over and support, equip, maintain, and train, under an American military mission, the government forces of Chiang Kai-shek." I venture to say, Mr. President, that no jury would find today that the Government of Chiang Kai-shek in China is as corrupt, as fascistically inclined, and murderous in practice as the government of the monarchist forces of Greece which we are asked to support by this measure and into whose hands we are asked to entrust an army of 125,000 men, with modern military equipment in the use of which their soldiery shall be trained by an American military mission.

Why is it that in Greece we go exactly contrary in policy to what General Marshall recommended with reference to China? I have no doubt that the first thing that impressed General Marshall was that the situation was similar to that which we have in Florida sometimes. In certain parts of Florida there are what we call sinkholes. People sometimes get mired in them, and there does not seem to be any bottom to them. Sometimes a cow will get into one of those bogs, and it is glorious oblivion for her, because she will never get out.

General Marshall, I suspect, saw that China was a bog, and if we ever got into it we would never get out. Mr. LaGuardia, who testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations, said, with reference to the Balkans, that if we ever got in there we would never get out. No one has ever got out successfully. After trying it for centuries singularly enough the British are getting out with an admission of failure. Only we have the temerity to rush into a place which the British are getting out of because they say it is impossible to remain.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; I yield.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The Senator's reference to General Marshall's experience in China brings this question to my mind: Is not General Marshall supporting the program which is before the Senate today, with reference to Greece?

Mr. PEPPER. He is presumed to be supporting it.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. As Secretary of State he completely advocates this program. General Marshall either sees

a different situation in Greece which warrants this action on the part of our Government, or perhaps the situation is entirely different from the circumstances that led him to make his statement with reference to China.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is correct in presuming that General Marshall gives this matter his wholehearted support. I will say, however, that I have heard in the rumors and gossip of the Capitol that when this matter was proposed to the leaders of Congress in the presence of General Marshall, it was said by one who was present, when asked what General Marshall said, "He did not say much; he was pretty cagey."

I am not saying, however, and I have no reason to infer, that General Marshall did not give his support to this program. I doubt that he initiated it. But I will ask the question, Why, then, did General Marshall make certain recommendations to us with reference to China, and why does the State Department recommend that we stay out of the civil war which is going on in Paraguay and the contest which is in progress in Argentina, and yet recommend that we go into the bog of the Balkans?

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. The Senator has spoken of General Marshall as the greatest statesman we have had in the State Department for some time and has called attention to what he believes to be the great wisdom of General Marshall in recommending certain things with reference to China. Yet we are bound, I think, to assume that General Marshall is thoroughly supporting the proposed aid to Greece which the Senate is now considering. The Department of State, of which General Marshall is the head, has been represented through many witnesses before the committee who have made statements supporting the measure. General Marshall has not been available for testimony, but I think we can assume nothing else than that he is vigorously supporting it and has brought his great statesmanship and his great background of information to bear upon it and that he approves and advocates it.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is entitled to that inference. I will say that one difference may be that the general spent a year in China and, so far as I know, he spent only a few weeks in Greece. It may be that if he had spent a year in Greece or in the Balkans studying the situation, as he did in China, he might have had a different opinion about it. But the Senator is perfectly justified in his inference that the general is supporting this present proposal.

I repeat Mr. President, we were told that there was an emergency and that we had to give economic aid immediately. Yet we have been here 36 days and Greece has not yet collapsed. In the second place, we were told that we had to support the Greek Army; otherwise the insurgents were about to take over the country; that they were led by Communists, and the effect would be to place what they call a totalitarian regime in power in that strategic area in Greece. But the latest press reports indicate that the Greek Army is doing all right against the insurgents. I read a dispatch the other day which stated that the Greek Army

had 2,500 of the insurgents surrounded in the mountains. I heard a radio report or saw a dispatch a day or two ago which indicated they were moving to the offensive against the guerillas. I have not heard anything more about the deterioration of the military situation on the part of the government or the army.

How many insurgents are there? We are told that there are 13,000. What is the population of Greece? It is 7,000,000. Are we to believe that 13,000 guerrillas are not only expected to defeat the Greek Army, but to defeat the Greek people? Is the situation so dangerous that we must immediately send an American military mission there and immediately recruit, train, equip, and maintain a Greek army of 125,000, without giving the commission sent there by the United Nations even an opportunity to report, or the United Nations Organization an opportunity to consider its findings or come to any conclusion or make any recommendation of its own?

So Mr. President, it does not seem to me that the emergency in Greece justifies the concern that many had which was the basis of this proposal that we have to give aid immediately without giving any consideration whatever to acting through the United Nations Organization.

With reference to Turkey, Mr. President, no one has ever suggested that there was any probability or possibility of the Communists taking over Turkey. As a matter of fact, they have only recently reached the point where they permit Democrats to vote. Anyone who has ever heard of Ataturk and his party and his government, which is now carried on by his chosen successor, President Inonu, knows that there is not any likelihood of communism getting a foothold in Turkey.

Neither the President, the Acting Secretary of State, nor the willing witnesses, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, nor Mr. Porter, who has just returned from Greece, suggests that there is any threat of communism taking over the Government of Turkey. No. They say that the question there is that the Russians have asked that they might share with the Black Sea powers in the control of the Dardanelles.

They do not say the Russians have issued an ultimatum. They do not say the Russians have threatened to move troops. They do not say the Russians have threatened to bomb or to move their naval forces against the Dardanelles or against Turkey. They simply say the Turkish economy is being taxed in order to maintain the present Turkish Army of approximately a million men against the possibility that Russia might at some time attack in order to obtain control of the Dardanelles, and they say that if we do not let Turkey have the money to maintain her army at that strength, either she will have to reduce the size of her army or she will have inflation.

Mr. President, I wonder what the American housewife thinks about keeping down inflation in Turkey, while at the same time permitting it to exist in the United States. Yesterday a representative of the British Parliament ap-

peared in the Capitol at a luncheon and told Senators that the British Government was giving several hundred million pounds in subsidies to the British people in order to keep down the price of foodstuffs. There the British Government was keeping down the price of food for the ordinary people of Britain. Here we have already said we cannot afford to spend money to keep down the price of food in America, that we cannot give a subsidy to the dairymen or to the other producers of agricultural commodities, including food. We have said that we wish to economize. However, now the situation seems to be that if one happens to be located in a strategic area of the world and if one is likely to have some inflation in connection with maintaining a large army, why, yes, the United States Government can afford that kind of subsidy. That is what we are now asked to provide. It is said that Turkey has \$250,000,000 in gold reserves outside her borders, I believe, and is getting along all right, but that if we do not help her maintain her army, she will begin to have inflation rather soon, and her economy will begin to suffer.

So, Mr. President, although the United States cannot afford to protect her own people against high prices, although the United States has felt that its money is so limited that it has been necessary to curtail the school-lunch program, although we are called extravagant if we ask for \$100,000,000 to try to find the cause of and cure for cancer, which will kill one out of eight of us here in this edifice, and although we are told that we cannot be so profligate as to spend \$100,000,000 to find the cause and cure of heart disease, that will kill one out of every three of us, still we are asked to give \$100,000,000 in the next 15 months to maintain the Turkish Army and to keep the Turkish economy from suffering from inflation.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Yesterday I read an article by Hanson W. Baldwin, published in the New York Times. Mr. Baldwin, as we all know, is an authority on military matters. The article strongly supported the Truman policy of intervention in Greece and Turkey, but one paragraph of the article contained the statement that the crisis in Turkey, so far as threats from Russia are concerned, has greatly diminished in the past year; that a year ago, according to the article, Russia had many military men on the borders of Turkey, but that those forces have been greatly reduced, and are at a very low level at the present time.

I assume that a writer of the reputation of Hanson W. Baldwin would not make a statement which did not have a basis in fact. So I wonder whether there is such a crisis as we have been told.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I cannot see any justification for the belief that there is such a crisis as the one which has been called to our attention in this matter. As the Senator from Colorado has pointed out, I have not seen anything in the newspapers about such a crisis, and we have not been told by the

State Department of anything new in connection with this matter for weeks, if not for months.

We have stated before that Russia has been trying to get a new arrangement regarding control of the Dardanelles. But, Mr. President, as the Senator from Colorado so well pointed out yesterday, Russia has been trying to do that for over 200 years. Peter the Great, not Joe Stalin, started that. I do not suppose our reaction is so slow that we are just waking up to one of the threats that old Peter made over two centuries ago. Mr. President, we all know that for over two centuries the Russians have been trying to get a warm-water port, and for that length of time the western European powers have been fighting just as diligently, and more successfully, to keep Russia from doing so. We know that in 1854 the Russians, following a war with Turkey, by the terms of the peace treaty subsequent to that war, won the Dardanelles, and Constantinople, as well. But then what happened? The British and French—not to aid Turkey, because they did not come into the picture until the war was lost by Turkey, but because they did not want Russia to have that strategic waterway—sent the British and French Fleets into the Black Sea, where they sank the Russian fleet, and then made the Russians agree to a new treaty which took away from Russia her fruits of victory—the Dardanelles and Constantinople.

Let me also say that the Russians not only have a strategic interest in that waterway and in the city which lies close by it, but they also have a sentimental attachment to what used to be called Constantinople, and now is called Istanbul. We must remember that the religion of Russia is an offshoot of the Greek Orthodox religion, which was the religion of the Byzantine Empire, which centered in Constantinople. We may remember the story of the Russian ruler who was a prince of what was then called the Moscow Kingdom. He decided that the Russians needed a new religion, and he sent a commission abroad to decide what religion his country should adopt. That commission went far and wide; it examined sacred edifices; it interviewed princes of the church and people generally. Finally the commission reached the old center of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, and went to one of the most magnificent cathedrals which stands on earth today, Saint Sophia. Anyone who has had the exhilarating experience of walking into that inspiring edifice, built from 532 A. D. to 562 A. D., and so grand in its architecture that today it would be an adornment to any part of the world, can imagine the thrill they received when they walked into that great building, which was the beautiful enshrinement of the sacred, throbbing heart of the Greek Orthodox Church. Thereafter they returned to their prince and recommended that their nation adopt the Byzantine religion, the Greek Orthodox Church. That was done, and they have ever since maintained it in principle. In fact, Moscow calls itself the second Rome. She has felt that she was the heir to the leadership and pri-

macy of the Greek Orthodox world, since Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks.

So, Mr. President, Istanbul has a sentimental significance but the Dardanelles has a strategic value to Russia which it possesses to no other major power.

It is well known to everyone, but I will ask Senators just to look at the map on the wall of the Senate, which shows the position of Turkey in relation to the Black Sea, and also to Rumania and Bulgaria.

It is well known that the territory of Turkey extends across the straits into Europe, but what is not so well known is the fact that Bulgaria, which is already alleged to be in the Russian sphere, is adjacent to this territory of Turkey, as the situation is today, and those who talk about Russia gaining a new influence and getting a new access to the Dardanelles, and an opportunity to overthrow Turkey, evidently overlook the fact that it is charged that they are already dominant, at least in sentiment and sympathy, in Bulgaria, which lies immediately adjacent to the Turkish territory to an extent approximately the same as Greece lies adjacent to Turkish territory today.

It is said that if we let Russia have any part in the defense of the Dardanelles, it will mean she is going to overrun the Middle East. Even the President said in his message that if Turkey is disturbed or overrun, it may mean disorder in the whole Middle East.

Evidently what these persons fail to take into consideration is the fact that today Russia borders on Iran to a large extent. The Russians do not have to go through Turkey to get to the Middle East. The Russian territory already is adjacent to Iran on one side and the other of the Caspian Sea.

So what is to keep Russia from going right down to the Middle East tomorrow, with her admittedly dominant army, if she wants to go? Yet people tell us that we have to keep them from having any share in the defense of the Dardanelles, in order to keep them out of the Middle East.

They were down in Iran. They occupied the northern half of Iran during the war with their troops. If they wanted to go to the Middle East, why did they not stay while they were there? Why did they not go farther? Who got them out? It was the United Nations. When they remained in Iran in violation of their treaty, the President did not come here and say, "We got out of Iran. The British got out of Iran. We agreed at the Teheran conference that we would all respect the territorial sovereignty of Iran. The Russians are violating their treaty. They are staying there. Now we have to send some British and American troops over there to get them out."

The President did not come to Congress and say, "The Iranian Army is weak, the government is weak." And it was at that time; it was in a state of turmoil. There were all sorts of pulls and stresses and strains in the country politically. The President did not come here and say, "That country is torn politically. It is enfeebled economically." And it is. They are so poor in the great capital city

of what we used to call Persia, now called Iran, that as Senators who have been there know—and there are many on this floor who have been there—the drinking water which the people of Teheran use flows down an open ditch beside the street. People go out and wash their clothes in it, or walk in it, or do whatever else they will, and that is part of the water supply of the people of a great city. What justification there would have been for the President to come here and say, “You don’t realize the squalor of some of those people. You don’t realize their economic distress. You don’t realize their political conflicts. We have to send a military mission there. We have to send them money, and let them recruit and train and equip with our weapons an army to push the Russians out of there.” The President did no such thing. Iran hailed the Russians to the bar of international justice. Iran appealed to the United Nations.

Did the United States say, “Listen. Don’t bring this thing to the United Nations, because, in the first place, it might require some money, and the United Nations has no money. In the second place, it might require some troops, and the United Nations has no troops, because Russia will not agree to setting up the United Nations police force. We would not want to be embarrassed by making a decision and then not be able to carry it out. Let us not bring that up.”

No; on the contrary, every pressure was brought on our Secretary of State to deter him from going ahead and giving full support to the Iranian people. Even while Russia was putting pressure, all kinds of pressure, according to the press, upon the Iranians to withdraw their appeal to the United Nations, we said to them, “Don’t withdraw. Stay here, and let’s fight it out. If they are in your country wrongly, the world should know it, and if this organization is ever going to amount to anything, it has to stand up when it faces crises. We are not going to run from this crisis because this happens to be the army of the greatest land power on earth.”

I heard a man, whom Senators would recognize if I should give his name, say the other day that the Russian Army could occupy all Europe in 8 days if it wanted to. Yet we did not run because this happened to be the army of the greatest land power on earth away off out there in Iran. We stood up in the United Nations, and what happened? The pressure of world opinion, the prestige of the United Nations, and the dogged righteous determination of Britain and America, and other nations which stood with them, exercised such compulsion that the Soviet Union moved their troops out of Iran. What a victory for this “feeble” organization, which now its own fathers are repudiating, its own godfathers denying.

I refer now to an incident involving Syria and Lebanon, right to the west of Iran. The French, as Senators recall, had had a mandate over that area under the League of Nations, and the people were restive because the French seemed to treat them, not like citizens of a mandated power, but as if they were

part of the French Empire. For years and years those people struggled to be emancipated from their new masters. Finally came the days of the war, and a promise was made by the De Gaulle government that these people would be emancipated from French rule. The time came for their emancipation, and the French did not get out. These people protested to the French, and they agitated for the removal of the French troops and for the French to carry out their pledged word to give them their freedom, as they had promised they would. That did not avail, and eventually they agitated so much that the French decided they would get tough with them. I hate to repeat what happened but I was in Lebanon and talked to the President of Lebanon and his family, and had dinner with them one evening, and the President’s wife, beside whom I sat, told me how the French took her husband out of the family bed and carried him off into captivity, kept him 8 days incommunicado, and would not even let him go to the next room to tell his 10-year old daughter good bye. The daughter and the mother for 8 days though their father and husband had been shot because he was advocating the freedom and independence of the fine people and brave citizenry in Lebanon.

Over in Syria, in the city of Damascus, all one has to do is to stand there and look, as I did in 1945, at the Parliament Building, shot up by the French because Syria demanded freedom. I was told the story, not by some stranger, but by the man who was the speaker of the assembly, who was sitting in that building and got out just minutes before the French started shooting. They turned their 75’s right on the Parliament doors, and there were the gaping holes, there was the burned interior, and on the opposite side of the street were the headquarters of the French general, and in the next house the headquarters of the French Army. One standing in the street could not see a single evidence that they were shooting in self-defense. They started a violent conflict, and about 1,500 people were killed in the Damascus fighting.

Finally conditions got so bad, and sentiment in the country seethed so dangerously that the British moved in in an effort to stop the fighting. They moved the French around to a compound where they could not carry on war any longer, and they quieted down the population by parading up and down the streets with their tanks and with their machine guns and with their soldiers. The British stayed there then, to keep peace between the French and the Syrians. When I got there the Syrians wanted to get both of them out. They said that, in no unmistakable terms, to our Minister and to me. And what did the Syrians do? Did they call on us for military aid to run them out? Did they call on somebody else to finance a new army so they could push them out? No. They were law-abiding citizens of the world. They went to the United Nations and protested, and I say to the credit of the British and the French that they set a magnificent example in acceding to the

plea of these people. They got their troops out of Syria and Lebanon.

Now, what do we have? In the course of less than 2 years’ history with the UN we have gotten Russian troops out of Iran, British and French troops out of Syria, and British and French troops out of Lebanon. Is not that a very good record for UN during that period of time?

And when have we had any great failure? “Oh,” my able friend says, “there have been some vetoes in the United Nations Organization.” I do not recall, however, that those vetoes related to the matter of any country getting its troops out of another country’s territory. They have generally been on procedural matters; they have been on conflicts of policy; they have been on the issues they are debating up there.

Mr. President, a part of the price we have to pay for democracy is delay, exasperation, irritation, annoyance, endless argument. I may be guilty of one of the offenses myself; perhaps sometimes some of the rest of us are. But, Mr. President, that is the character of democracy. That is a part of the price that must be paid for it. If there is an organization in which somebody just gives an order and nobody dares to argue about it, what is it? It is totalitarianism. See how it worked out, even in the armed forces of the nations of the world. We had over here a democracy. I do not always say that there is too much democracy in the Army. We get more now than we have had in the past, and I know all of us are rejoicing. We have tried to do what we could to bring it about. But, after all, the President of the United States, whoever he is, has never ignored his advisers and commanded them to do what he individually thought was the thing to do. President Roosevelt was Commander in Chief during the major part of this war. I believe he would not have any nobler witnesses to testify to the truly democratic spirit in which he discharged that office of Commander in Chief than the generals and the admirals who worked with him, whom he had the right to command all during that war. But Hitler—why, even Goering could not stand up against him. I know Senators have heard the instance and the story of how, just when Goering and the air force thought they had worked out the jet-type fighter plane that would probably be able to stop the mass bombings that were leveling German cities and halting their production, Hitler just capriciously and arbitrarily changed this plan and started putting bombs on some of their planes. In other words, he tried to convert the air force to a bombing air force, which was strategically inappropriate for Germany’s situation; but nobody dared to stand up against him.

I remember reading that President Roosevelt at one time was dedicating a school at Hyde Park. What he said struck me. He told those people who had gotten this little school, “You had to wait a long time for this school. A totalitarian government would one day have just issued the order and you would have had the school up here in about 3 weeks; whereas under democracy you had to agitate for it and

argue for it and save for it and vote for it; but now you have finally got your school. But my! how rich are the rewards of democracy, even if some time we are delayed a little bit in getting what we want!"

So I am saying that in the UN it takes time to get a policy adopted; sometimes it does, here in the Senate. That does not mean that so far the Senate has seen the wisdom even of abolishing the power to filibuster. We have adjudicated for a century and a half that it were better to hear everybody as long as he wanted to be heard, than to cut anybody out of the right to speak, as long as he wanted to speak. So if we have had a little delay in the UN, if we have some in the future, does that mean that we are going to break it all up? Are impatient Senators going to come around and say, "I am a new Senator. I went there and stayed 30 days for them to dispose of the Lilienthal matter, and they were still debating it at the end of that time; I am not going to be a party to that; I am going to go out and do what I want to do." What brand does a man like that place upon himself, when he refuses to become a part of, even if vexatious and sometimes annoying, the democratic way of settling things and disputes? Let us not too soon repudiate the only democratic organization of world character there is today. In this case we would repudiate it without asking it to attempt to solve the problems with which we are now wrestling.

Mr. KEM. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. KEM. I should like to ask the Senator from Florida a question. He has referred to the use of the veto power in the United Nations. I should like to ask him, when the question before the United Nations is a matter of aggression by one of the members, whether the aggressor member may exercise the veto.

Mr. PEPPER. I am glad the Senator brought up that question. It falls into two categories; one, what the UN may do in attempting a peaceful settlement of a dispute; and, second, what the UN may do in attempting by force to resist aggression, as the case has been put by the able Senator from Missouri.

In the first case, let it be applied to this particular situation—and this was recognized in the Foreign Relations Committee hearing, and it is in the report, it was brought out during the testimony of Mayor LaGuardia in the first case, if Greece and Turkey were to charge before the UN that Russia was an aggressor, directly or indirectly, against them, or so far as I know, if we were to charge it, or if Britain were to charge it, so that the record stood before the UN that there was a dispute between Russia on the one side and Turkey and Greece on the other side, in that case, by the specific language of chapter VI of the United Nations Charter, Russia could not even vote in respect to the UN making a recommendation for a peaceful settlement of the dispute, let alone veto a recommendation for a peaceful settlement.

Let us be clear about that. I do not know whether a recommendation for a peaceful settlement would be observed or not, but it has not been tried, it has

not failed any nation that was requested by the Security Council, to which under the Charter we have given the primary responsibility for making world peace, I say a nation that flouted the recommendation of that organization would stand accused as a criminal, as a wrongdoer, as a law violator before the nations of the world.

Mr. President, we have not sought action by the Security Council in an effort peacefully to settle this dispute between Greece and her neighbors, or Turkey and her neighbors.

The question is asked, "What can there be in the nature of a peaceful solution of this dispute?" That brings us to the point where I think we ought to find a basis for the reconciliation of this dispute which today is tearing the UN open, is tearing the world open, and opening an abyss in which the whole race of man will be lost in an engulfing third world war if we cannot find some way to reconcile the dispute. I think one of the bases of such reconciliation is to come to a practical and sensible discussion of such issues as this one over the Dardanelles.

I realize what will be said about anyone who dares to suggest that the Russians have any rights at all, in view of the very bad reputation they have in the world today, in view of the many stupid things they have done, in view of the many instances when they have apparently exhibited an utter lack of regard for the sentiments or the convictions or the institutions of other people. I realize that, to put it in the vernacular, they are in bad so much today with the nations of the world, fanned, as that feeling is, by the breeze of propaganda, into a flame, that anyone who dares to stand up and say, "Well, frankly, I think there is much merit in what the Russians are asking about the Dardanelles," will be condemned. In the next issue of a certain magazine such an individual will be called a Russophile, or by some loose-tongued and mentally debilitated people, will be called a Communist or something like that, and charged with everything next to being a traitor, and I guess they would charge that if they thought they dared to. But I want to say that some time or another the major powers have got to sit down around the council table and take into account the area of each, the power of each, the position of each, the history of each, the fears and the concerns and the interests of each, and try to find—within the principles of law and justice and due respect for other people—a basis upon which they can agree to work together in peace, instead of fighting one another in war.

Some Senators may say, "Well, they will not do that." I will tell the Senate what I think the critical error was in our approach to the Soviet Union ever since the end of the war. I think we started out with the assumption that we were going to tell the Russians what they had to do in the areas around about them. Well, we may have been right. I realize the sense of shock that our people received many times when the Soviet Government has followed policies which it has followed in many instances in the

past. But take this matter of the Dardanelles, for example. It is right over there practically in their front yard. They are one of the major powers on the Black Sea, as are Turkey and Rumania and Bulgaria. That is the only outlet to warm water which they have, short of the Pacific Ocean.

They feel that it is so close to their homeland—and it must be but a few hundred miles away—that they at least ought to be one of the major powers that will have the control of this area and be responsible for its protection, its use or disuse by military or naval personnel and equipment. And they say, "Now look here; you do not need to be so self-righteous about this thing." Turkey is not controlling the Dardanelles at the present time. Oh, Turkey has the fortifications there, but it is governed by the Montreux Convention, which is a convention of powers. We are not a member of it, but Britain and France and the European powers are members of it, and they have presumed to lay down the law concerning the control of the Dardanelles. I suspect the Russians have resented that because they feel it is meddling in an area that is proximate to their territory and with respect to interests that are vital to their security and defense. It must be remembered that other people want to be secure as well as we want to be secure here in our own country.

Then the Russians may say, "Why do you talk to us about the Dardanelles? The British and the French promised us the Dardanelles in World War I if we would go to war on their side while the Turks were fighting with the Germans, and we would already have had the Dardanelles if we had not had a revolution in Russia and had to draw out of the war although Sir Bernard Pares says that we Russians by our sacrifices saved Paris twice after we had suffered two and a half million killed and two and a half million wounded in the war." But by reason of the fact that the Russians got out of the war before the war ended, and the fact that they were governed by a government which was a people's government which wanted to be friendly with everybody, which did not want to have anything to do with empire, although it may be strange to hear me say that about Lenin, they gave up area after area which they had had in the past. They never did ask for the Dardanelles then. Not only that, but Lenin gave up the oil rights which Russia had in northern Iran although the British did not give up the rights they had in southern Iran at the same time. But they were like the French revolutionaries of their day. With the French revolutionaries it was "Liberté, égalité, fraternité," and the Russians then said, "We do not want to be an empire. Take it back." They did not claim the Dardanelles, and so the Dardanelles stayed in the hands of Turkey. But for a long time even Turkey was not allowed to arm her own straits. The western powers said "No, we want to control the straits."

Finally Ataturk took advantage of the strife which existed in Europe and developed a strong army and a strong government in Turkey, and sent the now

President of Turkey, President Inonu, then his prime minister, I believe, or foreign minister, to one of the conferences—it might have been at Locarno—and secured an agreement on the part of the powers respecting the Dardanelles. Mind you, Turkey, through which the straits run, got permission of the powers to arm her own straits, but subject to the rules and regulations and restraints of the Montreux Convention.

Russia, which has knowledge of all this background and all this history, and the contempt, if I may say so, which at various times the powers have shown for the sovereignty of Turkey, now hears us say, "No, you, Russia, who have all this border on the Black Sea to which the Dardanelles is the outlet, and you, Rumania, who have a considerable area on the Black Sea, and you, Bulgaria, who have a considerable area, and you, Turkey, who have roughly half of the area of the Black Sea—you four are not going to be permitted to determine what the government of these straits shall be. We, the western powers, say you cannot have that determination." Well, who is "We"? We, the United States, are not a party to the Montreux Convention. But now we march right up there with the other powers and take our stand with them and say, "We are taking exactly the same position in this matter."

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Will the Senator permit me to finish this statement, and then I shall be glad to yield. We are taking the same position, so far as I know, that the British take at this time and have taken for a considerable period of time in the past. I am not saying we may not have the right to do so. I know we have a duty to stand up for the rights of some nations. I say today, as I have said on the Senate floor before, that if, without any fair opportunity to negotiate this matter, the Russians were to become angry and send an army down to the straits and try to take the straits, I will help the United States in every way I can to participate in repelling them, by force, if necessary. But as I said the other day, the attitude which we should take on the subject is an entirely different question. What I think we should do in the United Nations to try to find a solution for the problem is another thing.

I do not think this violates any confidence, because I think the attitude of Turkey is well known. When I was in Istanbul in 1945 I spent an evening with the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of Turkey. About the middle of the evening I asked a question about the Dardanelles. I asked if there was some way in which the question could be resolved. They stated, in substance, that they were willing to try to find a solution for it. However, they felt that there were two principles upon which they should insist. One was the sovereignty of their territory and the other was the security of their country. I was very much encouraged when I heard that. I thought that within those two principles we might be able, if we did our part, to find a basis for pacifying the Russians and at the same time not being unfair to

the Turks, while protecting our own legitimate interests.

I still think that there can be a solution of this problem. As I have stated, I have not heard lately of anything that changes the situation from what it has been for the past two or three years. The question was discussed at Potsdam, to see if some basis of adjustment could not be found. The necessity of revising the Montreux convention was admitted. The British and American representatives have already admitted that. They have already proposed that the Black Sea powers have the right to send their merchant ships and armed ships through the Dardanelles at any time they desire to do so, and that no other power shall have that right. That is a considerable concession. It may be that that could be the eventual basis of the adjustment of the dispute. But it is also barely possible that the Russians may say, "We resent the United States alone telling us what the conditions are upon which we who occupy this area may defend it. The United States is not a party to the Montreux convention. The United States is 4,000 miles away."

We say, "The trouble is that some of those who as Black Sea powers would thus have control are Communists." It is said that of the four powers, Russia, Turkey, Rumania, and Bulgaria, the latter two are under the dominion of Russia, and it would be three against one, and that therefore we must take the side of the one. The Russians naturally say, "How can you Americans consistently take that position? You have a whole hemisphere which you preempted from Europe, and from which you are determined to keep European colonization. Your hemisphere extends for thousands of miles. How can you go before the United Nations and say that you want the Carolines and the Marianas, 6,000 miles to the west of your homeland? How can you go to Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, and Portugal and ask for bases, thinking that they are essential to your security, and then say that we are the aggressors because we want to be one power, or the major power, in the defense of a waterway which is comparable, in respect to us, to your Gulf of Mexico with respect to you. Our Volga is something like your Mississippi."

I now yield to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. SALTONSTALL]. I apologize to him for making him wait so long.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, as I understand the Senator, he complains that we might be too aggressive at the present time in pushing the issue with respect to the Dardanelles. He spoke about what happened after the First World War. After that war we were not aggressive enough. We took no position. We remained in the United States, and we had to send our boys into a greater World War. This time, as I see it, we are trying to correct that mistake. The First World War started in the Balkans. The Second World War was fomented in the Balkans. It seems to me that we have a responsibility as the strongest power in the world today to take an aggressive position in an effort to try to stop another world war, even if it is 4,000

miles from our homeland, even if it is fairly near the boundaries of the second most powerful nation in the world.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator has stated a perfectly fair and perfectly penetrating question. My answer, to give a short answer, is this: Mr. Justice Holmes, whose memory adorns the great State of Massachusetts, once said that everything from the Twelve Tables down to the present was a matter of degree. If the Senator were disposed to make political capital of an argument, he could say, for example, that I either favor aggression or approve isolation; and if I were to adopt the same tactic, I could say to him that he favors our intervention in every part of the world. As a matter of fact, neither conclusion is justified. But surely, if it is a matter of degree, there must be some point so near to the vital interests of other peoples that, when they try to protect those vital interests related to their security, we cannot reasonably charge them, necessarily, with bad faith or with aggressive desires.

Take our case in the Carolines and the Marianas. I once had luncheon with the Prime Minister of New Zealand. In order to obtain his reaction I asked him, "What do you people on the other side of the world think about our desire to have the Marianas and the Carolines?" He replied, "We are waiting to see what the decision is." I am confident that they are probably agreeable to our unilateral and exclusive possession of those islands. That is what we have asked for before the United Nations, and that is what we have obtained, or will obtain, from the United Nations.

An enemy of the United States might say, "The United States is not trying to defend the Western Hemisphere. The United States started by defending the United States. Then it decided to take in the Western Hemisphere. Now it has practically taken over the Pacific Ocean and is trying to reach out into the Atlantic. Where is the United States going to stop?" Could not propagandists from another country charge us with aggression? Yet we do not consider that we are aggressive. Suppose New Zealand and Australia were unfriendly to us. Suppose they were Slavs or some other kind of people. Would they not be able to say to us, "You are reaching far out into the Atlantic. Why do you not let the United Nations protect the Carolines and Marianas?"

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Am I not correct when I say that New Zealand has objected to what the Senator has said the United States was trying to do, and has appealed to the United Nations? So the question is still unsettled, and is to be left to the United Nations for decision.

Mr. PEPPER. I am glad to have the Senator remind me of that fact. It rather indicates that there has been a continuity of policy in that country. Of course this question will be decided by the United Nations. It is not like the question of the Dardanelles. The Dardanelles is not a part of an enemy coun-

try, so it is not subject to the jurisdiction of the United Nations, whereas the Carolines and the Marianas are, in a more legal way, subject to disposition by the United Nations. Yet can we say that America is being hailed before the United Nations? A propagandist might say that America is being hailed before the United Nations because she has stretched her long, strong arm 6,000 miles into the Pacific.

What shall we say when we go before the United Nations? We are going to explain the strategic situation. We are going to say that American boys gave their lives in order that the American flag might fly over that area, and that we want to be secure against future attack. But can we entirely ignore the feelings of other peoples with respect to questions which are of particular interest to them? Why can we not go before the United Nations with the whole Dardanelles situation? I believe I would extend that principle to many other strategic areas. Let me be frank with my able friend. I would far rather see the United States Government go before the United Nations and set a good example by saying, "These islands 6,000 miles away were bought with American blood. They are important to American security; but we realize that it is better to have peace on earth and understanding among nations, and cooperation to keep the peace, than it is for us alone to try to obtain bases far enough away to make us secure against any weapons of the dangerous and uncertain future."

I say that morally, politically, and physically America would have been better off if someone's counsel had not prevailed. I understand it was not that of the State Department. That is the report. I have read in the newspapers that the State Department always felt, working through the United Nations as they were, that we would be subject to criticism if we asked for the exclusive—mind you, exclusive—occupation and use of those islands away out there, thousands of miles across the Pacific. The Russians have voted for our having the Marianas and the Carolines. If they ask that some islands go to them, what are we going to say?

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President—

Mr. PEPPER. I yield to the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. The Senator has said, quoting Justice Holmes, that everything is a question of degree. I naturally agree with that statement. Would it have been the exercise of a better degree of decision on the part of the United States after the war to have been somewhat more aggressive than less aggressive and consequently possibly have to send our boys abroad again and possibly expend ourselves and our security in another war? We are now trying to help Greece and to aid Turkey so that they may remain nations, so that they may keep their identity and be able to present questions affecting them to the United Nations in the future and have the United Nations decide them when it is capable of deciding them, while their identities remain, and thus make the United Nations useful to us and to Russia.

and make it possible for us to be less aggressive in the future than we may have to be at present. Is that a fair question?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; it is a perfectly fair question. The Senator from Massachusetts always asks a fair and honest question. My answer to the able Senator is this: In the councils of nations we should stand up for the independence and security of Turkey and Greece and all other nations. That is the first thing. In the United Nations we should try to help the economies of Turkey and Greece and all other nations. If the United Nations feels, after fair trial, after all we could do in the United Nations, that we cannot achieve our objectives, then we have no alternative. But in this particular case, while the United Nations has jurisdiction of the dispute on the Greek border, while the United Nations apparently, by what we did last year and what several nations proposed last year, is agreeable to setting up an international relief fund, while the United Nations has not been asked to solve this problem or to try to reconcile this dispute, and while the United Nations has not failed to prevent or to throw out Russian aggression, I say to the Senator that our wrong lies in our first effort being to send a military mission to Turkey, to begin to pay for the equipment and the maintenance of the Turkish Army to the extent of \$100,000,000 in the next 15 months, and to send a military mission to Greece and equip, train, and maintain a Greek Army of 125,000 at the expense of 150,000,000 American people in the next 15 months. I say, Mr. President, to my able friend that that is going too far on America's part. It commits us to a course from which we will never, in my opinion, be able to recover our lost prestige or the prestige of the United Nations, and it makes America stand before the nations and peoples of the world in a light which I believe is not in accordance with our best democratic traditions of the past.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I will concede that much of what the Senator has said would be correct if he had started from the proper premise, but it seems to me that he starts from a false premise when he says that the United Nations is capable of handling this immediate problem at the moment. What we want to do is to make the United Nations capable and strong; and common sense tells us, as was discussed a little earlier today, that the United Nations is incapable of handling this immediate problem. So we are handling it ourselves in order to give the United Nations time to get on its feet and carry out what the Senator wants to have done.

Mr. PEPPER. I know that that is exactly the policy that has been given in justification of this proposal. I say to the able Senator from Massachusetts that the time to make the United Nations strong is not in the indefinite tomorrow; it is now. If Russian aggression threatens Turkey, the time to make an issue is now, in the United Nations, I say that

if the United Nations is weak, now is the time to make it strong. If America were to put its full majesty, might, and power at the disposal of the United Nations, with other nations, would it not begin to take on more strength?

That goes to the question which my friend, the Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM], asked me a few moments ago. What about a case in which we cannot settle a dispute peacefully and it has got to be settled by force?

Before I leave the first point, however, with reference to peaceful conciliation, I will say that I spoke about an error which I thought we made in trying to work out an understanding with the Russians. I think another grave mistake we made directly after the war was in indicating to Russia that we would not help them financially with their own problems. Russia suffered terribly during the war. Millions of persons were killed. In the last two wars they have lost in killed 15 times as many as we and the British have lost. That is the figure which I have seen. In addition to that, Stalin told me they had 25,000,000 homeless in Russia after the Hitler hordes receded, their economy has been broken and torn asunder, and they have suffered terribly. They wanted help from us to rebuild their economy, to rehabilitate the devastated country, to get themselves back on the high road to a decent standard of living for a people that has never had a decent standard of living. The Russian people have never been decently housed, adequately fed, or properly clothed, not in a thousand years of Russian history. They, too, have had their stirring of aspiration within the hearts of people. They have adopted some radical things in order to get ahead. We may not like them or approve them. I certainly do not like or approve communism as a philosophy. But it is their country, and they have chosen that dynamic experiment to try to better themselves.

I believe that back in the very early days, if we had taken a little different position, if we had worried along with them a little more, the situation would be more satisfactory.

It has been repeatedly stated by Senators that Russia never applied for an American loan. I do not know whether she did or not. I know that Joseph Stalin, sitting in the Kremlin, in the presence of our Acting Ambassador, told me that Russia had applied for a loan of \$6,000,000,000, and that for 6 months had not received an answer to the application. I know that the Acting Ambassador did not repudiate it. I know that when we got to Moscow with the Colmer committee, the Ambassador and we, in the embassy, before going to see Mikoyan, whose office corresponds to that of our Secretary of Commerce, discussed the Russian application for a loan, and it was common knowledge that Russia had applied for a loan.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Let me finish this statement, please.

It may be that Russia did not file a formal application. In international diplomacy one seldom does things the way

in which a schoolboy would do them. But later Russia made another application for approximately a billion dollars to the Export-Import Bank, and that application got lost in a pigeonhole for a few months.

Is it to be supposed that the Russians think that we are disposed to give them the same treatment that we have given our other ally, Great Britain? Russia would be as good a customer as American business could have if we could work out decent, reasonable, and proper commercial relations between the two countries. Russia is a great market. It wants the things that we can manufacture.

Now we are complaining because the Russians do not engage in multilateral trade. Mr. President, the Russians cannot engage in multilateral trade, because they do not have international exchange. The only kind of trade they can engage in is bilateral trade—with Sweden, Hungary, Rumania, and other areas with which they enter into such bargains or agreements.

I do not defend or countenance or approve of a great many of the things the Russians have done; but I will say that at Frankfort, General Eisenhower, who has been dealing with the Russians since the war, said to me, "Senator, the key to friendly relations between ourselves and the Russians is the one word 'confidence.' If you get the confidence of the Russians, you can work with them." He then said, "I have their confidence, and I do work with them, and I can work with them."

He told me of instance after instance—in the presence of General Bedell Smith, then his chief of staff, and now our Ambassador to Moscow—when he did work with them and when there were what appeared to be misunderstandings which would have justified the most bitter denunciation of the Russian conduct, but which, when understood against the background of Russian character and Russian capacity to get things done and Russian equipment, were thoroughly understandable actions on the part of the Russians. Let me give just one illustration of that. He said there was a train which ran through the Russian zone, in going from one part of the American zone to another part of the American zone. The Russians would stop the American trains there every few days. He got tired of that, and it was interfering with distribution, so he went to the marshal in command of the Russian forces at that point and complained about the stopping of that train. The marshal readily agreed that it would not happen any more. In about 10 days the train started through that area again, and the Russians stopped it again. General Eisenhower said he got red in the face and felt like going to the Russian marshal and telling him what he thought about him. However, he did protest about the breach of the agreement. Later he found that the Russian system of communications and red tape was such that the man who stopped the train never had heard of the conference between Eisenhower and Zhukov. The man who stopped the train was not just a scoundrel or a lair or a criminal or trying to be nasty, but he had never heard

of the conference between General Eisenhower and Marshal Zhukov. General Eisenhower said, "I find if you want to get them to do anything, allow about 20 days for it."

Mr. President, we who live in the United States, with governmental bureaucracy, can understand that, because many people in our States cannot understand why it takes the Federal Government so long to do the things it does. Yet we know that the Federal Government does not intend to break its obligation or its word to the citizens, and sometimes there are explanations for such matters.

All I am saying is that the Russians are a peculiar people; they have a peculiar psychology; they have had a past so different from ours that we cannot ignore it and properly appraise them. I am afraid that, somehow or other, unintentionally a long time ago, we gave the Russians the impression that we are their enemy and that we do not understand their point of view and that we are trying to bottle them up in the Black Sea and in their country and not let them reach the oil of the Middle East or the warm waters of the Mediterranean or of the Pacific. Mr. President, no one in the United States intends that. My gracious, if anyone were to tell me that the Secretary of State or Mr. Truman or this Congress intends any such thing as that, I would say it was a false accusation. They do not intend it. They are conscientiously trying to work together. But they see things through our eyes, just as the Russians see things through their eyes.

I could give almost innumerable instances of things they do. I shall mention just one, which I have spoken of many times as an example of how they will act differently from other groups of people. They let Mrs. Bolton and her colleague enter Russia in an American plane, and they treated them fine; but when they got nearly out of Russia the Russians opened their baggage in such a way that they got angry about it. The Russians let the Colmer committee fly in General Eisenhower's plane into Moscow, but they would not let them take it to Tehran. When I went to Russia on a Russian plane, going from Berlin to Moscow—because I was not using a Government plane—they did not charge me anything for the trip from Berlin to Moscow, but they did charge me the regular commercial rate from Moscow to Tehran. I think all of us shall have to admit that the Russians have their own ways of doing things—ways that are very different from our ways of doing things. But there, again, I still believe there can be found a basis of reconciliation and understanding, and I think we have to try to find it, because surely we would rather worry and worry and worry than to accept the inevitability of war or to begin a policy which accepts the inevitability of war, as I believe the policy now under discussion does.

At long last let me state that the able Senator from Missouri [Mr. KEM] was asking me, "What can we do if we take this matter to the United Nations, and then the Russians veto it, and a peaceful recommendation does not avail?" That

would either be the issue upon which the United Nations would become stronger and would endure, or else it would be the rock upon which it would be destroyed. My answer to that question is the answer which Senator Austin, now our representative to the United Nations, gave a little while ago. He said that under articles 1 and 51 of the United Nations Charter, if the time ever comes when a nation commits aggression upon another nation and then the nation which is charged with aggression vetoes any effective action by force to resist that aggression, there is, nevertheless, a duty under the Charter upon all the other members of the United Nations to act collectively to resist that aggression.

So I say to the Senator from Missouri that, as applied to this case, if the Russians are about to attack the Dardanelles, the proper procedure is for Turkey to take that matter to the United Nations; and if there is justification for the assumption that such threat or action is about to take place, it will be the duty of the United Nations to take action by notifying the Russians that it would be contrary to the Charter for Russia to take such aggressive action, and that in case the Russians did take such aggressive action, the United Nations would have to set in motion the machinery of the United Nations which is contemplated for use in resisting and preventing such aggression. Then it would be the duty of the United States to step to the front and say to the other nations, "I am ready and willing to discharge my obligation."

After all, Mr. President, we are talking about sending \$100,000,000 to Turkey, to be used to build up and train the Turkish Army in the next 15 months. Do we think that little amount of money would keep Russia from attacking Turkey if she wanted to attack her? If Russia does attack Turkey, do not we have to go to Turkey's defense anyhow? Does not the United Nations have to resist that aggression anyhow?

So it is obvious that by following the course which we are now urged to follow, all we do is give some provocation, by going in there before the threat occurs, before the attack is made, before it is even imminent; going in there in the face of the Russian people and the world, and saying, "We are not going to wait for the United Nations, we are not going to wait for a condemnation, we are not going to wait for a failure of an effort to achieve a peaceful settlement, but we are now going in to take over the Turkish army and support it. We do not have to do that, do we, in order to stand by our Charter obligation, in order to be a great democracy? Do we have to do that? As I said here a few days ago, cannot Senators see what we do when we do that? First, we break a precedent. America has never done it before. It is a rather serious thing for America to start a precedent of this import. President Truman started his address by speaking of the gravity of the situation.

Suppose Russia should hale us to the United Nations. Suppose Russia should say, "All right. This is just the same as if you sent your own troops over. What you do by another you do by yourself."

Suppose it should precipitate a crisis. Then can we say, "Well, we did everything we could to avoid it. We went before the United Nations, we told Turkey to take them to the bar of the United Nations Organization. We had the matter aired on the agenda. We gave them notice that, if they struck, we would resist with our brethren of the United Nations Organization. Now they have ruthlessly attacked this little nation. What else can we do except accept the issue of mortal combat?" Would we not be in a much stronger position morally if we did that than if we did what is proposed, which might precipitate us into armed conflict?

I say, first, it establishes a precedent. We have not been sending military missions out of the Western Hemisphere. A proposal is pending today in the Committee on Armed Services to authorize the sending of a military mission anywhere. Such legislation has been proposed since last year, and it has not been favorably recommended as yet, so far as I know, from the Armed Services Committee of our own Senate. Evidently we have not been ready to establish a precedent of that kind. We have not been arming the armies of foreign powers. Now it is proposed that we do both.

Moreover, we go outside the United Nations Organization. Now let us see what else it does. In the first place, it justifies any other nation, for example, Russia, doing the same thing in any other part of the world. Yesterday, in a colloquy with the able Senator from Michigan, I said when Peron was shouting about Yankee imperialism, about our trying to intervene in his country—what if Russia had sent him word saying, "If you would like to have us do so, and you think you would feel safer, we will send you a lot of our good tanks and a lot of our good airplanes and a lot of good machine guns and mortars and ammunition. We will also send you over some of our good Red army advisers, who fought on the Western Front and hurled back the mightiest military force the world at that time had ever seen."

Suppose the headlines of the newspapers had said, "Russia considering in the Politburo sending a military mission and lending \$100,000,000 for the next 15 months to Argentina to equip and to train and to maintain the Argentine Army." What would we say about that?

Can we do it in one part of the world, and deny others the right to do it in any other part of the world?

Oh, it is said, we would not stand for it; if they did it, we would go to war. Well, perhaps we would. But the Russians may not understand what is proposed here, either. I do not know what they will do. I know they are not ready to fight. I know the people of that country do not want to fight, any more than the people of this country want to fight. I hope and pray that all of us will keep our heads and will prayerfully try to settle these disputes, that none of us will precipitate any action which would lead the world into another and unspeakably horrible war.

I desire to emphasize one other thing. At the present time we hear talk about

Russian aggression. I am told, and I believe it is a fact, that with all that has been said about Russian aggression, today Russian territory is smaller than it was at the beginning of World War I. They have aggressed on some of the countries. A little bit of Finland they have taken. The Baltic States they have reacquired. I wish those states could have retained their independence, but it is a little different when a power attempts to get back again the territory it once had within its area. All I am saying is that many people who read the papers think Russia has taken half of the world since the end of the war, when as a matter of fact the total area inside of the homeland is less today than it was at the beginning of World War I.

We hear people say, "Look at the country she has overrun." They say she is in Poland. She got the eastern areas from Poland at the Potsdam Conference. Her being in Poland was agreed to by President Truman. I am not saying he agreed to political interference with the Polish people's government, but the fact that today Russia has the eastern half of Poland, east of the Curzon line, was agreed to by the President of the United States and by Winston Churchill, as Prime Minister of Great Britain. I am saying also that the Curzon line was drawn under the League of Nations by a commission, back in the days when the Versailles Conference was sitting.

It would not be accurate to say that Russian occupation of the eastern half of Poland is altogether an aggression, when that area was stated by the Curzon commission to be more Russian than Polish, and when their acquisition of that territory was agreed to by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and the President of the United States at the Potsdam Conference.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Florida yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I have not heard all the Senator's speech today, but I heard his first speech, and have read it several times, and the question I am about to ask is prompted by his statement regarding aggression.

As I understand, the purpose of the pending bill is primarily to protest against or to stop the aggression of Russia. I should like to ask the Senator if he considers that there has been any aggression by Russia since the conclusion of World War II.

Mr. PEPPER. To answer the question in the larger sense, yes. There is no doubt that Russia has used pressure in certain areas about her homeland in order that she might, according to her own judgment, first be secure, and, in the second place, in order that, in her own judgment, she might have friendly governments in power in those countries. There is no doubt that Russia and some of those countries have exercised pressure.

Mr. COOPER. I have appreciated the tremendous support the Senator has given in his speeches to the United Nations. However, considering the spirit and the purpose of the United Nations, I should like to ask the Senator if he

believes that the action of Russia in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, and Finland has been in accordance with those purposes and principles.

Mr. PEPPER. I think the Senator will have to take into account that when the United Nations came into being Russia had already reacquired or reincorporated into her territory Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, the three Baltic countries. So far as I recall, she had also acquired part of the Karelian Isthmus in Finland. I do not know that in any instance the United Nations went back and asked any country to disgorge any territory it had previously acquired. But there is no doubt that Russia employed force, probably military, physical, and political, upon those people to get them back into the Soviet Union, where they were before the Germans, at the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, took them over. While there may be something to be said in justification of it, as I said a while ago, it is not the kind of thing we do, and I wish they had not done it. There is no doubt whatever that those people would probably have preferred to maintain their independent existence. But if the United States had had a war with Mexico, and Mexico had taken away Texas, which we have had as long as Russia had the Baltic States, and then 25 years later we won a war and took it back, even over its protest, I dare say that nations would feel somewhat differently about it than if it had been a territory which we had never had before in our past. But I will say to the Senator I am not trying to whitewash Russia. She has been guilty of a great many things that were not only provocative but certainly contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Organization; there can be no doubt about that. The question is, What is the best method of finding a basis of agreement? That is the issue.

Mr. COOPER. I understand that. I should like to go just a little further, though, if the Senator will permit me.

Mr. PEPPER. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. Would the Senator consider Russia's action in respect to other countries, not occupied by it during the war, and not acquired by it during the war—for example, Poland and Hungary, and now, as charged, against Greece, and as it has been charged by our Government in reference to various other nations—to be aggressive?

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator, I think, will have to distinguish between one group of countries and another. In Poland, so far as I know, the aggression has not been military because I was told by the Polish Ambassador here the other day, when I called him and asked him, that there were very few Russian troops in Poland; there were only some small detachments that were there to guard the Russian communication lines into Germany, and that those were the only Russian troops that were in Poland. I have no doubt that the Russian Government has exercised considerable political influence in Poland in the establishment of the Polish state, so it must have been noticed the other day that Micolajcyk, who is the head of the party that opposes the Polish Government, which is sup-

posed to be pro-Russian, thoroughly opposed the position that General Marshall took in respect to a change in the Polish border, and supported the position taken by Russia in respect to the Polish border being retained as it is today. There is the leader of the opposition, who has been bitterly anti-Russian and bitterly antigovernment, taking that position upon that crucial matter.

The Senator will, of course, recall that Hungary is an occupied enemy country, that the peace has not yet been made, that Hungary sent her troops along with Hitler's troops into Russia and attacked Russia without Russia giving any justification that I know of for doing so, and the Senator will recall that Rumania did the same thing, and that Austria did the same thing, and that, therefore, if the Russians are in there today as occupying forces, they occupy an enemy country whose forces went into Russia and killed Russian soldiers and Russian citizens, and plundered Russian property, and that their occupation of those areas is not dissimilar from our occupation of a part of Germany, or our occupation, under General MacArthur, of Japan.

Mr. COOPER. I think there is a distinction, though. I know the Senator will agree that in Hungary a non-Communist government was placed in power.

Mr. PEPPER. It was elected.

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

Mr. PEPPER. The Small Holders Party; that is correct.

Mr. COOPER. It has been so stated, despite the fact that coercion and influence have been exerted by Russia. I should like to know if those are the facts.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I have heard stories to the effect that the Communists in Hungary, with the aid of the Russians, have been putting pressure upon the Small Holders Party which won the election there. If that be true, it is unjustifiable, it is subject to criticism and condemnation. I do not know whether it could be brought before the UN, before the peace treaties are ratified, but I will say two things to the able Senator from Kentucky. The first is that the Russians were in occupation in Hungary when the Small Holders Party won the election; that Voroshilov was the Russian marshal there in command of the Russian forces, and that he did not intervene in that election. I suppose if he had, he could probably have prevented the Small Holders Party from winning the election, and instead, he could have aided the Communist Party, which had candidates in the election, to win the election. So the Russians let the Small Holders Party win the election. If, at the present time, they are pressing the Hungarian Government, they ought not to be doing it. But the Senator will have to remember that the Russian Army today occupies that country, and he must remember that we occupy Japan, and General MacArthur is certainly not putting any Communist or any Fascist in power. He is putting in people he thinks represent America's point of view.

We shall be able to complain, in my opinion, much more when we ratify the Hungarian treaty and then call on the Russians to get out 90 days after the

treaties are ratified, as they are obligated to do; and when Hungary then becomes an independent country again, to call on them to let Hungary alone. But I doubt very seriously if the Communists are winning any elections in the American zone in Germany, or in General MacArthur's Japan, which he is now occupying as the head of our forces. So, as I was about to say a while ago, when I hear all this talk about aggression, I remember from my ancestors hearing the story of Federal troops putting the Negroes in power in the South after the Civil War and disfranchising the white people who lived there. So, this is not the first time in American history that a conquering country installed the kind of government it wanted; but after the war between the States was over, after reconstruction days had passed, and after Florida and Alabama—Alabama is where I was born and reared, and where, as I was told, these things had occurred—after we had been readmitted into the Union, then there were no Federal troops there with Federal bayonets, and they were not putting one class of people in power and disfranchising other kinds of people. Some seem to assume that no nation in all history has ever tried to do anything with respect to a conquered people that was not exactly in accord with the idea of perfect democracy that all of us hope to see among the nations and peoples of the world.

Let us ratify the treaties with Hungary and Rumania. They are before the Senate, and we will have to pass on them. Let Britain also ratify the treaties with Hungary and Rumania, and then when 90 days have elapsed, let us call on the Russians to get their troops out of Hungary and Rumania, and if they do not do it, let us do the same as we did when they would not get Russian troops out of Iran, in violation of the treaty; let us haul them before the United Nations, and see if we cannot get them out in accordance with their obligations.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I merely want to get back to this one point: Does the Senator believe then that there is basis for the position that this policy is founded upon the aggression of the Russian Government?

Mr. PEPPER. I will say to the Senator I do not believe it is such aggression as justifies the United States today in doing what is proposed by the pending bill. I do not think the United States is justified because Russia, in the conquered countries of Hungary and Rumania, which went into Russia and killed Russian soldiers and citizens and robbed the Russians of their property, has not set up perfect democracies, or because it is interfering with the Small Holders Party. Russia could install any kind of government it wanted for that matter, while it is occupying those countries and while there is no treaty of peace. Every conquering country in history has reserved the right to do the same thing, and I had a whole lot rather the United States would not be in the position of being the defender of our enemies and an aggressor ourselves, in the opinion

of some, on behalf of our former enemies against our former friend. It was the Hungarians and Rumanians that helped kill America's sons. I stood at the Ploesti oil fields and saw there the devastation of those great oil wells and the machinery around about, and I had people come and tell me of the number of American boys that died bombing them. I rode one day along the highway, and back on the hillside was a cluster of white crosses. They marked the graves of American boys who never would come back from Rumania.

The same statement may be made with respect to other countries. I am not going to become so sensitive all of a sudden as to take up the cause of every former enemy and to say that Russia is the greatest enemy we ever had. Russia has not yet killed any American boys that I know of in any war upon this country, now or in any other time in our history. To read what certain newspapers say and what certain commentators say one would think that there had never been an enemy of ours who was as dangerous, as devastating, and as deadly as Russia. There are some who say, "Let us today build up Germany again against Russia." My God, how many American boys in one generation have the Germans killed? Yet today I hesitate to think of the number of people who will take the side of the Germans, who are criminals convicted by the nations of the world, if the Russians happen to be on the other side.

Mr. President, we have got to reappraise this situation. We have got to remember who were our enemies in the war and who were our friends. There are Senators on this floor whose sons are home today who would not be here if it had not been for the number of Germans that the Russians killed. I am not denying that we did our own great and glorious part in it, but it is merely simple arithmetic that the Russians killed more Germans than we did. It is simple arithmetic that the Russians engaged more Germans than we did, and while Mr. Churchill talks gloriously and grandly about Britain standing alone for a year, Russia stood alone for 3 years against the host and might of the German forces, from June 1941 until June 1944.

Is all that going to be forgotten merely because their manners are bad, because they do a lot of stupid things, because they have in many instances committed aggressions amounting to less than war? Are we going to say that we will break a precedent as old as America and we will thrust our fist in their Black Sea face? Are we going to reach through the straits and say, "No, you cannot come out. You shall not pass because you are committing an aggression against Turkey," which in the last war gave aid to the Germans, and fought with them in the First World War. Because Russia asks something from Turkey, another country not much less totalitarian than Russia, although they may have made some progress in the last few years toward democracy, shall we claim that our interference is a matter of self-defense?

A little while ago when Roosevelt said the frontier of America was the Rhine, there were many people who condemned

him. He may have been right or wrong, or he may never have said it. But I cannot for the life of me, as I said to the able Senator from Massachusetts, believe that today the situation threatens the security of America in such a way that we have got to send a military mission to Turkey and spend \$100,000,000 in the next 15 months trying to maintain, equip, and modernize the Turkish Army.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I can say to the Senator from Florida that I agree with him wholly on the point that I think if there is to be any peace it must be through collective action in the United Nations. But without discussing who has been our friend and who has been our enemy in the past, is it not true that the problem is now as to whether or not the United Nations will function? I will ask the Senator if it is not true that the achievement of peace must require the good will of its members, particularly the five powers, and, more particularly, Russia and the United States?

Mr. PEPPER. Certainly.

Mr. COOPER. I should like to know if it is the Senator's opinion that Russia has used the same good faith in the United Nations, in the Security Council, and in the effort to develop its purposes and interests, as has the United States?

Mr. PEPPER. No; certainly not. I think anyone would be foolish to make such a contention. I certainly have never said so and never will say so. But I say that that is not a justification for breaking up the UN and embarking upon a private war with Russia, declared or undeclared.

Mr. COOPER. I will ask the Senator if there is not the possibility that any nation—in this instance Russia—might use the United Nations as a sanctuary for delaying action while it pursued an aggressive course?

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I said in the first place that democracy has as one of its faults and one of its costs, delay. Wherever there is democracy, there is going to be delay. Wherever there is the privilege of speech and discussion, there will be those who use it to delay the enactment of legislation or to delay the decision of the issue. But I will say that, in spite of the fact that here on the Senate floor we have had many instances where there were filibusters and where there were calculated delays to prevent the enactment of legislation as early as some desired, we have always, or in most instances, eventually gotten over the hurdle and eventually carried on in the democratic way. Our society has not collapsed. While some of us favor the abolition of the filibuster power, while some do not think it is democratic, yet the Senate so far has not been willing to abolish the filibuster. Although a Senator can theoretically, and a few can effectively delay the Senate from ever voting on anything under the present rules, yet we have not seen a dead Senate here. That power has never been so exercised that, after we get over all the annoyance and the vexation and the delay and the retarding of the legislation, we did not

eventually go on to the performance of our functions otherwise.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield once more?

Mr. PEPPER. Let me answer the other part of the question. I will say yes, the Russians can delay, as can any other country, action in the UN. But the answer to that is that is one of the prices we pay for democracy.

The second answer I make is that, if while they are arguing against action themselves, they act, then there will be another situation. If they ever think we are stupid enough to permit the use of technicalities and listen to them veto and listen to them argue while they take over a country, they are greatly mistaken. I do not think there is any one in the United States who is so stupid, and the Senator from Florida, I can assure the Senate, will never be the defender of any nation which takes such a course. But I do think, Mr. President, that at least where action has not been taken, where aggression has not been committed of the kind that we are repelling or purporting to repel, and where we have never even brought it up in the UN, and where the Russians have not delayed consideration of a problem, that it is premature to convict them of delay or that they are using that as an excuse to do this kind of aggression.

Mr. COOPER. Does the Senator consider there is any force or strength in the position that this statement of our principles might have the effect of bringing Russia into a closer cooperation in the United Nations and thereby strengthen the United Nations?

Mr. PEPPER. I appreciate the Senator asking that question. I think just the contrary. Although I reluctantly comment on things of international consideration, I will say that I do not think that this proposal has aided the solution of the German problem which is at present under consideration in Moscow. I will tell you why I say that. If this is going to be a power struggle between us and Russia, the Russians are going to move every peg, gain every strategic position, occupy every strategic advantage they can possibly get control of or access to. They are not going to agree to the German problem being put at peace until peace is established between Russia and America. The first peace today to be settled is the peace between the Soviet Union and the United States. If that peace is settled, if accord is established between those two powers, the other differences will fade like the mist before the bright morning sun. But let that peace be unsettled, permit the war to continue—call it ideological, or political, or any other kind of a war—let that continue and nothing is going to be settled. If we settle it, it will be unsettled directly or indirectly, in some way or other.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. Does not the able Senator believe that our diplomatic forces have done everything possible within the power of a democracy to try to make an honest and sincere agreement with Russia upon practically every important question which has arisen between us?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes; they certainly have conscientiously, honestly, diligently, and patiently tried. It is regrettable that they have failed. I am not placing the fault with our people because we have failed so far; but I say that the peace of the world is so dear that it justifies us in continuing in the best way we can, holding our temper, straining our patience, exerting our efforts at good will, and doing everything we can save committing an act which might be construed by Russia and other nations as military action on our part. So far, thank God, we have confined the Russian-American differences to talk. We have not shot at each other. We have not hit at each other. So far as I know, we have not issued an ultimatum to each other. So far the differences have been kept in the realm of talk—and propaganda, I regret to say, each against the other.

But what frightens me is that we are doing something that is more serious than talk. In the first place, we started by sending carriers to the eastern Mediterranean. We sent the *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, loaded with planes, to give a demonstration over Greece. Every few days we read in the newspapers that we have sent cruisers, destroyers, or something like that. But today, for the first time since this proposal has been made, we are asked to send a military mission to a country adjoining Russia's borders, and we are asked to equip and partially to maintain a Turkish Army which is said to be there for purposes of defense against Russia.

What I am afraid of is that we are adding to the tenseness of the situation which exists today. I think it is tragic, if we are to do something of this character, that we do not do it with other nations, so that we cannot be accused of doing it unilaterally.

Mr. LUCAS. I agree that there is a tenseness in the Middle East as the result of what we are doing, but I ask the able Senator, in all sincerity, if he thinks that the United States is responsible for the tenseness which exists in Greece and Turkey at this very moment.

Mr. PEPPER. No; we are not responsible for it; and Russia is not exclusively responsible for it, although in my opinion she is partially responsible. The reason why I say she is not exclusively responsible is that I do not support the thesis that everywhere there is a Communist he was sent there by the Russians, and is directed and probably paid by the Russians. I know that I shall be pilloried and condemned by a great many persons for making that statement. I actually believe that some persons are Communists because they want to be Communists, and they would be Communists even if Russia were to disappear tomorrow. I think some of them are in Greece. I also believe that the majority of the so-called bandits in Greece today are no more Communists than the Senator from Illinois or other Members of this body. As I told the Senate the other day, I shrank when the Secretary of War went so far as to say, more or less casually, "bandits, or whatever you call them," in speaking about the 13,000 so-called guerrillas in Greece today who are armed. I believe that an

honest inquiry would indicate that many of those people are no more Communists than we are. I believe that they dislike the royalist government. They think it is reactionary. Some of their relatives may have been killed by that government. They feel that it is alien to their traditions, as the royal family is alien to Greece. We all know that the Greek royal family has not a drop of Greek blood in its veins. It is German. The wife of the present king is a granddaughter of Kaiser Wilhelm. I am merely saying that some of those people are fighting their government simply because they do not like it, and that the Russians are not solely responsible for that condition. While it may be said that Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria have been giving some aid, after all, I do not know that we could convict Russia for that. Russia may be in the background somewhere, or the spiritual source of such aid; but so far as I know, she has never been charged with responsibility for it, unless she is chargeable with everything those three countries do. I must remind Senators that those people generally are Slavs. The Russians are Slavs. The Russians have been the defenders and protectors of the Slavs. So at least there is justification for the Slavs in Yugoslavia—and the people of Yugoslavia are not all Slavs, although many of them are—feeling that Russia is their great champion.

Again I say that some nations may honestly be the friends of Russia without being coerced into such friendship. I believe that Czechoslovakia has deliberately chosen to identify herself with Russia. That is what President Benes personally told me. He realized that that was best for them.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. LUCAS. I agree with the Senator that there are some persons in this country who see Communist behind every tree. I have never been particularly alarmed by such persons. Undoubtedly there are some Communists in this country who are in the employ of the Russian Government. I do not know that to be a fact; but, as the Senator has said, many persons are Communists because they want to be Communists.

I desire now to recur to the argument which the Senator was making with respect to the patience, good will, and humanitarian effort that this country should put into a program with Russia in order to bring about peace. In my opinion, that is exactly what we have been doing. I for one have stood on the floor of the Senate in times past and stated openly and solemnly that I thought that certain individuals had gone too far in their criticism and condemnation of the Russian Government and her people, because we did not understand them, and they did not understand us. I have stated that I was certain that sooner or later the two ideologies could live side by side in a peaceful world; and I still think so. I shall not give up hope, because when we give up hope of Russia and the United States living together in this world, we give up hope for all humanity and civilization.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. LUCAS. The only point I desire to make with respect to the able Senator's argument is this: He is making a good argument from his viewpoint, as he always does, but it seems to me that sooner or later the time must run out when we can continue to listen to the veto of Mr. Gromyko and accept what seems to me to be a rather arbitrary and stubborn policy on the part of our Russian friends. It may be because we do not understand them; it may be because of their viewpoint that they cannot see any other way and cannot see the light as clearly as we think they should. I am still willing, as I said a moment ago, to continue to exhibit all the patience necessary in order to reach some kind of an amicable agreement with them so that we can have peace in the world; but some day, sometime, we have got to make a choice, it seems to me. Whether this is the time I am not certain.

Mr. PEPPER. I appreciate the Senator asking the question, and it gives me an opportunity to say a few things which I wanted to say.

A writer for one of the great newspapers, a man for whom I have respect, made a comment the other day upon my first speech on this subject in the Senate. He spoke graciously about what I said, but stated that I took only one side of the case; that I took only the pro-Russian argument and did not take into consideration the opposition. Perhaps I am unconsciously guilty of that offense. I did not intend to be. I did not need to say anything against Russia. That is in every newspaper and on many lips. It is seldom that we hear anything that might suggest Russia's point of view.

Take the question of the Dardanelles. I am merely saying, as Burns said, that we should try to "see ourselves as others see us." Let us try to imagine how we would feel if the straits of Florida, the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico, were involved.

In the first place, as the able Senator has stated, there is a tension between this Nation and the Soviet Union. We all hopefully and prayerfully desire to diminish and resolve the conflict and dispute. We all know that, if we work together, we can give the world the longest peace and the highest level of living it has ever enjoyed. If we fight each other, we shall destroy mankind. We all know that. Anyone who loves his fellow man does not want to see him blown to pieces by an atom bomb or killed by radio activity or slain by one of these germ bombs which are in process of being made, or in some other way wiped off the face of the earth. We all, to the very best of our ability, want to find a way to keep peace between this great new axis that exists today, one end dominating the Western Hemisphere and the other end dominating the Eastern Hemisphere. We do not want to see them in mortal combat across the oceans of the world.

This bill carries us further than we have ever gone before. It makes us commit the United States to the first military act. Sending a military mission to Turkey, financing the Turkish Army, and equipping it is dangerously near to military action on the Russian border. It is

dangerous especially when it is a precedent in all our history.

In the second place, under the treaties now in the process of consideration, Russian troops in Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria are obligated to withdraw within 90 days after the treaties are ratified. Suppose we ratify the treaties in the next 30 days? The British system is such that Britain can ratify a treaty in 10 hours. That country does not have debate as we have here in the Senate. I learn from the able chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate that the British have already ratified the treaties. Are there any other countries besides the United States, Britain, and Russia who have to ratify the treaties before such ratification makes it obligatory upon the Soviet to get their troops out of the country?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is the Senator addressing the Chair?

Mr. PEPPER. Only in his individual capacity as a Senator. I am not asking the Senator to commit any breach of the rules.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is partially correct and partially in error. The occupying troops have to be withdrawn from each of those countries within 90 days, except that the Russians are permitted to continue to maintain whatever troops are necessary, in their judgment, to protect what they call their line of communications to Austria. Therefore it is necessary to have an Austrian treaty concluded before the thing which the Senator is discussing can be concluded.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the able chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Then it comes to this: That when those treaties are ratified—and they have already been ratified by Great Britain—it will be the duty of the Russians to remove all their troops from Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria except such as they may find necessary to guard their lines of communication into Austria, until the Austrian treaty is agreed to and ratified. I believe that is a fair statement of the situation.

I realize that that allows a technical possibility that the Russians might keep more troops there than they might fairly require to guard their line of communication to Austria. In the first place, I think all of us want to expedite the Austrian treaty. I know our people have done all they could in that connection. But until we settle the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, we shall probably not settle any of these treaties, because if we are struggling for advantage, Russia will hold on to her part of Germany and Austria, because they are both strategic in the control of Europe and in the placing of her forces in Europe.

Let us suppose we ratify the treaties with Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary, and suppose the Russians keep more troops there than are reasonably and fairly required to maintain and protect her lines of communication to Austria. I have already said that the Polish Ambassador told me that they were keeping only a small number of troops in Poland to guard their lines to Germany, which I would regard as an analogous situation.

He said there were only small detachments to guard communication lines into Germany.

But suppose they violate the treaty and keep more troops than are necessary: Can we not accuse them of violating the treaty? Can we not take the matter to the United Nations and say that the treaty has been violated and they are committing acts of aggression upon what will then be independent countries? If the treaties are ratified, those countries become independent countries again. Will it not be similar to the case of Iran, when they had their troops there in violation of a treaty, and did we not get Russia to remove them?

It appears to me that the situation is on the eve of getting better in the central European area, right at a time when we commit what they may call an act of provocation, in the first place; or, in the second place, they may say "If you are going to finance the Turkish Army, or the major part of it, it means, in substance, keeping troops in Turkey in violation of your obligations under the Charter, although it is covered up indirectly, and therefore we will keep our troops in these other countries in violation of our treaty."

In other words, Mr. President, one wrong does not justify another. I know that when we start to put our money into a foreign army it comes very near to sending our own troops there.

Under the present Monroe Doctrine our principal commitment is against outside or European aggression. Suppose Russia were to send money to Mexico to maintain the Mexican Army: Would we not claim that that was in violation of the Monroe Doctrine? Would we not say it was an act of aggression in the Western Hemisphere? I am saying now, as I said to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Lucas] a while ago, our record is good in the United Nations. Does the situation justify our spoiling that record? Merely because the Russians have been doing some things which they should not do, are we now justified in doing similar things ourselves, instead of going to the United Nations and saying, "Let us stop the wrong-doer while there is only one." It seems to me that is the fundamental issue, Mr. President.

I started to say that I want to stop Russian aggression wherever it exists, and I want to stop communism wherever it exists, when we can. But that does not mean that we are going to intervene in every country where there is communism, I do not suppose; and certainly we are not going to back a reactionary corrupt government, a broken-down monarchy that is alien to the people it rules, and was put in under the guns of a foreign army—well, I will not say that, Mr. President; I will not say the British put them in, but I will say they were elected while the British Army was there, and it is never a good thing for an election to occur while a foreign army is in a country. Believe me, if this measure is enacted, and if we arm and train and maintain that army in Greece and another one in Turkey, it will be a political football in every election they have, and they will charge us with taking sides in every political contest they have; they

will say we are backing one crowd or the other. We must remember that the Greek Army that we are asked to support is expected to shoot down, if they do not surrender—if they still keep on their present course—the Greek people who are called the insurrectionists. Therefore, we shall be giving the Greek Government the power to shoot anyone in their country. You know, in some of the Balkan countries the government forces do not mind shooting their people. We are giving the Greek Government the power to shoot their opposition. A contrary course would mean that we were going to run the Greek Government and supervise everything that Government does and determine whom they will shoot, and that we are going to determine who is good and who is bad, and are going to administer not only their civilian but also their military bodies.

Mr. President, is the situation so bad that we have to get into that position now? Is the situation with which the United Nations is already dealing so grievous that we are going to go that far? Once we go in, mind you, we shall be just like Britain; we shall have a bear by the tail. Once we get there, we shall be stuck there. Senators talk about having us do this now, and later take it up with the United Nations. Well, Mr. President, when will things get better? Can we be sure when that will be? Do we expect Russia simply to disappear? Are we going to wait until we whip Russia, and then start a United Nations? If we do, I doubt that there will be enough of us left to join a United Nations.

Mr. President, we must take one thing into consideration: The Russians are a tough people. I think Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler would be the best witnesses to that. They are the only two who ever tried to get tough with Russia, really; and their testimony would not be very favorable to a proposal to start on such a course.

Some people say "Let us lick them"—as if licking them would be as simple and as easy as licking someone before breakfast. I am reminded of a story the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally] has told us. He spoke of a politician in Texas who, in the Civil War days, stirred up a great feeling against the Yankees, and in favor of secession. He said, "Why, we can whip those Yankees with cornstalks." But after the war was over, when that man was running for Congress, one day he was speaking before a big Fourth of July crowd, and a man in the crowd said, "Say, ain't you the fellow who said we could whip the Yankees with cornstalks?" At that, he was a little nonplussed, but then he said, "Yes, my friend; but, darn them, those Yankees don't fight with cornstalks." And, Mr. President, the Russians do not fight with cornstalks, either. They do not frighten easily. Do Senators think we can scare the Russians with \$100,000,000 which we might put into the Turkish Army—an army which they could swallow in a few weeks? What does this mean, unless we are going to back it up, except a provocative gesture?

Mr. President, when I was a small boy I learned a very important lesson. I was

a country boy who came in from the country, with some other country boys, to attend a Baptist association meeting. When the noon hour came in the local school, the little town boys passed by the church where we country boys were standing gaping at the town's wonders. There was a little fellow with the crowd of town boys who started saying some impolite things to us. The country boys pushed me to the front, to speak for them, and I started to reply. In a moment we were scowling at each other and almost spoiling for a fight, like a couple of bantam roosters. Then that town boy stepped back and said, "I dare you to just touch me." Mr. President, I made one of the biggest mistakes of my life when I just reached out and touched him, for he almost knocked my head off. I then and there made up my mind that if ever I was going to have a fight with a fellow, I would not begin it by just reaching out and touching him, and then having him knock my head off. All that the pending proposal does is just to touch the Russians; because I do not suppose it makes much difference to Russia whose army defeated Hitler, whether the Turks have \$100,000,000 from us, or more or less. If the Russians want to invade Turkey, I do not suppose this \$100,000,000 will keep them out. What it will do will be to give the Russians the provocation and the justification that will cause many of them to believe that the United States has forsaken democracy and the council table, and is going to get tough with them in their front yard.

So, Mr. President, it seems to me that this is not only a dangerous policy but an unnecessary policy for us to follow.

What else can we do? I wish someone could answer that question somewhere in the world. But I think there are a few things that we can do to help. First, we can amend this bill so as to make it provide for the sending of whatever economic aid we wish to Greece, either individually or collectively through the United Nations, and we can send that aid to Greece and help the Greeks all we can in that way. Then we can refer the security aspects of this measure to the Security Council of the United Nations, where they should be referred, and we can go to the United Nations and tell them that we are ready to do our share, and more, to protect the security of Turkey and of Greece and of every other country in the world, and that if Russia vetoes the action of the Security Council of the United Nations Organization, while committing aggression, we are ready to put up force against them—that we are willing to do what Lincoln did, to call for volunteers to save the Union. That is the first thing I would suggest.

The second thing I would suggest is that in respect to the oil in the Middle East, we observe the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which says that nations shall have equality of access to the raw materials of the world. Japan and Germany fought wars because they said they were "have not" nations, and that other nations had gobbled up the major part of the world's critical resources. In consultation through the United Nations, I would work out with Britain and Russia

a policy to provide some kind of decent compliance with that principle of the Atlantic Charter, so that the Russians could get some of the oil from the Middle East, just as the rest of us do. The Russians need oil to run their industrial machine. As the situation is today, Russia has a slight oil concession in northern Iran, which she finally got by means of the utmost exertion of her pressure. The British have one in the large oil fields in southern Iran. The British, the French, the Dutch, and the Americans—of course, I really mean private oil corporations of those nations—hold concessions in the large producing oil wells in Iraq; and Iraq is only a few miles away from the Russian border. Yet, no Russian has any interest in the oil fields of Iraq or in the oil concessions in southern Iran.

In Saudi Arabia, which has the greatest oil reserves in the world, outside of those in the United States, and perhaps the greatest potential oil reserves in the world, today two American oil corporations, the Texas Co. and the Standard Oil Co. of California, have the largest oil concessions in the world, nearly equal to those which all the oil companies in the United States, put together, have in the United States. There are two other Standard Oil companies; one of them is the Socony and the other is the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey; and they are trying to get in on that arrangement. The Saudi Arabian princes were over here, and they wined them and dined them.

I have had the honor to visit His Majesty, the King of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, who is one of the most colorful and interesting monarchs and personalities of all the world. There is a great deal to be said for those people, and I certainly want to see my country help them in every way we possibly can to raise the standard of living of their own people, with the great resources with which nature has endowed them. But none of that oil is accessible to the Russians.

In the second place, I would try to find some way of letting a major nation like Russia, which is related to the Middle East as we are to Mexico, have some share or some way to share, through some international organization, in those oil fields, so that they would not be able to say that we have shut them out of an area accessible to their own country, as if we saw foreign countries get all the foreign oil concessions in Mexico, and saw us kept out altogether.

I would do the same thing in respect to other strategic materials, in a way to keep the world from having war because some nation claims it has been denied access to some essential resources of the world.

In the third place, I would propose to internationalize the Straits. I would propose to put their protection under the Security Council of the United Nations. I do not know whether that would satisfy Russia or not. I believe it should be done through the United Nations.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. BALDWIN. As I understand, we have offered the possibility to Russia of

a treaty which would give her free access to and use of the Dardanelles. Is that correct?

Mr. PEPPER. We have proposed that the Montreux Convention be revised so that the Black Sea Powers, including Russia, may have access, with their merchant vessels or their armed vessels, through the Straits in time of peace or in time of war. That is my understanding of what we have recommended.

Mr. BALDWIN. Am I correctly informed that the Russians do not want to accept that proposal, but would accept it if they were permitted to install some fortifications which they themselves would control?

Mr. PEPPER. I understand that has been their counterproposal, that the Montreux Convention be revised so that those privileges would exist; in the first place, that the four Black Sea Powers should have responsibility for the control of the Straits, and that the Russians should have authority perhaps to establish bases on the Straits themselves, to be under their control.

Mr. BALDWIN. What further could the Security Council of the United Nations do than we have already suggested be done with reference to the internationalization of the Straits, if the Senator desires to call it that?

Mr. PEPPER. To answer the Senator's question, I would say that, in the first place, the decision should be rendered in the United Nations, not outside the United Nations, as is now being proposed. The Montreux treaty should be put under the United Nations, and the United Nations should work out the matter of how the Straits should be controlled.

In the second place, so far as I know the proposal we have made does not demilitarize the Straits of Turkish defenses. So that the Russians might be able to say, "You give this right to go and come, but suppose the Turks, who are going to keep the defenses here, and man them, do not want us to do that. What assurance have we that we will be able to get through in pursuance of this treaty?" So they say, I understand, "If you are going to give us this right, then let us help assure it by setting up a base of our own, not exclusively, but along with the Turks here in the Dardanelles."

My suggestion was, the Senator will recall, that we disarm the Straits, demilitarize them, and put them under the Security Council. As I said, I do not know whether Russia would accept such a proposal, but so far as I know, it has never been proposed.

Mr. BALDWIN. Has Russia, to the Senator's knowledge, put this question up to the United Nations in any way?

Mr. PEPPER. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. BALDWIN. Does not the Senator think that if they wanted United Nations action in this matter, it would be up to them to initiate it in the United Nations?

Mr. PEPPER. Possibly so. Nor have we put it up to the United Nations, so far as I know.

There is one other consideration which I think we will have to take into account. As I said, in the first instance, suppose the United Nations proposed to internationalize the Panama Canal. What would

we say? Could an American statesman agree to that without being put out of office probably? Suppose someone propose to internationalize the English Channel, or, to put it better, the Straits of Gibraltar, today guarded by the British fortress on the mainland of Gibraltar. Suppose someone should say, "Let us internationalize the Straits of Malta," where the British fortress stands like a great sentinel across that neck of the Mediterranean. What would the British say? Suppose someone suggested that we disarm Cyprus, where the British today have a base. What would the British say?

The Russians might say, I will say to the Senator from Connecticut, when we propose to internationalize the Dardanelles, "I will tell you what we should do"—as they said a few days ago about disarming. Suppose they said, "Very well, let us internationalize the Panama Canal, and demilitarize it. Let us internationalize the Straits of Gibraltar, and demilitarize them. Let us internationalize and demilitarize the Straits of Malta." Then would be the time for our face to turn red, would it not? What could we say? Can the British indefinitely, can the United States indefinitely insist upon one rule for a strategic waterway in one part of the world important to us, and another rule respecting a strategic waterway in another part of the world belonging to someone else?

We believe in the principle of equality under law. We believe in the principle of nondiscrimination. One reason why I say we can do more than we are doing is that I do not yet feel we have fairly and candidly, with the recognition of their point of view, laid down a proposal about the strategic waterways of the world which applies alike to them all, and deals with those dear to us as it deals with those dear to somebody else in some other part of the world.

Mr. BALDWIN. Does not the Senator feel it is just as much up to the Russians, if not more up to the Russians, to raise this question in the United Nations as to the internationalization of the Dardanelles, than for us to do it? Yet they have not done it. The Senator is talking about using the United Nations.

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator may be correct, except, again, I say the Russians may feel that, so long as the United States is going to dominate exclusively the Panama Canal and Great Britain is going to dominate exclusively the Straits of Gibraltar and Singapore, we should not tell the Black Sea powers who of them and how they are going to control the Dardanelles, which are immediately in their territorial front yard. I am saying that we are subject to the accusation of unfairness and hypocrisy when we assume to carry on the old policy, based upon the old position of the western powers vis-à-vis Russia. I wonder if we are not ignoring some of the facts of history, and one of those facts is that Russia has emerged as a strong power, the second to us, that Britain has fallen in strength in comparison with Russia and us, and that today we are probably the strongest power in the world, but that the western powers of Europe no longer have the force to keep Russia out of an

area strategic in character, and proximate to her home lands. If we are to lay down rules of morality, must there not be a single standard for all parts of the world?

Mr. BALDWIN. If the Senator will yield further, it seems to me that our difficulty with Russia lies in the fact that up to now we seem to have made all the concessions and they seem to have made none. Yet I think the will of this country is to do the best we possibly can to get along in the world with the Russians.

We have heard a great deal about Americans feeling that they must understand the Russians. It seems to me that perhaps now the shoe is on the other foot, and that probably it would be advisable if the Russians or the Russian Government should try a little bit to understand us. Certainly our gestures for the last 5 years have been all of an extremely friendly and an extremely generous nature, and I think the American people are beginning to inquire how long have we got to pursue that policy against a policy of no concessions whatever.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I wonder if the Senator conscientiously feels that we have been altogether generous when we are dealing with somebody else's area. Would the Senator say, "See how generous Russia has been with Britain"?

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator will let me finish this statement, then I will yield. Suppose somebody were to say, "See how generous Russia has been with Great Britain—she has let her have Singapore, and she has let her have the Strait of Gibraltar. See how generous Russia has been with the United States, in letting us have the Panama Canal."

Mr. BALDWIN. That would be a very generous gesture, since we built it with our money, after others had failed.

Mr. PEPPER. What I was saying is this: Are we being altogether generous when we prescribe conditions that are to govern the administration of that part of the world, when they are not having anything whatever to say on what happens in the British and the American sphere of the world?

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. PEPPER. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I did not want to take issue with the Senator this afternoon, but his very strong statements against our country, saying we are hypocritical, and we are not generous, are tempting very much to invoke replies. I should like to have the Senator explain one single instance when his country, and mine, has failed to be generous with every other country in the world.

Mr. PEPPER. If the Senator wants to take that attitude toward it, in the course of my remarks here, when I said that we are subject to the accusation of being hypocritical, when we said that strategic waterways in one part of the world have to be dealt with in one way, without admitting the same principle for another, I am sorry I gave the Senator any such impression. I think I used as the synonym of "hypocritical," "unfair." I first said that it is unfair, and perhaps hypocritical, to claim that we can tell

them how to govern the Dardanelles, when they cannot tell us how to govern the rest of the strategic areas of the world. If the word "hypocritical" has given any offense to the Senate, I will gladly withdraw it, because I am discussing to the best of my ability what is the sound basis of policy by which we can deal fairly with them and expect them to deal fairly with us and keep the world peace. That is all we are talking about.

Mr. HATCH. I want to say, in behalf of our country, that we have not laid down conditions to Russia about the government of the Dardanelles.

Mr. PEPPER. We are sending the money over there to the Turkish Army today because the Russians have made certain demands upon the Turkish Government.

Mr. HATCH. We have said to Russia with our consent and approval she should have free access which she has today. The Senator has argued that Russia ought to have the right to build military bases on the Dardanelles.

Mr. PEPPER. No; I have not said that; I beg the Senator's pardon. I said the Russians took that position. I was answering the Senator from Connecticut. I said my proposal was that they should be internationalized and demilitarized, if the Senator will reflect. I said the Russians, in counterreply to our suggestion, have said that they wanted to assure that ingress and egress that we proposed to allow, by building a base there themselves. I have never suggested that, I want the Senator to understand.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator's argument was critical of us, because he said we had refused to let Russia build her military bases on the Dardanelles. I listened to the Senator, and I am quite sure I am not mistaken.

Mr. PEPPER. We have opposed it; yes, that is correct. We have not acceded. I will put it this way: We have not acceded to their counterproposal that they do that; so I suppose we opposed it.

Mr. HATCH. I suppose the Senator thinks we should accede to that position.

Mr. PEPPER. I should think there is a good bit to be said for it. Yes; I say there is a good bit to be said for it. The Russians have got as much right in there as we have to be in Panama, to be perfectly frank with the Senator. Now, if we are to get down to the morality of these issues, I do not think we can wrap the cloak of holiness around ourselves and protect our strategic interests and say, "God ordained it," without saying that these other people have got something on their side, when they make the same demands. That is what I mean to say.

Mr. HATCH. I resent the words that the Senator uses when he says that our country is wrapping the cloak of holiness about herself. We have not done that. We never have done it. If the Senator would be consistent, and if he wants the Dardanelles opened to Russia and to be secure for her free access both ways, let Russia come to the Security Council of the United Nations; let them put the

whole problem before the United Nations Organization, and not attempt to bypass it, to use an expression that has been used so much. Let Russia come with that problem and every other problem, and I will say to the Senator that his country and mine will deal fairly and justly, just as we offer to do in this identical proposal, in the amendment offered by the Senator from Michigan. We will even, on most occasions, give up our right of veto. And if the Senator will say that Russia will be as fair and will be as generous and as just as we are, and not wrap any cloak of holiness about herself, but if they will come and lay their problem before the United Nations and let it be settled there, fairly and justly, and not let the veto power be used even on matters of procedure, the entire discussion will be ended, the world can be at peace, and there can be complete disarmament.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator very much for what he has said. Undoubtedly what the Russians should do about every dispute is to go to the United Nations Organization, but I have not seen the British running to the UN about Singapore. I have not seen the British running to the UN about Gibraltar, and I have not heard of our running there about the Panama Canal either. I do not know of any compulsion upon the Russians that does not morally apply to the rest of us, I will say to my able friend, if he wants to be fair about principles. That is all I am talking about.

Mr. HATCH. If the Senator thinks that in his statement he has in any sense justified the attitude of the Soviet Union, by comparing our attitude in the case of the Panama Canal with the attitude of Russia—if he gets any solace or comfort from that, and if he thinks that is good argument and good logic, I shall not further interrupt him nor take his time.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator, and I know he would like me to feel properly chastened, now that he has given me his rebuke and given me a lecture on patriotism, from the primacy of his position. I know that he must feel much better, and, since I think as much of him as I do, and since I understand how strongly he feels the sentiments he has expressed, as I do, I am going to say we are both very happy, because I understand the background out of which the Senator said that, and he feels much better for having said it, and now we may go ahead with the discussion of the principles by which each of us hopes to keep the peace of the world, and each of us loves America, to which alone we only owe any allegiance on earth.

Mr. HATCH. May I join the Senator in the hope and the wish that the discussion may continue on the real principles involved.

Mr. PEPPER. Exactly.

Mr. President, I started out by suggesting what I thought we should do about this proposal. I was talking about some way to reconcile the differences between Russia and the United States. I secondly said that I thought we should work out in some way the oil conflict in the Middle East. Then I said, third, I thought we should try in some way or

other to resolve the conflict over this age-old strategic waterway, and my learned friend from New Mexico, with his knowledge of classical lore, might say that the Trojan War did not arise because Menelaus and Agamemnon went from Athens to Troy, and that it was not fought because of the fair Helen. As a matter of fact, some say it arose because of an argument over the Dardanelles. So that dispute goes back a long way into antiquity; and sometime or another it has got to be settled; it has got to be resolved.

I am only saying that a matter can not always be settled without taking into account the point of view of the other fellow who happens to be affected, and who will question the other's conduct if he does not believe he has applied the same principle to him and to everyone else in the world.

The fourth suggestion I make is that we try to bring about international economic collaboration. Let us try to help all these backward economic areas to come under the United Nations Organization at least as to planning. I do not think the United States has enough money individually to back one group or another, or by gift or loan to make every nation in the world prosperous, or to prevent its economic collapse. I know what we agreed to in the United Nations Charter was that we would work together to help bring about the international economic improvement of the world and the peoples therein. I think that is what we ought to do and I want to be perfectly frank about the matter. I do not think America can confine the economic aid just to those whose political systems we like. I do not think we can.

When a man opens a store for business, if he is a Democrat he does not simply sell to Democrats or if he is a Republican he simply does not sell to Republicans. If a Communist comes in to his store and has money with which to buy, I am sure the storekeeper will sell to him. I presume that is the practice everywhere. If a Fascist should come into the store and in a modest and quiet way ask for a piece of tobacco and the storekeeper handed it to him and the buyer handed him his money, I assume he could turn around and walk out without having any argument or fight about the matter.

I think today the pattern of the world economy is so related that we have to help all these countries, and we have made a mistake so far, in my opinion, by permitting the ideological conflict between us and the Soviet Union to prevent us from finding some basis upon which we two can economically collaborate in building up the level of living of the peoples of the world.

Mr. President, is there not enough for all of us? Out there in India and China, in the Middle East, in the backward areas of other lands of the world, if we go in and work together and build dams and build roads and build air lanes and set up an economy that will be strong and vital and virile, it will mean business for American businessmen. It will mean more jobs for the American workmen. It is for us to try to find some way to settle this ideological conflict or at least

to keep it within the bounds of restraint today existing between the Soviet Union and ourselves.

Mr. President, responsible Senators have said that this plan is primarily aimed at stopping communism. If it would stop communism, I would vote for it 40 different times. But, Mr. President, I know that with as many billions of dollars as we have already spent, another \$400,000,000 is not going to stop communism.

I have in my hand a table which shows how communism is scattered around over the world. If we are going to tackle the job of rooting communism out of every country in the world or keeping it from gaining control in any countries of the world, we had better secure the help of other nations if we are to have sufficient resources to accomplish that task. The table I speak of was published in the March 16, 1947, issue of the New York Times. I ask unanimous consent that it may be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, the following appears at the head of the table:

HOW THE COMMUNISTS ESTIMATE THEIR STRENGTH

At a recent Communist conference in London, a chart showing the advance of Communists was displayed, giving the Communists' own estimate of their strength. The total world membership claimed was 18,592,300. According to the chart, all parties in this list base themselves on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. This is the listing that appears on the chart.

Then appears the listing of Communist members by countries throughout the world.

Argentina, 30,000; Brazil, 130,000; Canada, 23,000; Chile, 50,000; Colombia, 10,000; Costa Rica, 20,000; Cuba, 152,000; Ecuador, 2,500; Haiti, 500; Mexico, 25,000; Nicaragua, 500; Panama, 500; Paraguay, 8,000; Peru, 35,000; Puerto Rico, 1,200; United States, 74,000; Uruguay, 15,000; Santo Domingo, 2,000; Venezuela, 20,000.

All those countries are in the Western Hemisphere. Then the figures are given for the countries in Asia. In China there are 2,000,000.

Then it gives the other countries of Asia, and of Australasia and of Europe and Africa.

In Czechoslovakia there are 1,000,000. They are in control of the Government of Czechoslovakia. Are we going over there and arm the opposition so the Communists can be turned out and some party friendly to us put into power? If we could simply do that and quit, perhaps well and good. But once we get into the politics of another country, we will never get out until our fingers are so burned that we will give it up in disgust.

Mr. President, I realize that we all want to prevent the contagion of communism. We want to hold it in check and throw it back. But, Mr. President, I venture to say that the \$7,000,000,000 we have already committed ourselves to in the last year or two for use in foreign countries will be but a pittance

compared to the billions upon billions we will have to use in the future if we are going into every country and put up enough money to finance an army to keep the Communists from taking over, and if we are going to send a military mission there, and if we are going to put up enough money, by gift or by loan, to help that country keep the Communist Party out of power. France is at the very verge of having communism take over that country. Are we going to send an army to France or are we going to send an army to China or to some other country of the world to stop that?

Mr. President, the only way to stop communism is first of all to do what we agreed to do in the Charter, work together economically to keep a virile democracy in these countries where the Communists threaten to take over. I cannot believe that in any part of the earth people want to give up a decent democracy for communism. I believe that if we stay out of their politics and keep military forces, directly or indirectly, out of people's countries, we can help democracy to survive, and through the United Nations Organization we can protect the democratic peoples of the world against being trampled upon by the few totalitarian regimes of the earth.

Mr. President, as I said in the beginning, I respect what others have done and what they have said about this plan as the best method of achieving our objective. I agree wholeheartedly with the objective, but, Mr. President, with all the strength of my heart I protest against America, upon any excuse, beginning to send military missions to foreign countries. I am against furnishing armies to foreign lands. I am against America, the builder of the UN, now joining with others who turn their backs upon it.

I protest against America being placed in the position of being accused of dealing in power politics, and being more interested in strategic bases and strategic areas than in anything else. I believe from the bottom of my heart that in the long run we shall be better off, democracy in the world will be more secure, and every nation on earth will be happier, freer, and more independent if we let this crisis be the occasion when America will take the lead in saving the union of nations—our United Nations, which is the only hope of peace on earth—as Lincoln saved the Union in his time.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks excerpts from an article on page 83 of Time magazine for March 24, 1947. The article deals with the subject of oil in the Middle East.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OIL, THE BLUE CHIP GAME

In the subterranean world of petroleum, it is the international oilmen who play the blue-chip game. The players must back their gambling spirit with refineries, tankers, filling stations—and millions in hard cash. In this blue-chip game, the jackpot is the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and

the string of tiny sheikdoms in the rolling sand dunes around the Persian Gulf—Bahrein, Kuwait, and Qatar (pronounced "gut-ter").

Under these scorching deserts lies an ocean of oil, the fabulous wealth of the Arabian Nights. The ocean contains a minimum of 26,000,000,000 barrels (1½ times the proved reserves of the United States), a maximum of 150,000,000,000 barrels. How much is this worth? In cash, enough to make a hundred Rockefellers; as a military asset, as nations count, it is beyond price.

This jackpot has not lacked for players. The Nazis tried to sweep the tables in World War II by Rommel's drive into Egypt. The Russians placed a tentative bet only a year ago, lost out with their fiasco in Azerbaijan, Iran. Now Russia has raised the ante by threatening Greece and Turkey. Last week, President Truman dealt in the United States—in a diplomatic way—by asking for a \$400,000,000 loan to Greece and Turkey, accompanied by military advisers and weapons (see National Affairs). The loud talk was all of Greece and Turkey, but the whispers behind the talk were of the ocean of oil to the south.

NEW DECK

As the United States prepared to make its historic move, a potent group of United States oil companies also came to a historic decision. With the tacit approval of the United States and British Governments, the companies concluded a series of deals—biggest ever made in the blue-chip game—to develop and put to full use this ocean of oil.

Standard Oil Co. (New Jersey), world's biggest oil company, was the natural leader of the group; as Standard's internationally minded president, Eugene Holman, was the one who had a big hand in drafting the breath-taking plans. Jersey Standard and its partners were going to spend upward of \$300,000,000 in the stormy Middle East to bring out the oil.

EXHIBIT A

HOW THE COMMUNISTS ESTIMATE THEIR STRENGTH

At a recent Communist conference in London, a chart showing the advance of communism was displayed, giving the Communists' own estimate of their strength. The total world membership claimed was 18,592,300. According to the chart, "All parties in this list base themselves on the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin." This is the listing that appeared on the chart:

Country	Party	Members	M. P.'s
AMERICA			
Argentina	Communist	30,000	
Brazil	do	130,000	17
Canada	Lab.-Progressives	23,000	
Chile	Communist	50,000	20
Colombia	Dem. Socialist	10,000	2
Costa Rica	Vanguardia Pop.	20,000	6
Cuba	Popular Soc.	152,000	12
Ecuador	Communist	2,500	
Haiti	Popular Soc.	500	1
Martinique	Communist		2
Mexico	do	25,000	
Nicaragua	Partido Socialista	500	
Panama	Partido del Pueblo	500	
Paraguay	Communist	8,000	
Peru	do	35,000	5
Puerto Rico	do	1,200	
United States	do	74,000	
Uruguay	do	15,000	5
Santo Domingo	Pop. Socialist	2,000	
Venezuela	Communist	20,000	2
ASIA			
Burma	do	4,000	
Ceylon	do		
China	do	2,000,000	
Cyprus	Akel	4,000	
India	Communist	53,700	

Country	Party	Members	M. P.'s
ASIA—continued			
Indonesia	Communist		
Japan	do	6,000	5
Korea	do	50,000	
Lebanon	do	15,000	
Malaya	do	10,000	
Palestine	do	1,400	
Philippines	do		
Siam	do		
Syria	do	8,000	
AUSTRALASIA			
Australia	do	25,000	1
New Zealand	do	2,000	
EUROPE			
U. S. S. R.	do	6,000,000	
Albania	do		
Austria	do	150,000	4
Belgium	do	100,000	23
Britain	do	43,000	2
Bulgaria	Workers' Party	450,000	278
Czechoslovakia	Communist	1,000,000	115
Denmark	do	60,000	18
Finland	do	28,000	41
France	do	1,300,000	
Germany (Soviet)	Soc. Unity	1,576,300	
Germany (west-ern)	Communist	350,000	
Greece	do	400,000	
Hungary	do	650,000	70
Iceland	United Socialist	1,000	10
Ireland (north-ern)	Communist	500	
Italy	do	2,200,000	108
Luxemburg	do	5,000	
Netherlands	do	50,000	15
Norway	do	33,000	11
Poland	Workers' Party	600,000	
Portugal	Communist		
Rumania	do	500,000	68
Slovakia	do	250,000	
Spain	do		
Sweden	do	46,000	
Switzerland	Parti du Travail	21,000	1
AFRICA			
Algeria	Communist		
Eritrea	do	200	
Morocco	do		
South Africa	do		
Tunisia	do		

Mr. HAWKES obtained the floor.

Mr. DWORSHAK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me for the purpose of suggesting the absence of a quorum?

Mr. HAWKES. I yield for that purpose.

Mr. DWORSHAK. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Aiken	Hayden	Myers
Baldwin	Hickenlooper	O'Connor
Ball	Hill	O'Daniel
Brewster	Hoey	Overton
Bridges	Ives	Pepper
Brooks	Jenner	Reed
Buck	Johnson, Colo.	Revercomb
Bushfield	Johnston, S. C.	Robertson, Wyo.
Byrd	Kem	Saltonstall
Cain	Knowland	Smith
Capehart	Langer	Sparkman
Capper	Lodge	Taft
Cooper	Lucas	Taylor
Cordon	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Donnell	McCarthy	Thomas, Utah
Downey	McClellan	Thye
Dworshak	McFarland	Tobey
Eastland	McGrath	Tydings
Eaton	McKellar	Umstead
Ellender	McMahon	Vandenberg
Ferguson	Malone	Watkins
Flanders	Martin	Wherry
Fulbright	Maybank	White
Green	Millikin	Wiley
Gurney	Moore	Wilson
Hatch	Morse	Young
Hawkes	Murray	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, in speaking to Senate bill 938 which provides that the United States shall render assistance to Greece and Turkey it is my firm conviction that in the settlement of this question it might well be that we are entering an international no man's land from which we may find it impossible to retrace our steps.

I wish I could follow the President on this Greek expedition, but it seems to me it is more important to follow one's conscience and think first of what is best for our people in the over-all, long-time position. The President, I am informed, has had more than 6 months in which to consider these problems with his intimate advisers, while we and the people have had only 30 days.

The President, like each of the rest of us, is only a human being, and there are more than 140,000,000 people in the United States whose future welfare and destiny are to be affected by the course we choose to follow outside our own borders under the provisions of this bill.

Nothing in my whole experience in American life has ever surprised me more than to see the representatives of the people of the United States ready to commit them on a new policy, which could easily make us the policeman of the world so long as the police funds last, without the people having the facts and less than 30 days in which to understand the implications of this adventure.

I do not believe in appeasement, but I believe that we should not start any program until we have reasonable ground to insure its successful completion.

The Greek-Turkish adventure, I believe, is understood by the vast majority of Americans to be an effort to do two things: First, to halt the spread of communism; and second, to render aid to a valiant little country which held the Italians and Germans in check for several of the most important weeks in history during the early part of World War II.

I have given President Truman's proposal as much careful consideration as I have ever given to any subject that has come into my life, and I have found contained in it potentialities which I do not believe have been adequately explained to either the people of this country or their representatives in Congress.

These potentialities, which I believe are unknown or not understood by the people of this country, I attempted to enumerate in the form of questions in a speech before the Economic Club of Chicago in that city on April 7, 1947. I asked the audience these questions:

First. Can we successfully carry through with the thing proposed and the things which may happen if we start this new world program?

Second. Are you, as a private citizen, willing to pay your full share of the taxes which will be required of you if we become involved in a worldwide program against totalitarianism and socialism?

Third. Are you willing to do your full part physically and to contribute the members of your family to war, if war results from the act proposed?

Fourth. Can the people of the United States correct the evils which have been and are growing upon them through being forced to breathe the diseased air of the world which is befouled by communism, socialism, and totalitarianism, all of which survive only under the iron hand of dictatorship?

Fifth. How far has communism gone in the various countries which are now presumed to be our friends; and if we extend this aid to Greece and Turkey, how can we refuse extending it to China, Korea, France, Italy, and various other countries who either are now or later may find themselves in the same situation as that of Greece and Turkey?

In addition to the point around which these questions turn, the Greek-Turkish program has other implications.

In my opinion it will circumvent the United Nations and we shall have undermined that great organization and its possibility for worldwide service, and peace will be tremendously reduced—even destroyed. In my opinion, this last potentiality—the circumvention of the United Nations—is the most serious.

I am told that 49 out of the 55 nations in the United Nations are anxious for peace. I do not know. If that be so, I would not permit one nation, which dominates five satellite nations, to destroy the objective of the 49 nations.

There never was a better opportunity for a show-down than right now, particularly if it be true that 49 nations will stand together as a unit for peace if it be that we are to proceed, and I believe we shall, in making the loan to Greece and Turkey, then I ask in all fairness why this country should not find out from the 49 nations, who have been consistently voting with us in the United Nations, whether they approve the course we are going to take before we embark upon it. That seems to me to be merely good common sense.

I desire to go back to some remarks I made in this Chamber on July 25, 1945, just before I cast my vote in favor of the ratification of the Charter of the United Nations:

I have more faith in an informed people wanting to keep the peace than I have in the political leaders of the people wishing to keep the peace. It is my prediction that if we give the people full information as to where their leaders are taking them we will have done more to avoid future wars than we can by any other method. Let us hope that God may look upon this Charter with all of its possibilities for good or ill and guide us in such a way that some day billions of people may look back upon this turn in the tide of affairs and say that our Charter action, taken here now, started the world to answer the call of Him who said, "Peace on earth, good will toward men."

Mr. President, if I were to vote "yea" for President Truman's proposal, I would repudiate every single word I have just quoted above; and I believe that the President in making this proposal, without first assaying the feeling of the member nations of the United Nations, has with equal force repudiated the membership responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations.

It seems incredible to me that the United States, after having spent so much time in helping to organize the United Nations, should now choose to play a lone hand in the international arena, rather than to ascertain whether it is possible for the United Nations to be reorganized in such a way that one nation, with power of veto and an insatiable desire for expansion, is not allowed to block the peace of the world.

Mr. President, it is inconceivable to me that 49 great nations banded together for peace would let any one nation or any system which they devised breach the peace of the world again, when there is sufficient power available to stop or prevent such a breach.

After all, the world may be described as the biggest business organization in existence. The United States is the most successful and powerful subsidiary of the world. Other than in this international field, if 49 great organizations could not get along with 6, or primarily 1 with 5 satellites, the 49 would find a way to keep the 1 and 5 from destroying the great objectives of the 49 organizations.

I realize this is a drastic step to mention, but the world has been seeking peace since the beginning of time, and it has failed woefully up to now. Perhaps the progress of the world lies in the fact that there may be 49 nations who may be willing to unite in a determination to have peace, regardless of the resistance from a small minority composed of a great world power surrounded by 5 satellite nations.

If we do not find a way to determine the possibilities of ruling the world for peace by a combination of this vast number of national powers then we shall continue as we are going, dissipating our national substance to a point where we are weakened to such an extent that we have lost our power of action and then a bewildered, confused people will be the prey of any "ism."

We cannot solve this great problem by hacking around here and there, but we may solve it if we establish a program that is big enough and direct enough and sufficiently understood to receive the support of forty-nine fifty-fifths of the United Nations.

The people are looking to be led soundly and safely. They do not want communism in the United States. They would like to see communism replaced by individual freedom and liberty throughout the world.

The United States, by an overwhelming majority vote of its representatives, backed the program of the United Nations which banded together all the important nations to do the things which are vital and necessary to the maintenance of individual liberty and freedom and peace throughout the world.

I believe that the great majority of our people in the United States are opposed to isolation or excessive nationalism without regard to the rest of the world, and that is the reason they were in favor of our performing our full part, or even a little more, in an effort to make the United Nations work.

Like a vast number of our American citizens, I have been deeply distressed over the course taken by the former

Vice President of the United States, Mr. Henry Wallace, but I have not been surprised.

When Mr. Wallace was nominated as Secretary of Commerce, I recognized that his views were too far to the left and too much opposed to the underlying principles on which our way of life was built, to justify my casting a vote for his confirmation. However, the fact that Mr. Wallace is opposed to this loan is not in itself a good and sufficient reason for me to vote for it.

This question is so much bigger than Mr. Wallace or any other individual in the United States that it behooves every representative of the people to recognize fully his responsibility for his act before we take the step, rather than after we have taken it. No Representative should for one moment act because of popular clamor from certain quarters, which is based upon a partial knowledge of the facts or upon erroneous assumptions and information.

There are a number of people in the United States, among them some Members of the Senate, who are against this measure for reasons diametrically opposed to those which actuate my disapproval of it. No one who knows me and what I have stood for in private life, as well as in public office, could ever surmise that I am or could be in favor of communism, with its defiance of the Almighty and its subjugation of the individual.

We cannot continue to pay the bills of the world without committing national suicide. Undoubtedly, it will always be necessary to have a world fund to help weak Nations from time to time, either by loan or, in some cases, by outright gift.

If I had time to do so—and at a later date I intend to—I would put before the Senate and the Congress a plan which I believe would take the world off the back of any nation, and would put the world where it belongs, namely, in the hands of a combination of nations. The plan I have in mind involves an export tax on all exports of all nations, the proceeds of which tax would go into a common fund and be regulated on a sliding-scale basis, so that when the fund reached the amount of \$10,000,000,000, let us say, if it were considered that \$10,000,000,000 were sufficient for the purpose of handling loans and gifts which would have to be made to weak nations, then the tax on all exports the world over would be reduced percentagewise, and would automatically work up and down to maintain this world fund in an amount deemed necessary. But some such system is the only way by which we shall ever get the world off the back of the United States, without our making gifts and loans without any collateral or security.

It is time for all Americans to wake up and have their idealism tintured with a little realism, unless we wish this greatest human development in the history of the world to pass into history as a failure because we did not understand the human family.

I can remember Germany when she was strong. I can remember France when she was fairly strong. I can remember Italy long before Mussolini. But most important of all, I can remem-

ber Great Britain. Remembering Germany before the first war, would one ever dream that a great and powerful nation such as she could fall from the position of one of the greatest powers on earth to the position of misery and disintegration in which she now finds herself?

I ask all in this Chamber if they ever expected that Great Britain would today find herself in a position where the great individual freedoms of the people have been substantially destroyed, and her Government is taking steps one by one to nationalize and socialize the nation?

That is not hearsay, Mr. President. It has been stated in this very building, in the lunchroom, before Senator after Senator, by Englishmen who today are serving in the House of Commons. It is appalling to hear the admissions made of what confronts the British Empire compared with what we have known it to be.

Think of Great Britain admitting that she is unable to carry out the things in Greece and the Middle East which are vital to the preservation of her Empire.

Think of Great Britain admitting that we, the United States of America are the leader of the world, and must wield the baton leading the orchestra, and also pay the piper. I am not reflecting upon the British people, because I have a wholesome respect for those who would preserve individual liberty and protect private property rights, but I do want all our American people to look before they leap, and to try, at least, to understand some of the possibilities and consequences of the proposed steps.

There never was a time in the history of the world when there was more confusion, misunderstanding, bitterness, hatred, and misery, than exist throughout the world today. As I think of all the nations in the world, and bring to mind what I have learned, from travel and experience, regarding human desires, impulses, and selfish aspirations, and realize that the United States of America seems to be the only country in the world which has the combination of material substance and genuine individual freedom left, I wonder if we must not pause and think carefully, before we take steps which may snuff out the last brilliant lamp of liberty in the world.

It is so easy to seek to do good things without first analyzing whether we have the strength and power to carry through in our efforts to accomplish the objective. We must have more than the will to do and we must be certain that the will to do will continue to exist as we meet obstacles which try our souls and strain the Nation's financial structure.

No man ever intentionally took a direct plunge into great difficulties from which he finds it impossible to extricate himself. The first step may be a very simple one, and the first step may be the cause of the second step, and those two steps lead to other steps from which there is no retracing. America was built by foresight and not by hindsight. There never was a time when it was more important for the people of this Nation to weigh the results that may come from each step we take beyond our own borders into the unknown international picture than the present moment.

It seems incredible to me that any citizen of the United States, understanding the facilities of the human family, and the selfish desires and aspirations of mankind throughout the world, should not appreciate now that we cannot go where we will to go and do what we alone will to do, without incurring the enmity and the bitterness of those nations and people who feel that their internal conditions are such that they also are entitled to receive from us the same consideration we give to others.

I feel that this new international program transcends all our domestic problems in importance. It involves difference of opinion between great groups of people in our own country, and that difference of opinion can, through the turn of events abroad, be fanned into hatred and division within our own borders.

I should like to mark that statement. There is a great difference of opinion, and that difference of opinion in some quarters could very easily be fanned to the point where we would be a divided people instead of the united people that won World War I and World War II.

At the start of World War II, we were not doing so well in production for war until Russia became the ally of Great Britain and ourselves. We won both World Wars because we were a united people. Any serious, honest, American citizen has a right to his opinion on this subject of preliminary aid to Greece and Turkey. If it were simply aid in food, clothing, materials, and machinery, the wisdom of doing it might be an easy matter to determine. But the announced objective is not only to help with food and clothing and other necessities of life, but to strengthen those two countries in opposing an ideology which is contrary to the political and economic philosophies of our American system of free men. It is possible to cover up real facts for only a short period of time, and then the truth must come out.

In Europe and Asia, Russia emerged from World War II as the strongest of the victorious Allies, and in the Western Hemisphere, the United States, by God's grace, emerged from the war, her resources somewhat depleted by wartime demands, but her land intact and unscarred. Between these nations lie many smaller nations who paid a great price. Their areas were devastated. Their economy was distorted, in some cases to the point from which there can be no recovery. It is to the peoples of these ravaged nations that our action is most important. Our task fundamentally must be to prove that in a system of American representative democracy lies the hope for the preservation of individual liberty. If we spread ourselves so thin across the face of the globe that our resources are depleted, our finances exhausted, our standard of living reduced—then we are not good salesmen for the cause of representative democracy.

One of the ablest men in this country wrote me a letter over 5 years ago in which he said, "I make this prediction. Before we are through with this war and the after effects of it, unless we proceed carefully with the important powers of

the earth, we will find that we have been generous to a fault, with no ulterior motives, and yet we are likely to be the most hated nation in the world."

When I asked him why, he replied, "You cannot start a program of vast benefaction and then discontinue it because you were forced to, through lack of funds, without incurring the ill will of those to whom you have been a benefactor."

I remember the rest of the letter which I have not quoted. The writer asked me to keep the letter for 10 years, and he said, "If you live that long, I want you to look at the letter then and see whether I understand the people of the European nations." In the letter he made another prediction, that in his opinion the British people would later have more hatred for us than would the Germans, who were our prime enemies at the time.

Senators may think these things are meaningless, but I see these predictions beginning to come true today. And think of what will happen if we go ahead with a great program of \$400,000,000 in Greece and Turkey, \$540,000,000 in Korea, and \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 in China, and begin to carry that policy out all over the world and then find we are like Mark Twain's man "who tried to do too much and did it."

I have been in every country in South America. Is there a man sitting in this Chamber who does not know that four out of every five people in the South American countries are held in subjection by the strong hand of dictatorship? So let us ask ourselves over and over again the question, How far has communism gone in the world, and what is the best way to stop it, whether to use bullets and bayonets, or to set a great example and put our own house in order, and then do the things that are necessary to release the shackles from people throughout the world.

I mention this to show that if we give Greece and Turkey \$400,000,000 as an entrance fee—that is all it is, an entrance fee into a great show—and accept the responsibilities that go with that loan under the conditions proposed, we will be called upon by nations throughout the whole world for help, and if we fail to give like help to other nations similarly afflicted, we will have created an enemy in nearly every case where we refuse.

Such friction and ill will certainly will not contribute to the working of the United Nations. I care not who tells me it will; I care not who tells me that this move is not circumventing the United Nations. I have had much experience in various parts of the world with people and organizations, and I have seen organization after organization destroyed. Why? How much money has the United Nations got? Where is it going to get the funds which will be required? Why should anybody go to the United Nations when Uncle Sam makes it so easy to get \$400,000,000 here, \$540,000,000 there, and another billion, without even waiting to analyze the situation and with no suggestion of any kind of security, collateral, or anything else? Why, I would not waste my time, if I were free, out in the world, to go through

a befuddled mess such as the proposed action would make of the United Nations; and have to wait for 45 boards of directors' meetings, when I could get the promise of someone in the executive department or the State Department of the United States of America that I could have what I wanted without going through all that procedure.

During the open hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I asked our distinguished Acting Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, certain questions, and I am going to read now from the record of those hearings:

The CHAIRMAN. Senator HAWKES wants to ask a question.

Senator HAWKES. Mr. Chairman, some of the points have been covered in the questions recently asked, but I do want to ask the Secretary, Mr. Acheson, if we are contemplating doing anything that we did not contemplate the United Nations would do to keep peace, provided the United Nations was organized to the point where it could effectively do the thing that you are talking about?

Secretary ACHESON. No; we are not. If the United Nations was organized and had funds, and had taken the necessary preliminary steps to be able to do the things which we are called upon to do, there is nothing that we are doing which would be contrary to what they could do.

In my opinion, the words "called upon to do" were improper words; the correct words would have been "asked to do."

Senator HAWKES. Now, may I ask you, how do we know that? There are 55 nations in the United Nations, and I am told—I think we all want to be very frank, because the lives and the future of everybody in this country are involved in what we are doing. It is a tremendous step. I am not at all sure but what it is the right step. I am looking for information. But there are 49 nations in the United Nations, I am told, that go along on nearly every vote that has been taken with the United States, and there are 6 that seem to be on the opposite side. The veto power has kept the United Nations from getting organized to the point where it could do a job of peace in the world such as we had hoped it would be able to do at an early date.

Now, I am just wondering whether there isn't some common sense in knowing before we take a step whether 49 nations are in agreement with what we are going to do, and, therefore, we will have the right to expect their support after we have taken the step, rather than to assume that because they have voted with us here and there, and 6 have voted the other way, that they will come along after we take the step.

Secretary ACHESON. Well, Senator, I think I must have misunderstood your first question. I understood you to ask me whether there is anything in what we are now proposing to do which the United Nations might not have been able to do.

I did not say that, Mr. President. What I said was as clear as anything could be.

Senator HAWKES. I did not say that. I said, is there anything in the step we are going to take that the United Nations as a peace-making body of the world would not take if they were organized to take the step? I am not asking whether they would have the power to do it. I am asking whether in your opinion the thing we are going to attempt to do is something that the United Nations itself would do if it were organized and had the military and financing power to do it.

Secretary ACHESON. I did misunderstand you. The answer to that is that we cannot possibly tell. I agree with you. If this involved the use of United Nations forces, those forces could not be used without the unanimous consent of the permanent members of the Security Council. While we intend to use no forces whatever of our own, we could not, of course, be sure that we would get the unanimous agreement of all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Senator HAWKES. I think you can be pretty sure you would not get unanimous agreement of all the Security Council.

I am going further than that, Mr. Secretary, and I am very sincere in what I am asking. I am asking whether you do not think that this is such a great step, and has so many implications to it, that we should do what you and I as prudent men would do in business. If there are 55 concerns involved and we felt we had the support of 49 and the opposition had 6, would not you and I go and find out whether we could do it as an organization or not? Would we not find out whether those 49 believed that the step we alone were taking was right and did not circumvent the United Nations and the objective of it?

Secretary ACHESON. If I understand this question, I think I must answer it "No."

In other words, the Acting Secretary said he would not try to find out whether the other nations which were members of this great organization believed that what we were proposing to do was right or wrong.

I do not think that is a desirable step to take.

Listen to this, Senators—

As I said this morning in answer to a question, I think it is most important that we should not, by attributing to the United Nations jurisdictions and powers and functions which it is either not designed to exercise or is not ready to exercise, inhibit ourselves and other states from performing very basic duties which are necessary to maintain the underlying structure upon which the United Nations is based.

Now, when the Greeks come to us and ask us for economic help for the reasons that they do, there not only is nothing in the Charter to prohibit our granting that aid, but every basic consideration is in favor of our granting it, and not weakening our will to help one of the members of the United Nations, a historic friend of the United States and a very gallant people, by the sort of inquiry that you have in mind. No well-disposed nation is going to object to what we are doing. We are helping a very sorely pressed country.

Mr. President, I should like to inject at this point that there is no one in the United States who has a greater feeling of friendship and even of obligation to the Greek people than I have. I shall show later how the Greek people held the great German and Italian Armies engaged while the Allies were getting their breath. But this flag-waving business does not mean too much.

Senator HAWKES. Just the same, may I interrupt there? You say no well-intentioned or disposed nation is going to object to it. Who is going to determine what is a well-disposed nation?

Secretary ACHESON. Nobody is going to determine it.

So that means that we will not know.

Senator HAWKES. Do you not think we ought to try to find out whether this forty-nine fifty-fifths is in favor of the step we

are going to take, and get some idea as to whether they are in favor of it or whether, on the other hand, we will wake up after we have partially taken the step and find that we have lost friends who did not approve of what we are going to do?

Secretary ACHESON. No; I do not think we will lose friends. I think when it is quite clear that the thing you are doing is right, the thing to do is to go ahead and do it as quickly as possible.

Senator HAWKES. You are vitally interested, I know from my knowledge of you, in making the United Nations a great success in bringing about world peace. There is no question about that, is there?

Secretary ACHESON. That is correct.

Senator HAWKES. Now, what I am thinking about is, can we be accused of circumventing that thing and defeating the purposes we worked on so long by not having gotten any expressed opinion of any kind from any of the 49 states that have apparently gone along with us for the last year?

Secretary ACHESON. I do not think so, Senator.

Senator HAWKES. On what do you base that opinion?

Secretary ACHESON. Well, I base it, as I have been trying to state, on the basic proposition that the greatest error, I think, that we can make is to attribute to the United Nations powers and functions which it does not have or is not prepared to exercise.

Note that statement, Senators. I am trying to find out whether the United Nations, if it had the money and the power to do this thing, had the right to do it, and whether it was contemplated they would do it, and the Acting Secretary says he thinks we are making a great mistake in attributing these powers to that organization.

The United Nations is not designed and cannot at the present moment shoulder all the burdens of the world.

This is Acting Secretary Acheson speaking.

It has a well-defined field in which it is operating, and operating successfully. Perhaps that field may be extended, but it is not extended now.

There are duties between states which have not been canceled by the United Nations Organization. Therefore, when a state comes to us—a friendly state, a very gallant state, a state which is struggling to maintain its own constitutional system and its own democratic institutions of human freedoms—and says, "We are in a simply desperate economic situation; an armed minority with foreign support is trying to overthrow this government; we need financial help; will you give it to us?" I do not think you do a service to the United Nations to say, "Well, we have to go around and talk with a great many people first to see whether anybody objects to our saving your existence." I think we know we ought to save it.

Senator HAWKES. May I break in there?

I am not objecting to the help—the loan of \$400,000,000. That is nothing but an entrance fee into a show if this thing goes on. I am not objecting to that at all. I am inquiring into the implications of doing the other things. You understand, I have listened to your explanation. It has been very clear and very frank. I have listened to it very carefully, and the particular thing I am concerned about is, are we alone, when we have partners in a great peace movement, in embarking upon a campaign which may not have the approval of a very substantial majority of the nations of the world? And can we go through with that campaign on to the end and accomplish the objective—because Greece and Turkey are not the only countries in trouble in the world, and they

are not the only ones that are going to be in trouble? Can we go through to the end objective in that thing, or will we find after we have gotten involved in a situation, and possibly put several billion dollars into it, that we have got to say we undertook too much?

Secretary ACHESON. I do not think so.

Senator HAWKES. I shall not take any more time. Apparently your answer to me is that you do not think the United States has any obligation to find out whether its course is approved by the 49 nations or any substantial part of this 49 who have voted consistently with us to do the things which would accomplish the very thing we are talking about now; namely, orderly government in the interest of free people.

Secretary ACHESON. Not where we are asked to help a member of the United Nations to preserve its very existence.

Senator HAWKES. But there are other members of the United Nations who are fighting for their very existence today.

Secretary ACHESON. If their problems are placed before us, then they have to be considered by us. They may be very different problems.

Senator HAWKES. You cannot answer the question of whether we are big enough and strong enough to carry through on all these implications?

Secretary ACHESON. If I knew what the implications were, I would do my best, but as I have tried to say here, I do not think that what we are proposing this morning is taking on vast financial burdens.

Mr. President and Members of the Senate, that is the very thing I am saying, and that is the thing I am going to talk about, and it is the thing Senators are going to have to look at the rest of their lives. If we do not know anything about what the implications are, and the Acting Secretary of State, who is handling this matter, admits that he does not know—that he could talk about them if he knew what they were—if we are going to take a high dive into unknown international waters, plunge in without taking any soundings and without knowing where we are going, then all I can say is we are breaching faith with the American people.

I continue to read:

Senator HAWKES. Of course, if you embark on a campaign, you have China, you have Korea, you have France, you have Italy, you have any number of nations that are going to be confronted with these very serious problems of making government work. Are we to be the only nation in the world that tries to force that thing and spend our substance and funds in trying to enforce that situation so that those different governments can do the same thing that we are trying to do in helping the Greek Government, and possibly the Turkish Government, too?

Secretary ACHESON. Well, all of those situations will be different. Each one of them is quite different from the one you have before you. If you ask, "Are we the only source of capital?" of course, we are not the only source of capital; but there are very few others.

Senator HAWKES. Where are any others?

Secretary ACHESON. To a small extent Canada, Switzerland, Holland.

Senator HAWKES. Where are any others? They are mighty small.

Secretary ACHESON. They are very small, but they are potential sources for investment.

Mr. President, if what the Acting Secretary of State said means anything other than that he does not know how far this step will take us, or what it will

lead to, then it will be because the English language means something different than it means to me.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I want to summarize my thinking with respect to this grave question before the Senate.

I should like to interpolate that a short time ago I went to Chicago and there I talked for 3½ hours intimately with 100 of the best citizens of Chicago—not all big businessmen, but the best citizens of the city. Not one of them understood any of the implications. Every one of them said, "Certainly I am in favor of lending some money, because I want to stop communism." Who does not want to stop communism? This afternoon the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] stated that if he were satisfied that this measure would stop communism he would vote for it without reservation. Is that not correct?

Mr. PEPPER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAWKES. Who does not want to stop communism?

After I had finished explaining what little I knew about this subject, those 100 men in Chicago said, "You have told us enough." There was not a man in the room who did not say, "We ought not to do it at this time."

Last night I went to Richmond and talked to 400 people. At least 200 of them remained behind. Most of them were not what we call big men in business. They were small businessmen, the salt of the earth in America. Nearly every one of them said, "We are glad you came down here to show us this thing in the light in which you have placed it."

Some of them said, "We do not know positively whether we agree with you, but all we thought of up to date was, 'Is the United States going to stop communism?'" That seems a simple question if we take it as a side issue. But it is a great question, because no one has yet defined Communism. There are millions of people who are weaving around in a spirit of unrest. I say again, let us get our own house in order and let us set an example to the world to show that representative democracy does work. We have much to think about in the next 2 or 3 weeks, as to whether our representative democracy can again prove it will successfully work, so that we can point with pride to what we have done and get the lesson over to the human family throughout the world.

Human instincts are the same all over the world. Human beings want something that is better. I never saw one who did not, whether he was in Russia or anywhere else. They want something that is better; and if we can show them something that is better, we shall not need to worry too much about using any other means.

This proposed legislation, if passed—as it probably will be—will launch the American people into a new international role which, in my opinion, few of them know anything about because they have not had the full facts, indeed, I might say, scarcely any of the facts. That is my experience throughout the country. The people have had scarcely any of the facts. Those who have had some of the facts have had little time to

consider the implications of the proposed role of Uncle Sam as the international banker and policeman of the world, without security or collateral, and possibly without any partners. No bank would last under those conditions, and no nation can survive under them.

If this is an illustration of the way representative democracy works, then I can understand why it has fallen in many quarters of the world, and the people are again being harnessed to be driven by new masters.

What right have the people's representatives, after selling them upon the value and importance of the United Nations as an agency to solve the problems necessary if peace is to exist, to turn around and embark upon a new policy under the guise of another emergency, of which we have had hundreds, and without giving the people time even to understand the thing, much less time to reach sound judgment and let their representatives know what they want them to do.

Right here, I should like to pay my respects to the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] for the work he has done in connection with the United Nations and for his efforts in behalf of peace.

I wrote him a letter a few months ago in which I recorded my pleasure and satisfaction because of the firm stand he had taken in the foreign conferences.

We are all human, and make mistakes as we go along, but the important thing for any of us to do is this: When we believe we have made a mistake and are doing something that is inimical to the welfare of the people, we should be willing to change our course and correct the mistake before we have gone too far.

So far as I am concerned, if God will give me the power to stand by a conviction, I shall never vote again on any subject before I understand it, simply because I am told by the best men in the Senate that there is an emergency. We were told that the whole world would fall apart on March 31 unless we took the proposed action. It is now April 17, and the world has not yet fallen apart.

What is representative democracy? I thought representative democracy meant that the people choose representatives to represent the people, not to represent what the representatives alone think is good for the people.

If we get our own house in order and prove that representative democracy has the power to inform its people and the duty to carry out their crystallized opinions and convictions, then we shall have done more to eradicate communism from the world than bullets and bayonets and bombs can ever do.

I am aware that force may be necessary to keep the peace, but force must be used intelligently and it must be available in sufficient quantity to win the battle of peace and not lose it. Unless the United Nations is so reorganized that it has the power, based upon the cooperation of the great majority of the nations of the earth who are willing to keep the peace, then we had better buckle on our armor and prepare to protect ourselves against aggression and attack until ulti-

mately, under God, we and the world see the wisdom of peace versus war.

It is the people who fight wars, pay the bills, and make sacrifices of life and limb. They have a right to full information and a right to express themselves—and no emergency I can think of short of an aggressive attack upon us can justify the representatives of the people in proceeding with such haste as we are now proceeding.

Representatives may create wars—they do not fight them, except in rare cases. Sound judgment instead of the folly of haste can help to avoid wars, but sound judgment cannot be exercised without full possession of the facts, without political integrity and sagacity, and without time to analyze and reflect.

My mail and communications on this subject of the Greek-Turkish loan have completely reversed themselves in the past 2 weeks. Why? In my opinion because the people are just beginning to understand that this is more than offering aid to Greece and Turkey to keep them from the misery of starvation.

Mr. President, do not the people have a right to enough time to understand this subject and crystallize their opinion upon it before we act and bind them in a way from which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to extricate themselves?

If we have to proceed to establish peace under the plan of individual liberty and freedom without Russia and her satellites after the exhaustive efforts we have made to secure her cooperation—then let us proceed without Russia. But let us be as certain as possible that the other 49 nations, who we are told have shown an interest in producing world peace, are in agreement with us and want the kind of peace which we believe is necessary for the world—peace which contains the most important ingredients in human life—individual freedom with the acceptance of individual responsibility.

Mr. President, under the circumstances as they are put to me in this bill, and without full knowledge of how far the administration intends to go in loans and military aid throughout the world, I have no choice except to vote against the passage of this bill, even though I am in favor of rendering aid, without military implications, to gallant little Greece.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I had expected at this time to proceed to a discussion of the pending bill, but the hour is growing late, and I understand that many Senators desire a recess. I should like to have unanimous consent, if that be proper, to proceed tomorrow after the recess.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the request of the Senator is granted.

LABOR RELATIONS

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare I report an original bill, and I submit a report (No. 105) thereon. I ask that the bill be read twice and placed on the calendar, under rule XIV, paragraph 4.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1126) to amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide additional facilities

for the mediation of labor disputes affecting commerce, to equalize legal responsibilities of labor organizations and employers, and prevent monopolistic labor practices, and for other purposes, was received, read twice by its title, and ordered to be placed on the calendar.

Mr. TAFT. The bill is reported by a vote of 11 to 2. It entirely rewrites the Wagner Act and makes other important changes in the labor law.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I want to say in regard to the labor bill what I said at the close of the meeting of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I think it is due the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] and the other members of the committee. I think the chairman, particularly, is to be commended for the manner in which not only the public hearings but the meetings in executive session were conducted. All Members of the Senate, when they read the bill, should remember the great differences that existed among and between us at the beginning of the hearings, and then note how in a great many respects we have come together in agreement by what I think were reasonable and conscionable compromises. I think the Members of the Senate will agree with me that the bill represents a fine example of committee work in which men devoted to the public welfare did their best to resolve their differences on a basis of fair compromise. Reasonable men, desiring to accomplish but one end—to help promote the public interest without destroying the legitimate rights of either industry or labor—have worked together in the Senate committee reporting this bill and after weeks of cooperative effort they have brought forth a bill which, in my judgment is a constructive bill. If it should be passed by the Senate and by the entire Congress it would be a great constructive contribution to industrial peace in this country. I think that in its present form it is a bill which the President would not be justified in vetoing. He is a fair-minded man and I do not think he would want to veto it. Therefore, I hope that when the Members of the Senate come to study this bill they also will come to develop the spirit and the understanding which I think has come to motivate every member of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare which has voted out this bill.

I want also to commend the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BALL] who certainly has had views on labor legislation somewhat at variance with those of some of the rest of us, and who still holds those views, but I think he made a great many constructive contributions in the executive sessions of the committee, thereby making it possible for the committee to report a bill as fine as is this bill.

I particularly wish to commend the Senator from New York [Mr. IVES] who introduced legislation on the floor of the Senate, much of which will be found in this bill. He deserves a great deal of credit for the contributions he made to various sections of the bill. In fact, an examination of the final bill will show that the provisions in the titles of the bill dealing with mediation and emergencies were for the most part taken from

the Ives bill previously introduced in the Senate. Likewise, the provisions on breach of contract, as well as many other proposals in the final bill, were taken by the committee directly from legislation introduced by the Senator from New York.

I am very happy that on March 10, in a speech which I am sure my colleagues at the time thought was too long, I laid the foundation for my proposals for amendments to the Wagner Act. At that time I offered S. 858, containing the specific proposals which I recommended in that speech insofar as the Wagner Act was concerned. I am very pleased that in the bill which we are reporting today practically all of the provisions of S. 858 are contained in it plus some refinements of S. 858 which I have developed on the issues since my speech on March 10, 1947. In fact the bill which the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT] is now presenting as the committee bill from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is for the most part a combination of the Ives-Morse bills previously introduced as separate bills.

It is not often, Mr. President, that I feel motivated to hand out complimentary flowers, so to speak, but I am so deeply moved with regard to the fine spirit which characterized all of the deliberations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, including every member of that committee, without exception, that I think this statement of commendation for the work of the committee should be made at this time when the committee bill in its final committee form is being presented to the Senate by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. TAFT]. I want to particularly commend the chairman of the committee through whose leadership we were able to reach the fair, reasonable, and conscionable compromises which produced the final bill.

In closing let me say that if the Senate wants to pass constructive labor legislation that the President acting in good faith can sign, it will pass this bill without adding to it any of the drastic provisions which we defeated in committee. It is a bill which represents a great step forward in sound labor legislation. It protects the legitimate interests of workers, employers, and the public. It has teeth in it but is not punitive. It meets a public need and a public demand for a check upon unfair labor practices without destroying basic rights of free labor.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I do not want to leave a wrong impression regarding the bill. I think it is a good bill, and I shall support everything in it; but approximately four additional provisions which were in the bill as originally presented to the committee and which I think should be adopted were stricken out by a vote of 7 to 6. I do not want to give the impression that I do not think those four things should be added to the bill.

I must say that I appreciate greatly the statement made by the Senator from Oregon. I think he has approached the matter from a most cooperative standpoint. I do not think any bill in the

of the great Americans whom he has called to high responsibility. Warren Austin as our delegate to the United Nations, Bernard Baruch to handle before the United Nations the difficult problem of what to do with atomic energy, Fred Vinson as Chief Justice, "Jimmy" Byrnes and later General Marshall—a product of your own VMI—to serve as Secretary of State, Harriman as Secretary of Commerce, the late Max Gardner and then Lewis Douglas as Ambassador to Great Britain, Omar Bradley as Veterans' Administrator, General Eisenhower to head the Army, and Admiral Nimitz the Navy. These men and many others whom he has called to service command the high confidence of the American people and their selection has earned national confidence for their Chief, Harry Truman.

The strong and successful court action which the President directed against John L. Lewis—that widely known Republican—has given the people additional faith in their President. Furthermore, his actions in world affairs have, in general, impressed our people with his soundness. His recent visit to Mexico struck a cordial note in support of the good-neighbor policy. His recent leadership for affirmative action in aid of Greece and Turkey, small independent nations threatened by communism, has shown that he realizes that we can neither stand still nor practice appeasement and hope to have the respect of Russia or attain satisfactory steps for lasting peace. The soundness of his approach to foreign policy is best shown by the fact that he has retained strong bipartisan support in that field.

In the field of national affairs he has so far shown excellent ability to cooperate with the Republican Congress. He is fundamentally sound in his fiscal policy in insisting on balancing the budget for the current year which he has done not by Republican support but through Democratic efforts. The President now insists on keeping it balanced for the year ahead under the appropriations of the present Congress. Likewise, he has been sound in insisting on debt reduction before tax reduction. In many other ways he has shown that he realizes our Nation must make itself ever stronger on the home front, both for our own sake and so that our world prestige may be retained and enlarged. In short, he is making a record as a great and good President, winning the strong approval of his people as shown by the current public opinion polls, the reaction of press and radio, and other unmistakable indications such as the overwhelming Democratic victory in Chicago last week. His philosophy seems to be just the prescription that our Nation needs in these troublesome times of heavy postwar domestic problems and nervous strain in world affairs while we make the greatest effort of all time to work out with other nations a successful formula for world peace.

This being entirely a Democratic occasion, there is little need to discuss our friendly opponents, the Republicans. Last November they were throwing up their hats and making happy reckless promises right and left in a fashion which we had not seen for the last 14 years. I think it is fair comment to say that since Congress met their joy has largely abated. In the more than 3 months of the current session, they have not commended themselves to the people of our Nation by showing ability to work together on any construction program. Perhaps they will learn as the session grows older, and the Nation will be better off if they do. Up to this time, however, they have been split wide apart on such fundamental matters as the size of the national budget on which subject their House and Senate leaders have been wrangling in conference for 6 weeks. Similarly, they have not been able to take common ground on whether to give first place to debt payment or tax reduction, or on whether to support the activities of the armed forces

without material cuts or to cut them heavily. After some weeks they are still debating amongst themselves in conference as to what form the obviously necessary portal-to-portal bill will take. They are still laboring in committee to determine what their labor policy will be, or whether they will have a labor policy.

They have brought to the floor their serious disagreement regarding reciprocal-trade agreements and on the question whether they will go back to the isolationism with which many of them dallied until Pearl Harbor. They have, likewise, brought to the floor their disagreement as to whether they will stand by the wise decision of the last Congress to entrust the development of atomic energy to civilians. I think the good humored jibe of Senator TYDINGS, of Maryland, to the effect that the Republicans in Congress are like unto the army that marched up hill, and turned around, and marched right down again was a rather truthful description of what they have been doing this first 3 months and 10 days of the session.

As to what they will do from now on remains to be seen. Whatever they may do we should never expect to win on Republican blunders but on the merits of our own service. It is already crystal clear that between now and November of next year we Democrats have a glowing opportunity to keep President Truman in the White House and regain majority control of both Houses of Congress, provided we work hard together on behalf of our Nation and all its people, staying close to the traditional principles of Jeffersonian democracy. What a challenge and what an opportunity to all Democrats everywhere, particularly to you men and women of Virginia—and I am delighted to see here tonight so many ladies. A truly Jeffersonian program will always have special appeal for women.

It is my earnest hope that the Democrats of this great commonwealth, under the sound leadership of your splendid governor, your outstanding Senators and Representatives, and the efficient leaders of your State party organization, may fully throw the great weight of the democracy of Virginia into the fight to make such an unsurpassable showing of service for our country in these next 19 months that the Nation will joyfully and confidently return to full responsibility in the White House and in Congress our party, the progressive party, the Democratic Party founded by Thomas Jefferson.

The Labor Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEO F. RAYFIEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mr. RAYFIEL. H. R. 3020, the so-called Hartley bill, now before this House for consideration, could not have been a more vicious bill if it had been prepared by the most notorious labor-baiters in the country. It nullifies the gains which labor has made, only after the most desperate battles, covering more than a generation. It is virtually a repeal of the Wagner Act.

Few, if any, of the Democratic Members of the House will condone some of the acts which have been committed by a few labor officials, and many would support a bill designed to eliminate

some of the abuses for which they were responsible. But this omnibus bill contains many provisions which are intended to destroy the effectiveness of trade-unions, if not the very unions themselves and not, as its supporters so piously claim, to promote improved relations between capital and labor.

Those in and out of this House who have long been listed as enemies of labor unions are the most ardent and vociferous supporters of the bill.

If it should become law it would set off a series of conflicts between labor and industry which would make some of our recent serious strikes appear like minor disturbances.

It is a pity indeed that the supporters of this bill are so short-sighted that they cannot see that the reduced earning and living standards of the workers of this Nation which would inevitably follow, would also affect the very people in whose behalf the bill was introduced. Business succeeds best when the American workingman is employed at fair wages and under decent conditions.

Mr. Baruch's Address to the South Carolina Legislature

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BURNET R. MAYBANK

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 17 (legislative day of Monday, March 24), 1947

Mr. MAYBANK. Mr. President, yesterday at Columbia, S. C., there was unveiled in the hall of the house of representatives a portrait of the Honorable Bernard M. Baruch, in recognition of his outstanding work in the war effort, and in recognition of his devotion to, and many charitable and gracious things he has done for, his native State of South Carolina. On that occasion, Mr. Baruch addressed the joint assembly. I ask unanimous consent to have his remarks printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

If this portrait could speak, it would be saying what lies so deeply in my heart—home again! Not from a foreign shore, for I have lived for nearly 70 years amidst that most generous, tolerant, kindly, patriotic people in the world's capital—New York City.

But you are my people. This is the land of my birth, where my forebears, together with yours, shared hardships that were bitter from the earliest days down through the lost cause. They fought and died for their principles with a bravery never exceeded anywhere.

Defeated, we accepted that defeat. Although the victors placed unnecessary hardships upon us, we rose from the ruins left by Sherman to a wider and widening life, economically and spiritually. There was no friendly government to give a helping hand or to lend us money. The scallywags and carpetbaggers saw to that. But nothing could conquer the spirit of our people. As we did then, we can do again. I believe the

American people will rise to the responsibilities and dangers which face us now.

And this thought is true of other nations, too. England and the English people are not finished. A nation which stood magnificently the dreadful trials of war will not quail at what is necessary to be done in its aftermath. The vast opportunities offered to Britain by the elimination of the sweated labor of Germany and Japan will be grasped by her, to make the world an easier place in which to live.

From the time man appeared from the obscurity of earlier aeons to become the commanding figure among living things, his existence depended upon his ability to adapt natural laws—whether they be physical or economic—to his use. That is still the primal problem of our world—to prevail against animals and insects; starvation, disease, weather—and above all—his own incredible folly—war. Many advances have been made in science, but little headway in controlling economic factors. There is still the threat to our system of ups and downs—plenty and want—boom and bust.

Perhaps the first World War could not have been averted. Who is there to say that the Second World War—with all the danger signals shown—could not have been averted by adequate readiness and alertness of action, for war had indicated its coming as surely as that the day follows the night. Yet the world refused to face the inevitable. So, when the enemy struck, we were unprepared—militarily, economically, and spiritually. We had refused to learn the lessons of the preceding war. We fumbled and stumbled—industrially and financially—without taking heed of the mistakes we had made.

Someone has said that the only less history teaches us is that it teaches us no lesson. It seems to me that that is mostly because people do not read history. Particularly is it so in contemplating this second catastrophe into which we were thrust and the manner in which we are now handling the problems resulting from its aftermath.

On the martial side of World War II the spirit of America rose in a mighty effort. We fended for ourselves and provided for our friends. Nothing they needed was too much for us to give, for what we did for them we were doing for ourselves and for the common cause.

Our war was fought on fronts 15,000 miles away from each other. Never in the history of mankind have there been such military achievements. Marshall, MacArthur, Eisenhower, Arnold, Patton, Stillwell, King, Halsey, Nimitz, Mitscher, and all the young men and women in our armed forces added new and great glory to America. The civilians and workers at home did their magnificent share, showing that the greatest form of efficiency is the voluntary cooperation of a free people. You, in South Carolina, took a great part for you were always in the front with volunteers. Finally, the genius of our scientists, our engineers, our industrialists, produced the supreme weapon of all time—the atomic bomb. That we shall never give away, until and unless security for us and for the world is established. Until that time comes, the United States will remain the guardian of safety. We can be trusted with that solemn responsibility. Only two countries—really only one—have dissented from that declaration—Russia and its satellite, Poland, which abstained from supporting the American atomic plan.

So much for the past.

I wish I could say that the immediate future looks bright. But it is not entirely black. The future of ourselves, in fact of the world, lies within our grasp. The Nazis made a thorough job of scorching the earth physically, economically, and spiritually. They destroyed men's faith in their fellow men; in their governments; in their ability to do for themselves; and in the spiritual values of life.

There is no place left to which to turn for regeneration except to America. We must answer that call or we shall fail civilization in its most tragic moment, and thus fail ourselves. We cannot do it by loans, grants, subsidies, bonuses, or pious resolves. We can do it only by showing the real might of America—by justice; by helpfulness which insists upon self-help, and finally, by production and still more production. Then will come a respite in which the world may bind its wounds. Then man will find work so that he and those dear to him may live in a manner of his own choosing.

We are called upon from every direction. Can we answer all the calls? Not long ago I asked for an inventory of America's resources. I wanted this country to know what it has to give before it promises aid. If we find we haven't enough to help everybody, we then must help those who can most readily help themselves.

After the First World War, I urged that the peoples be helped to go back to work. Who, if left alone, is not eager to work, if through his labor, he lives under better conditions in body and spirit? That is the way to gain self-respect and regain human dignity—deliberately destroyed by totalitarianism, regardless of what label it wears.

Never has there been such schisms between segments of society. Never has labor been so powerful. And now it must use that power through leadership in cooperation or lose that power.

Today, as 30 years ago, the need is present. The same call is heard. Let all of us go back to work—to work, not for war, but for peace—to work under a system that gives each a share of the wealth he produces.

We will find that work will solve many of the problems threatening security—the interrupted productivity in America; the lack of coal in Britain; the deficiency of the food and other life supplies in Europe. Even the spirit of the savage enemy countries will be bettered by bettering their economic conditions. And that can be done only by work.

One of the world's delusions is that the world can be set right by borrowing money. It can get going only if men work. If we accept the challenge to preserve civilization, it means greater effort—greater even than that exerted during the war. It will be without the fanfare of war. It means sweat and thrift to make the things the world needs to start anew, the physical things which it must have in order to feed, clothe and house the peoples—to educate, spiritualize, medicated, transport and entertain them. Work is the alchemist that changes drudgery into joy. That is every man's goal—that is every man's right.

But we might as well look facts in the face: We cannot achieve our purpose with the present hours and limitations on work. Men and women will have to work longer and harder for some time to come in order to catch up with the ravages of war, if we are to regain our heritage; if we are again to be the Missioners of Hope and be rewarded for effort.

During the war I always contended the 6 days a week and 8 hours a day was the fastest pace at which we could go in a long war. That, too, would be the limit for peace. But if we adopted, wholeheartedly a 5½-day, 44-hour week, with no strikes or lay-off, to January 1, 1949, the result would be electrifying.

Production would flow smoothly; a sense of security would return to worker and employer; and the reaction upon the economy of the world would be deep and lasting. Until we have unity; until we straighten out and solve our own problems of production, and have internal stability, there is no basis on which the world can renew itself physically or spiritually.

And upon this change in our material outlook, there would follow a change in our sense of security. Make no mistake; our military lines are no stronger than the in-

dustry behind them. Unless we work, we shall see a vast inflation; unless we work, we shall not be able to maintain our claim to power. That would be the greatest blow we could receive, for it would strip us of our strength to preserve our way of life.

Let us not be deceived; we are today in the midst of a cold war. Our enemies are to be found abroad and at home. Let us never forget this.

Our unrest is the heart of their success. The peace of the world is the hope and the goal of our political system; it is the despair and defeat of those who stand against us.

We can depend only on ourselves. One by one our allies are—or they think they are—exhausted. That means they stop work. But usually we find that exhaustion is the result of stopping work and not the other way around. That can happen here. Don't let us be sucked into the maelstrom.

Be sure of this: Today we are on the brink of an engulfing inflation. There is only one way out. That is by work.

The more we produce, the less will be the cost of living; the more things we can buy; the easier will be the building up of our reserves, physical, financial, and spiritual, too, for we shall be free of worry, the absence of which is a sense of security.

As I say this, there comes to my mind, as support, the motto of our native State: *Animals opibusque parati*—ready in soul and resources.

And now I close by saying that no greater compliment could have been paid me than to hang my picture in the legislative chamber of my motherland. From her sprang men great in the beginnings of America—the Rutledges, the Pinckneys, the Lynches, Heywards, Middletons, Laurens. And in more recent days, a great Senator, Supreme Court Justice, and Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, has added his name to the immortals.

South Carolina—I thrill at the name. Deserving her place in history, by her years and efforts, she remains forever young in her determination to do even better in the time to come. And to that, as one of her proud sons, I pledge, as did our forefathers, my life, my fortune, and my sacred honor.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 17 (legislative day of Monday, March 24), 1947

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial which appeared in the March 29 issue of America, which is a Catholic review of the week. The editorial, which supports the President's suggestions for aid to Greece, indicates the belief that this is the best means available of keeping us out of war.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SUMMONS TO INTERVENTION

Why is there so much disturbance over the President's request for three perfectly obvious things? He asked that Greece and Turkey be assisted in a moment of extreme emergency; that trained American civilian and military men be sent to these countries to aid in reconstruction; and that the plan be put into operation as soon as possible.

Furious congressional debates are prognosticated; though it is our guess that most of the debates will be merely for the sake of the record. No clear alternative to the President's demands has been proposed, for none is at hand. The bitter pill may be sugar-coated by a few amendments and restrictions, but there is nothing for it but to swallow the medicine.

The nub of the situation is that intervention has now definitely come to stay. The President has no illusions on this point; he realizes the implications of what he is doing. And the same is painfully evident to his isolationist critics, as it is to Pravda and Izvestia. Once more a frantic attempt will be made to ascribe an inevitably necessary intervention to any convenient scapegoat—to Fascist influence, to the New Deal, to Wall Street, to anything but the plain and evident truth. This truth is that a desperate emergency threatens the security and the very existence of our country. Delay in action is a fatal waste of opportunity. Much sooner than we imagine we may be bitterly reproaching ourselves for neglecting it, as the world reproached itself after Munich.

The President is not "dragging us into war," but is using the best means available here and now to keep us out of war. On the other hand, if prompt action is not taken to preserve the political independence of Greece and Turkey, and to provide some sort of first aid in an economic sense to Greece, we shall find arrayed against us a rejuvenated military machine, a huge accomplished fact of a Soviet-dominated and Soviet-occupied Europe, and a prostrate Britain. We are not seeking war, but taking the only possible step to keep war from seeking and annihilating us.

Equally futile is the argument that by aiding Greece and Turkey we are conferring approval upon a Fascist regime or a corrupt government. "The extension of aid by this country," says the President, "does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do." We have always condemned extremists of right or left. But we are facing squarely the question whether free institutions of any sort can survive. "This is no more than a recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States."

If the President's course is adopted, will there be further demands upon the money and the manpower of the United States to meet with bindred situations in Korea, in Hungary, or in other danger spots all over the world? Quite likely there will be, and these will continue so long as a certain amount of boasting and bluffing is allowed to have its way. But this is not "embarking upon imperialism," or any such fantastic notion. Nor have we been forced to "embark" upon intervention by any cunning schemes or ambitious administrations, past or present. The simple fact is that in the last 30 years the immense evolution of the modern world and the phenomenal rise of totalitarianism have placed the United States in a position of dominance and leadership where we now have only two courses open to us: to intervene actively—through economic aid and political power—in every region of the world where freedom is threatened, or be resigned to our own and the world's destruction.

The President's brusque unveiling of this stark alternative has thrown the pink liberals and the "muddled conservatives"—isolationists and reactionaries—into a common fellowship reminiscent of the Hitler-Stalin pact. But decision can no longer be postponed. Only when America faces her full duty in the present can she hope in the future to be part of a peaceful and law-abiding world.

Don't Delay: Speed Greek Aid Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 17 (legislative day of
Monday, March 24), 1947

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial appearing in today's issue of the Philadelphia Inquirer entitled "Don't Delay: Speed Greek Aid Bill."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DON'T DELAY: SPEED GREEK AID BILL

Prompt and unanimous approval by the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the \$400,000,000 Greco-Turkish aid program stands as further heartening recognition of the urgency of this issue.

It is highly reassuring, from the standpoint of the need for affirmative action by this country to help stem the march of communism abroad, that the House committee, like the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a few days ago, has wasted no time on this imperative matter.

In addition, the House group's action represents an official answer to Henry Wallace, who has been denouncing President Truman's proposal—and the peaceful aims of the United States Government—to the British public.

The truth is, of course, that Attorney General Tom C. Clark, in his Philadelphia speech the other night, gave a substantial if indirect boost to the proposal for help for Greece and Turkey when he declared that anyone "who tells the people of Europe that the United States is committed to a ruthless imperialism and war with the Soviet Union tells a lie."

Thus, without mentioning names, the Attorney General handed a stinging rebuke not only to Wallace but to other Americans, in and out of Congress, who are trying to scuttle the Truman plan by charging that this country, in moving for political freedom in Europe, is following the pattern of aggression.

Nothing could be further from the facts. The plain question involved is whether preventive steps against a form of actual aggression—the imposing by a great and powerful nation of its will upon relatively weak countries—shall be taken now, while there is time and opportunity to make them count, or whether to await an indefinite future when the damage already done to the peace of Europe might be irreparable.

There is nothing to show, as of this date, that the Soviet Union has changed or even modified its expansionist policies. On the contrary, only within the last few days has come new evidence, through Associated Press dispatches, of a Moscow-directed super-administration of the Balkans which purportedly controls military operations beyond the Greek border and dominates political thought in Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

There is nothing new about such charges as these. What is new, however, is the detailed disclosure of the organization of Moscow-trained men and women who allegedly get their orders from the Kremlin and have put in operation a superstate that functions with the approval of the Soviet Union.

That Marshal Tito, of Yugoslavia, is said to be a leader in this imperialist, pro-Communist set-up is no surprise to Americans.

But the point is that if neither the efforts of the United Nations to make a real start

for world stability nor the peace-striving meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers have caused the Moscow Politburo to check its expansionist ambitions, there is need for the utmost speed if the United States hopes to accomplish anything whatever for the preservation of independence in eastern Europe.

The first requirement now is that the proposal in Congress to provide aid for Greece and Turkey should carry a connecting link to the United Nations. The amended Vandenberg plan, now in the Senate bill, but not yet incorporated in the House bill, would permit the United Nations to have a part in ending American aid if or when the need for aid passes. Such a link between American and United Nations procedures is essential.

The second requirement is for both House and Senate to push the aid program to enactment with all possible dispatch. This is not the time for dilatory tactics in the House or filibusters in the Senate. It is time for prompt, wholehearted action by Congress to promote, through this measure, the economic upbuilding of Europe and the maintenance of world peace.

Statement of Principles Dealing With Labor-Management Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 17 (legislative day of
Monday, March 24), 1947

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial headed "The Chamber's Formula," published in the April 12 issue of the Pittsburgh Press. The editorial states that under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh a group of leaders representing both management and labor unions have drafted a statement of principles dealing with labor-management relations.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHAMBER'S FORMULA

Under the auspices of the chamber of commerce a group of leaders representing both management and labor unions have drafted a statement of principles dealing with labor-management relations.

This statement apparently is designed as a general document on which the sponsors hope all labor unions and all employers in this area will agree.

There is, as a matter of fact, nothing new in the statement. The principles it enunciates either are already accepted or should be generally accepted.

Only the most obsolete minds either in unions or in management could fail to agree on all of the 10 points set out in the chamber of commerce statement.

The significance of these principles does not lie in their originality. They have been standard objectives since labor-management relations began. And by now all hands at least give lip service to them. Hardly anyone dares eschew any of them.

Despite this, they are not universally respected.

For instance, violation of contracts is an old story. Both employers and unions have been accused of it. In many cases the breach has been all too obvious.

So, if the higher-ups of management and unions will adopt these principles in good faith, as suggested by the group which drafted them, it will be a long step toward more constructive industrial relations in this area.

Neither side need hesitate about accepting these principles. While they are spread out over 10 specific points, they all add up to one thing: The right of every man to free choice of his course and the dignity of his person.

Once such principles are instilled in the minds and hearts of the leaders on both sides, once it becomes possible to accept them honestly and trustfully, the way will be cleared to decency and sincerity in labor relations.

From then on the path of collective bargaining and the road to more abundant production will be relatively easy.

The Loyalty Order

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLEN H. TAYLOR

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, April 17 (legislative day of Monday, March 24), 1947

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful and incisive critique of the recent loyalty order by four brilliant jurists on the faculty of the Harvard Law School. It appeared as a letter to the editor of the New York Times on Sunday, April 13, 1947. Because of the distinguished character of the writers, the editor of the Times prefaced the letter with an introductory note, which I also wish to insert.

There being no objection, the letter and introductory note were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LOYALTY ORDER—PROCEDURE TERMED INADEQUATE AND DEFECTS POINTED OUT

(Of the writers of the following letter, Mr. Griswold is dean of the Harvard Law School; Mr. Scott, an authority on the law of trusts; Mr. Katz and Mr. Chafee, who served as vice chairman of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, are professors of law at that school.)

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The moral and political validity of the Executive order "prescribing procedures for the administration of an employee's loyalty program in the executive branch of the Government" will be measured by its efficacy in achieving its twin purposes. As stated, these are: to afford "maximum protection * * * [to] the United States against infiltration of disloyal persons into the ranks of its employees," and to afford "equal protection from unfounded accusations of disloyalty * * * [to] the loyal employees of the Government."

It is possible so to administer the order as to accomplish these ends. It is also possible so to administer the order as to miss genuine culprits, victimize innocent persons, discourage entry into the public service and leave both the Government and the American people with a hangover sense of futility and indignity.

The nature of the administration will hinge upon the procedures to be followed. This is the nub of the business. Here, as so often in our history, moral and political issues come to focus in a question of procedure. Although the order purports to prescribe a procedure, the prescription is shadowy and incomplete.

Conceivably, the silences of the draftsmen may be redeemed by wisdom in execution. At this time, however, we can only appraise the order according to its terms. The procedure actually described is quite inadequate. It fails to take due account of the gravity of the sanctions invoked against a person to whom the prohibitions of the order may be deemed to apply. It fails to draw upon the cumulative experience of courts and administrative agencies. It fails also to give effect to the conception of sound administrative procedure reflected in the very recently enacted Administrative Procedure Act.

MEANING OF DISMISSAL

It is imperative to keep clearly in mind what a dismissal under the order means. Far more is involved than the loss of job. It means that:

1. The person dismissed will be denied all opportunity for employment anywhere in the Federal Government.
2. As a practical consequence, he will also lose almost all possibility of finding employment within any State or municipal government.
3. Also, he will encounter special difficulties in obtaining employment in private organizations.

Consider the case of one who, for 20 or 30 years—his entire mature life—has worked in the Forestry Service, or the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture, or the Postal Service, or the Bureau of Standards, or the Tennessee Valley Authority. To deny him all opportunity for employment in governmental service, Federal, State or municipal, is to deprive him of the only means of livelihood for which he has any training or experience.

The tested wisdom of our tradition and national experience dictate that no sanction so drastic shall be applied save after adjudication of wrongdoing based upon a full hearing before responsible and impartial public officers, who are not themselves in fear of losing their own jobs.

The Executive order provides for a hearing of sorts before a "loyalty board" in the particular department or agency, whose members are to be appointed by the departmental or agency head from the personnel of the department or agency. Since Cabinet officers and other senior personnel are unlikely to have either the time or the taste for such service, the membership will tend to be drawn from third or fourth line employees, who will themselves feel none too secure.

EVIDENCE AT HEARING

And the nature of the hearing? The suspected "officer or employee shall be served with a written notice of such hearing in sufficient time, and shall be informed therein of the nature of the charges against him in sufficient detail, so that he will be enabled to prepare his defense." So far, good. But—"The charges shall be stated as specifically and completely as, in the discretion of the employing department or agency, security considerations permit."

The accused is also given a "right to reply to such charges in writing," and a "right to appear before such board personally, to be accompanied by counsel or representatives of his own choosing, and to present evidence on his behalf. * * * There the prescription ends. There is no provision that the accused shall be confronted by such evidence as there may be to support the charges against him, so that he may undertake to rebut it. Indeed, there is no requirement that the evidence against him shall be introduced at the hearing at all.

No provision is made for a detailed record of the hearing or, for that matter, for a record of any kind. There is no requirement that the findings of the loyalty board must be supported by the evidence. In fact, there is no requirement that the loyalty board make any findings whatever. After the

"hearing," the loyalty board makes its recommendation to the head of the department or agency. If the recommendation is for removal and is accepted by the departmental head, his decision is subject to an appeal to the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission, which, after review, makes an advisory recommendation.

Since there is no provision for a record, it is by no means clear what the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission will review or on what basis. The order is, moreover, wholly silent as to the procedure to be followed by the Loyalty Review Board upon such review. The membership of the Loyalty Review Board is to be appointed from "officers or employees of the Civil Service Commission," presumably by the Commission.

IMPALPABLE STANDARD

This tells its own tale, but the tale is not yet complete. The charges against the suspected public officer or employee will derive their significance from the standards of wrongdoing defined by the order. The governing standard is explicit. "The standard for the refusal of employment or the removal from employment * * * shall be that * * * reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States." Even in the most mature and most careful and fairest of hearings, it would be sufficiently difficult for the defendant to come to grips with so impalpable a standard.

But even this is not all. The "activities and associations of an * * * employee which may be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty may include one or more of the following: * * * Membership in affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

Here we swim in a sea of ambiguity. Is the Attorney General's designation to be taken as final? May the defendant undertake to show that a group with which he is sympathetically associated is not subversive, or must he limit his defense to an attempt to show that he has no connection with the organization? If he concedes his membership, and is foreclosed by the Attorney General's characterization of the organization, will this be taken as proof that he, as an individual, is likewise subversive, or at least as reasonable grounds for belief that he is disloyal? Where is the burden of proof? Is it on the accused?

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

These are questions which can be answered, and answered in such a way as to maintain both the integrity of our free institutions and realistic possibilities of control. The task is arduous, but does not lie beyond the reach of legal and administrative imagination and technique. There is an implication of surrender in the apparent abandonment of the elementary requirements that charges be supported, that issues be clearly defined, that the burden of proof be clearly assigned, and that an adjudication must be based upon evidence with which the defendant has been confronted.

As has already been indicated, the order embodies a novel variation of a familiar system of control—licensing. In effect, the public service is made a licensed activity, and a public officer or employee dismissed under the order is in the position of one whose license to pursue his calling has been revoked.

The settled practice of many administrative agencies, judicial decisions without

least, is made up of obsolete instruments, already outmoded although they were manufactured only 2 years ago.

On the other hand, they were just as unanimous in pointing out that thousands of Army veterans would appreciate an opportunity to buy some equipment for souvenirs, if nothing more. WAA gave them no chance, however; it was sold only "sight unseen."

From the WAA side came word that that agency could not be held responsible for selling the thousands of dollars worth of instruments as junk.

Officials there explained that if the crates and boxes were declared surplus by the Army Air Force, they were immediately put up for sale. It was the responsibility of the Army either to remove contents of the boxes or permit their sale.

Meanwhile, the Carnation Co. officials still believe the 50 wooden boxes they bought will be ideal to put on customers' porches this summer to store milk when it is delivered.

But they're a little puzzled on how they can attach or use the glide-bomber sights on their milk trucks, and, at last reports, it was apparent the stack of instruments in the company's garage represents a dead loss as far as the dairy industry is concerned.

"We told the WAA about finding the instruments in the boxes," one Carnation man said, "and nobody out there seemed very interested. In fact, what they advised us to do was to throw 'em in the river. Seems kind of a shame; doesn't it?"

Price Fixing of Gas and Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT THOMAS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mr. THOMAS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following telegram:

HOUSTON, TEX., April 14, 1947.

Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON,

Washington, D. C.:

Respectfully urge that your committee favorably report Rizley bill, H. R. 2185. The Federal Power Commission's practice in fixing the price of gas at the well and regulating the end use of gas is disrupting the economy of the entire oil and gas producing industry. True conservation of oil and gas which the American people expect and demand cannot be attained under such governmental interference. Producers of oil and gas must operate under an economy free of Government price fixing. Presently they cannot build the necessary plants for the stripping of liquid hydrocarbons from gas and sale of the residue gas into interstate commerce. Building of such plants under the present interpretations of the law and regulations of the Federal Power Commission might result in their being declared a utility which would mean their ruin. This would cripple the oil and gas producing industry to an extent that reserves will be depleted instead of being built up resulting in shortages of petroleum products and having a bad effect on the entire economy and safety of this Nation.

It is just as practical and reasonable for the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate the prices and uses of all commodities that move in interstate commerce as it is for the Federal Power Commission to exercise the authority it is presently usurping. Their agents are infesting the offices of oil and

gas producers for the purpose of finding an excuse to classify such producers as a utility and bring them under their complete domination and regulation. Producers are withholding gas from the market for fear of being classified as a utility. If the Rizley bill becomes a law then the Federal Power Commission should be required to reduce the number of its employees and thereby effect a saving in governmental operating costs.

H. J. PORTER,

President, Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners' Association.

Henry Wallace Is Entitled to His Opinion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, on Henry Wallace, from the Washington Daily News of April 15, 1947:

MY DAY—HENRY WALLACE IS ENTITLED TO HIS OPINION

(By Eleanor Roosevelt)

WESTBROOK, CONN., Monday.—The front-page stories in one of our metropolitan newspapers the other day showed what a world of conflict we now live in.

In Moscow, Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov had refused to consider an agreement on the Saar until his proposal on four-power rule for the Ruhr was settled. In another column was an account of a speech made in London by Henry Wallace, in which he voiced his apprehension over the policy of lending money to anti-Soviet states just because they are anti-Soviet states rather than because they need money for rehabilitation.

Right next to that article was an accusation by a Democratic Senator that Mr. Wallace, by voicing these sentiments abroad was hurting his country's prestige. At home, the phone strike continued, the coal mines were slowly beginning to reopen, and the wisdom of certain Government loans to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was being questioned by the Republicans in a Senate committee.

This all looks like a good deal of dissension and more dissension, and yet it is part of the freedom under which we in the United States think the world should operate. When the right to strike is curbed, our free and independent citizens strike all the more readily; and when John L. Lewis is taken to task for his behavior, he tries to find some way of getting back at those who took him to task and turns against the people in general.

To me, some of us seem to be losing sight of certain vital things. What does it matter now whether the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad got a bigger loan than it should have had? It was done to win the war and we won the war.

And Mr. Wallace is entitled to his opinion. It is good for every citizen to realize that the responsibility for helping to rehabilitate countries throughout the world is going to be heavy for us, since we are the only people who can bear the main burden. In the end, it is to our interest that these countries should be rehabilitated. The discussion of how we shall do it is a perfectly good discussion for people in this country to engage in, and will probably be helpful to the Administration in the long run.

Labor Leaders Threaten To Nullify Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am including the enclosed letter from a patriotic member of organized labor, together with a copy of an editorial which recently appeared in a labor publication.

I believe that the author of this letter speaks for the great bulk of the membership in the American labor movement. He apparently does not speak for that type of union leadership which has chosen to place itself above the law.

The author of this letter has not requested that his name be omitted but, for fear the use of his name might bring about reprisals, I have deleted it.

The letter follows:

MARCH 29, 1947.

Congressman CLIFFORD R. HOPE,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SIR: The attached article recently came to my attention. I feel that as a Representative of the people of our State you should have this article brought to your attention.

First let me state that I am a member of a union. Further, I am a member of a union which is affiliated with the National Federation of Telephone Workers (as is the Association of Communication Equipment Workers). However, when any group or individual of that group, will sit idly by and see such utterances put on record and fail to register a protest—then I believe that group or individual is not in complete sympathy with the principles of democracy.

It seems that all the various unions, mine included, scream to high heaven that they are all 100 percent democratic in their thoughts and actions and that every one else is against them and therefore nondemocratic.

Then in the next breath they seek to influence their members to forsake—indeed to rebel—against any law that is not to the liking of the select group or the leaders of the group.

When it gets to the point where the labor leaders instruct their members to violate the law it is high time some action was taken. Here they seek to influence the member to revolt against the democratic way of life by instructing him to violate a law which would be formulated and made into law through the democratic processes of our elected representatives. And they call their union democratic.

Further, they class all nonunion members of labor as scabs and undesirable characters and free riders. Let me tell you that if the laboring man felt assurance that the union leaders were truly democratic in their hearts and if these leaders would talk and act like they believed in our great country and its principles—there would be no free riders. The simple truth is this—the laboring man is not hesitating to join the union from a financial standpoint—he is just simply not completely satisfied with the leadership. He lacks confidence in them. Their actions leave a doubt in his mind as to the real intent and aim of the leaders.

Such articles as the attached most certainly do not tend to relieve that doubt. Others may see it in a different light, but to me it appears to be a direct challenge to the democratic way of life.

I wish I had the means to furnish a copy of this letter to all the Members of the House. But with my limited means I am unable to do this. I believe you would be furthering the cause of democracy if you would bring this letter to the attention of as many Members as you possibly can. I believe it is time that the people assert themselves. There is no excuse for such abusive attacks as this being leveled against the members of the Senate Labor Committee and the House Members. There is no reason for the closed shop. It is just simply not in accord with the principles of our democracy.

Let me beg of you to use all the influence your office affords to do all in your power to protect the rights of all men to work without allegiance to any union.

The following editorial appeared in the March 1947 issue of the Communicator, the official publication of the Association of Communication Equipment Workers, affiliated with the National Federation of Telephone Workers:

DEFY OPEN-SHOP LAW

There is one thing the agents of the National Association of Manufacturers in the House and Senate of the United States Congress will learn as they pursue their efforts to outlaw the closed shop and that is that labor never will obey any such law no matter how many lickspittles vote for it, or how many Presidential signatures may be scribbled upon it.

Long before there were protective laws for labor unions the principle of insisting that only members of a given union be employed in organized industry was made effective. And no amount of legislation can contrive a law that can compel union men to work with scabs, or to work with people who receive the benefits of organized effort of others and refuse to contribute their share.

Let them pass such laws if they dare. The action of the millions of organized workers will nullify them and thereby prove the utter futility of the frantic efforts of political lackeys to carry out the program of the strike-breaking, scab-bearding NAM.

United States and Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Constantine G. Yavis from the Washington Post of April 11, 1947:

UNITED STATES AND GREECE

(By Constantine G. Yavis)

AID FOR DEMOCRATIC FORCES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Dr. Yavis has spent 10 years in Greece and was in Athens during the year following liberation as chief of research and analysis for the Office of Strategic Services. He returned to Greece a year ago for the State Department on the mission to observe the Greek elections. He is now teaching at Catholic University and George Washington University.)

Hitherto the official American policy has been to refrain from any interference in Greek internal politics, and merely to issue occasional press releases expressing hope that political passions would moderate.

This policy is largely responsible for the development of the present situation. During the German occupation, the United States and Great Britain supplied arms and money to Greek guerrilla groups without any regard to the quality of the persons leading those groups, or their aims. The result was the creation of the Communist-led EAM with 50,000 to 100,000 armed fighters.

In its effort to dominate Greece, the EAM incited against itself undying passions, by perpetrating unspeakable excesses, and by plunging Greece into a destructive civil war, a month and a half after liberation. We are responsible for the arming of the EAM, and, therefore, for the excesses of which it was guilty. We are also considered responsible for the fact that we allowed a civil war to break out, while it was easily within our power to intervene and avert it.

Since this revolt was put down 27 months ago, the rightist governments in Greece have carried on a systematic campaign of oppression and intimidation, looking toward the political extermination of the left and the center. Leftist newspapers were until recently prevented from circulating in the countryside, and leftists were kept under arrest for long periods without trial or adequate cause. At the same time, the rowdism of armed rightist gangs remained unchecked, and army officers and police who had collaborated with the Germans against the EAM are still retained in service. The right has claimed United States and British support in its program, and no one in Greece doubts this is true, because it is realized that a single word from the American Ambassador would be sufficient to restrain rightist excesses. This presumed American approval has encouraged the worst elements in the rightist camp, and thereby prevented the more moderate rightists from making their influence felt.

Our mission to observe the Greek elections was not empowered to check abuses. This was considered an encouraging gesture to the right. Our ultimate approval of the conduct of the elections was interpreted as full approval of the rightist oppression and intimidation which had been exercised before the arrival of the mission. Intimidation was not visible to our inexperienced Army officers who toured Greece for the mission, but the very essence of intimidation is that its effects are felt after the threatening force is removed.

Even our economic aid to Greece, which totals \$187,000,000 to date, has unavoidably supported the rightist government by enabling them to remain in power. And, since we neglected to attach political conditions to our aid, it appeared that we were content with the rightist campaign to exterminate the left.

It is worth adding that the economic and political problems now plaguing us in Greece have to a great extent been aggravated by the widespread feeling there that Russian occupation was imminent. Until the President's speech of March 20, we had made no gesture to dispel that feeling. If we had maintained our ATC bases, or other token forces in Greece, this would have been considered sufficient guarantee against Russian aggression. Private capital would then not be in hiding, creating the present business paralysis, and the unhappy guerrilla movement would find it much more difficult to attract recruits.

It is clear that our policy of nonintervention has been largely responsible for a disastrous civil war in Greece, and for the depredations of the left which have embittered large segments of the Greek population. This same policy has strengthened and encouraged the right in its oppression of the left and the center. No policy could have served better to weaken the democratic forces in Greece and to strengthen the two extremes, both of which are abhorrent to our political ideology, to the point where an explosion is now imminent.

This means that willy-nilly, we are already a force in Greek politics, and that we have already intervened in one manner. No one, therefore, can object to the Truman plan for aid to Greece on the grounds of intervention in Greek domestic affairs.

There are strong reasons for supporting the President's plan: we should offer aid to a war-tested friend, to prevent imminent economic collapse. Besides, collapse of Greek economy would have a depressing effect all over the world, and, worse, would be the signal for a Communist revolution in Greece. Even if this revolution did not bring on World War III, it would, if successful, install a government unfriendly to us.

But if we carry out the State Department plan and hand over to the present reactionary Government of Greece \$250,000,000, while continuing our policy of nonintervention in Greek internal politics, it is clear that this will be a green light for worse rightist excesses. An explosion will then take place, which will embroil us beyond our worst fears. Besides, Russia will have good reason to complain that the State Department plan encourages the rightist persecution of all nonrightist elements in Greece. The whole world will so interpret the purpose of our aid.

We have no alternative, therefore, but to drop our hands-off policy, and to take steps to curb the right, repress its fascistic elements, and strengthen the democratic forces of Greece.

This is, of course, intervention in Greek internal affairs, but in practice it is less so than our present policy. This is the only way we can redeem ourselves before Greece and the world for having set up first a tyranny of the left and now a tyranny of right.

There have been objections against our becoming entangled in the maze of Greek politics. But a very simple means of strengthening democracy in Greece is at our disposal. Our Ambassador can be authorized to call the King's attention to undesirable actions and personalities of the Greek Government, and to insist that corrective measures be taken. This method involves neither entanglement nor American civil government of Greece. A whispered word—plus the threat of withholding aid—will be enough. It will be as simple as that. Or, rather, it will be simple, provided we take certain common sense measures.

1. We must try to formulate advance plans. Obvious as this may appear, past experience justifies the fear that American personnel will arrive in Greece, and money will be spent, without adequate advance planning. A full week after the President's speech on Greek aid, Secretary Patterson testified that no definite plans had been made yet.

2. We will need an adequate number of political experts, probably 10 to 20 times the present number. They will collect and prepare the information needed by our Ambassador.

3. Our technical experts must be assisted by political advisers. In many instances our technical advisers have worked without awareness of the elementary political considerations involved.

4. An effort must be made to recruit political and technical experts who have had previous experience in Greece. Obvious though this also may appear, past experience again makes one apprehensive that experts with previous experience in Greece will not be sought out.

5. The Greek Government must be informed in advance that we shall insist that our technical and political advice be followed.

6. The presence of our mission will be considered by the Greeks as a guaranty against Russian aggression for the 18 months it is there. This in itself will act as a tonic to business and as a deterrent to those who for good or ill reason take to the mountains as outlaws. Our economic and political

problems in Greece would be further alleviated if we could give a direct or implied guaranty of Greek territorial integrity for a longer period.

We must not neglect to take steps to disperse suspicions abroad and at home as to our motives in Greece.

1. Frequent reports must be issued on our activities in Greece.

2. The size of our military mission must be clearly stated, and it must be made clear that our military aid will aim merely to make the Greek Army capable of fulfilling internal security functions, as, for example, against the guerrillas.

3. An advance commitment of some sort must be made as to the exact time and conditions under which the UN can begin to undertake our economic burden in Greece. Until that time UN observers must accompany our mission. We need not feel embarrassed about bypassing the UN politically because even if the UN were able to deal expeditiously with the political complexities, it would require a minimum of a year to acquire the requisite background, channels of communication, and sources of information. The explosion in Greece is more imminent than that.

4. It should be a matter of pride for the United States to set right the political picture, since the United States has such a large share of the responsibility for the present fiasco. We should, therefore, declare openly that we shall use our influence to moderate political passions in Greece and to eliminate undemocratic excesses of any kind.

A policy such as described above will serve as a stimulant to the democratic forces which throughout the world are on the defensive against totalitarian ideas. This encouragement is needed desperately at this critical point in world politics.

Henry Wallace and the Truman Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Thomas L. Stokes on Henry Wallace, dated April 15, 1947:

The noisy reaction here over Henry Wallace's adventure in free speech abroad has demonstrated how far we have strayed from the high idealism of the war and in creation of the United Nations.

This reaction, some of it absurd and ridiculous, shows how rapid has been the retreat into nationalism.

The United Nations was a start on something that we hoped, and still hope, eventually will become a world government, in which individual nations are subordinated in a world society and a common brotherhood of man. Lip service was given freely by our leaders to this ideal. None expressed it better than President Truman, who said in a message to Congress in January last year:

"It is important that the nations come together as states in the Assembly and in the Security Council and in the other specialized assemblies and councils that have been and will be arranged.

"But that is not enough. Our ultimate security requires more than a process of consultation and compromise. It requires that we begin now to develop the United

Nations as the representative of the world as one society."

It is in entire accord with that ideal that Henry Wallace, a leading citizen of our country and the world, ventured beyond our borders to speak to people elsewhere as citizens of a common world in the interest of peace, and the utilization of the UN for its appointed purpose of keeping the peace.

Mr. Wallace does not happen to agree with the so-called Truman doctrine. Lots of people don't, here and in other parts of the world. He said so here, repeatedly. This is a matter of concern to people all over the world, not just here. What is wrong with his speaking to people elsewhere in the general debate that is going on all over the world?

He has a right to speak, however his wisdom may be questioned. He has as much right as Winston Churchill, who spoke at Fulton, Mo., in a speech virtually sponsored by the President of the United States. Many think that speech started the division of the world into two conflicting camps that Henry Wallace, among others, believes is dangerous to the peace of the world.

Few would question that Mr. Churchill was trying to influence the people of this country and thus its policy. Nor is he the only one. We have had others from Britain trying to influence the policy of this country. Anyone who covers Washington daily is conscious of that.

No, there's something else in the outcry against Henry Wallace, as there always is, more than meets the eye and ear. He accurately labeled the hullabaloo here "hysteria." And back of that is fear. It is the fear some interests in this country have of Mr. Wallace because he has the habit of speaking unpleasant truths about what goes on, and because he has a large following for that reason. They call him a "crackpot." If they really believed that, they would dismiss him. But they don't.

It is amusing to see how he stirs them up.

They do not like it when Henry Wallace says both parties here are being captured by the conservatives, for they don't like to be caught at this game which goes on before our eyes. They do not like it when he says the way to combat communism is to have something like the New Deal all over the world, for they are working like fury here now, night and day, to destroy that.

Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947

SPEECH OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1947

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3020) to prescribe fair and equitable rules of conduct to be observed by labor and management in their relations with one another which affect commerce, to protect the rights of individual workers in their relations with labor organizations whose activities affect commerce, to recognize the paramount public interest in labor disputes affecting commerce that endanger the public health, safety, or welfare, and for other purposes.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, it is my firm conviction that the House would be making a great mistake to pass this bill in its present form.

I do not think that there are any of us who do not recognize that the 12

years since the passage of the Wagner Act have been marked by turbulence and unrest.

We have seen the growth of powerful unions who have been exempted from judicial and legislative restraint in their relations with their members, with business, and with the Government. They have in their irresponsibility been guilty of excesses that have caused this country great discomfort and concern. Certainly all of us recognize that legislation that will channel the great powers of these unions along lines that will take cognizance of the stake of the public in their activities is needed and should be passed by this House.

But merely because we feel that there are wrongs to be righted, we should not agree to any legislation that is put before us, no matter how high-sounding its language, and how superficially fair it may at first seem, without careful examination.

The bill contains clauses which do much toward guaranteeing each individual union member a square deal from his union. It makes an effort to end feather-bedding, racketeering, and arbitrary combinations of unions which conspire to set prices and conditions which benefit themselves alone. All of these clauses are good, but let us recognize that these clauses are merely window-dressing to secure support from those Members who feel that this Congress has an obligation to correct existing evils. The actual fact is—and I say this with restraint—this bill would in its present form strike down in one devastating blow the union shop, industry-wide bargaining, and so strangle collective bargaining with restraints and limitations as to make it ineffectual. This grave error that the majority of the Committee on Education and Labor have made is that in seeking to destroy what is bad, they are also destroying what is good. There is no need to—there is great need not to—smash the American labor movement to rid ourselves of "feather-bedding," racketeering, and similar evils. Let us look briefly at some of the clauses of this bill.

The majority of this committee in their report have stated. "Important among the provisions of the bill are those that reassure the workers freedom in their organizing and bargaining activities. This concern with the rights of the workers is praiseworthy, but were the majority of the Labor Committee concerned with the rights of the workingman when they outlawed the closed shop and permitted the union shop on only one condition—on condition that the employers give their consent? Is this an example of the bill's concern with the freedom of the workers to organize and bargain? Were the majority of the Labor Committee concerned with the rights of the workingman when they wrote in this bill clauses to outlaw welfare funds, and pension plans, to invalidate in fact two-thirds of the existing welfare plans that are administered jointly by employers and employees? Is it their concern with the rights of the workingman that caused them to do this?

Was it their concern with the rights of the workingman that caused them to

outlaw sympathy strikes? Under section 2, if a small number of workers in a plant strike because of any condition, or for any reason, it is forbidden that any of the other workers in the same plant should come to their assistance and strike with them. Is that because of their great concern with the rights of the workingman?

Does section 9 (f) attempt to forbid industry-wide bargaining because it wants to break down as they say "the great labor monopolies," or is it because they recognize that organized plants cannot complete economically with those that are unorganized, and that the latter can, by the sweat of labor, drive out of competition the factories that pay a decent wage, and whose employees work under decent conditions. In order to complete the job, this bill in section 2 (14) (C) will outlaw wholesale any type of boycott, so that the unions cannot protect themselves and their employers against the competition of sweatshops.

Is this bill really concerned with the freedom of the working man to organize and bargain? Under the provision of section 12, together with other sections of the bill, if an employer is guilty of an unfair labor practice by the terms of this bill he would be entitled to a full hearing, findings by the National Labor Relations Board and even by the courts before the findings become legally compelling. Even then the employer is subject only to remedial order and not to punishment. At most he must merely cease and desist and restore the situation to what it was or should have been before he acted. But let us see what happens to the employee. After the bill has outlawed nearly every conceivable type of strike, such as a strike to remedy unfair labor practices, this bill provides that employees who violate certain of these provisions would expose themselves to certain penalties, ex parte injunctions without a hearing, treble damages and loss of his job. Does that honestly show a great concern for the freedom of the working man to organize and bargain freely?

The manifest unfairness of these sections are not isolated. There are others throughout the entire bill.

This bill does not assure the worker freedom and the men who wrote this bill must have known that it does not. It destroys with high-sounding words the power of labor unions to bargain equally with the employers. It will if passed in its present form bring not peace but labor war—a war bitter and dangerous. This bill in its present form plays into the hands of the radicals in our unions, who preach the doctrine of the class struggle. If this bill is passed, this Congress will have fired the opening shot. Where it will lead us no one can say. Have no illusions that you are voting for labor peace and for the protection of the working man. You will be voting for industrial warfare—you will be voting for a bill which seeks to strangle by legal restraints the American labor movement. I urge you to vote against it.

Truman and Monroe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Walter Lippmann from the Washington Post of April 8, 1947:

TRUMAN AND MONROE

(By Walter Lippmann)

There is this most critical difference between President Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, and President Truman's of March 12, 1947: Monroe made his declaration only when he knew beyond a reasonable doubt how the commitment was to be met, indeed that there was virtually no chance whatever that he would be unable to meet it. The Monroe doctrine, unlike the Truman, was preceded by negotiations abroad and by cool and studied consultation at home in which Jefferson, Madison, and John Quincy Adams played the leading parts.

They approved the declaration when they had before them the definite assurance, given in August to the American Minister Rush by Canning, that Great Britain, then in undisputed command of the sea, had decided to prevent the reconquest of the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. It was then, when Jefferson had read the dispatches from Rush about the British decision, that he approved what became the Monroe doctrine, saying that "all Europe combined would not undertake such a war, for how could they propose to get at either enemy (Britain or the United States) without superior fleets." Madison was equally definite and practical in realizing that it was the assurance of overwhelming power which justified the commitment: "It is particularly fortunate," he wrote to President Monroe, "that the policy of Great Britain, though guided by calculations different from ours, has presented a cooperation for an object the same as ours. With that cooperation we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe, and with it the best assurance of success to our laudable views."

The Truman doctrine expresses our laudable views. But unlike the Monroe Doctrine it has been declared to the world without the kind of careful calculation of the assurances of success, which were made by Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and Monroe before they announced their laudable views. The difference is a big one—between making a promise which you know you can carry out, and making a promise first, and then wondering how you are going to carry it out. It is the difference between bold but astute statesmanship and reckless rhetoric.

As a result Senator BYRD has asked the administration a question which is quite proper but, under the so-called Truman doctrine as it now stands, is quite unanswerable. Senator BYRD wants to know whether "we have the resources alone to pay the bill."

What bill? The immediate bill for Greece alone is nearly \$300,000,000. But under the administration policy this can be only the first installment. The money is to be used to balance the Greek budget this year on behalf of a government which collected almost no taxes and is, with our approval, conducting a civil war. Conceivably this installment would pay the Greek bill if there

were set up promptly in Athens a government which can collect taxes and can unite the bulk of the Greek people. But the deficits of this government, which protects the profiteers and is trying to crush the Republicans as well as the Communists, will continue as long as the Government, as now constituted and conducted, exists.

Yet Greece is only a pinpoint in the Truman global policy. There can be no end to the financial costs of that policy because adequate precautions have not been taken to see to it that the money will accomplish the purposes for which it is given. Unless the Greek Government is reformed, Greece will not be stabilized by our meeting the deficits of that Government.

The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified, and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of communism can be checked by subsidizing all the governments, parties, factions which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also Republicans, enlightened conservatives, liberals, Progressives, Social Democrats, Socialists, Christian Democrats, cooperators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people almost everywhere. We shall have embraced the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and the moderate parties. They are our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue.

Rich as we are, and powerful as we are capable of being, we are not rich enough to subsidize reaction all over the world or strong enough to maintain it in power. The American people and the Truman administration do not want to do that, of course, nor do they think they are doing it. But that is what we shall be doing, nevertheless, if we intrust the formulation and execution of the new policy to men whose zeal has gotten the better of their judgment.

Army Air Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARGARET CHASE SMITH

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 17, 1947

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article from the Washington Post reporting the timely observations of Gen. Carl Spaatz, Army Air Forces commander, of how delay on the decision on unification is undermining our national defense. General Spaatz echoes the point that I have been making repeatedly for many months—

Apr. 18

"The thing that counts most in life," said Old Bob to Young Bob, "is to go straight ahead to the end of the furrow."

Young Bob decided to go straight ahead to the end of the congressional reorganization furrow. The bill passed the Senate and he hurried home. But he had less than 2 weeks to catch up, and it was not enough.

Thus what may be the greatest service Young Bob La Follette has rendered his country contributed to his first political defeat—and won him a Collier's congressional award.

REGULAR BUT NOT EXTREMIST

JESSE PAINE WOLCOTT, the House winner, has been a regular Republican all of his political days, but not an extremist; not one of those "rock-ribbed and ancient as the sun" Republicans sometimes found in his native New England or his adopted Middle West. In the great OPA battles of 1946, he was shot at by both sides, a situation to which he has been accustomed since his first election to the House in 1930. He just is not an emotional political zealot who believes that all the right is on one side.

He won the admiration of Collier's Congressional Awards Committee by his remarkable sanity in a year of poisonous political fighting. He appeared unaffected by the fiercest of propaganda bombardments, as he pushed efforts to adapt wartime controls to the changing conditions of peace. "If his counsel had prevailed last summer," an able observer told the awards committee, "the transition to a free economy might have been made more gradually and with fewer jolts. He deserves recognition for wisdom and moderation not generally appreciated at the time he was making his OPA fight."

While the war lasted, Wolcott supported the economic stabilization program, but when the wage line broke after the war he turned from strict price control toward greater production as the surer way to avoid inflation. Stimulation of production, while letting off controls gradually, was the heart of his domestic line in 1946. In the international field he was a powerful influence in passing the British loan agreement through the House.

Passionate advocates of OPA say he cut its throat. Equally passionate opponents of that agency say he saved it from sudden dismemberment. Some of the former sought to explain his attitude by putting out reports that he was a vastly rich man, therefore unacquainted with the difficulties of little people.

But investigation shows that Wolcott worked as a laborer in a chair factory in Gardner, Mass., his birthplace; that later he sent himself through high school by working as a trap drummer in a professional dance and concert orchestra—he says he was the hottest thing on drums in those days; that he almost owned one share of telephone stock when as a young man he worked by day for the Bell Telephone System and by night for the Detroit Edison Co., but that he had to cash his equity in the share before he got it paid for and since then has bought no other stock; that he is paying for a house he bought almost entirely on credit near Washington at the rate of \$66.93 a month; that his home in Port Huron, Mich., is assessed at \$5,500; that he carries a \$10,000 life-insurance policy, and on the day he learned he was a Collier's awards winner he had \$612.13 in one bank bank account and \$365.03 in another.

WOLCOTT moved from Massachusetts to Michigan when he was 19 because he thought he might do better out there. He studied law when he could, was admitted to the bar. When the First World War came he served as a sergeant and finally as a second lieutenant in a machine-gun company of the famous First Division. He saw action in the Argonne. After the war he was an assistant police judge in Port Huron, later county prosecuting attorney, and in 1930 was elected to the House, where he has been ever since.

He is 54 years old, is married, has a 17-year-old son.

In recent years he has abandoned his drums, except for one appearance in the Russian Cultural Institute of Moscow. He had gone there with a congressional group in 1945, and one evening when the Russians were entertaining the visitors at the institute, Wolcott said to a companion that he'd like a try at the Russian drums in the orchestra. An interpreter heard the remark, reported it, and immediately Wolcott was escorted to the drums, where to the amazement of his colleagues he cut loose with confidence.

When the awards committee settled to the task of bestowing the honors for 1946, its first decision was that the previous year's winners, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, of Michigan, and Representative A. S. MIKE MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, were not eligible for consideration. It was the unanimous opinion that no Member of the Congress should win 2 years in a row unless under the most extraordinary conditions he had changed his activities from the field in which he had won the honor to another field in which also he excelled his colleagues.

Next, the awards committee decided that generally choices should be made from the rank and file of Senate and House memberships, rather than from among party leaders whose influence springs in considerable degree from the high party posts they hold. But this decision was not unanimous, and always the Members are free to do as they think best. This same spirit of freedom carries over into the committee's voting, which pays no attention to party or ideological lines.

At the request of the awards committee each of 52 respected Washington editors, news writers, columnists and commentators suggested three Senators and three Representatives whose work in 1946 seemed to him to be notable. These confidential advisers named 20 Senators and 43 Representatives.

A LARGE LIST TO SELECT FROM

Following this poll, several hundred editors and political scientists, some in every State, were asked by the awards committee for confidential suggestions and comments. Again, each participant was asked to name three Senators and three Representatives. More than 500 replies were received, with the end result that 56 Senators and 119 Representatives were presented for consideration.

Finally the awards committee began its own voting, with 9 Senators and 14 Representatives receiving support as first or second choices on the first ballot. Twenty-one members of the committee participated in the voting. One was ill, and one out of touch. The Senators receiving support were: Aiken and Austin of Vermont, Barkley of Kentucky, Byrd of Virginia, Connally of Texas, La Follette of Wisconsin, McMahon of Connecticut, Murray of Montana and Taft of Ohio; 5 Democrats and 4 Republicans. The House Members receiving votes were: Case of South Dakota, Crosser of Ohio, Dirksen of Illinois, Douglas of California, Halleck of Indiana, Hope of Kansas, Kefauver of Tennessee, Martin of Massachusetts, Rayburn of Texas, Howard Smith of Virginia, Sparkman of Alabama (now a Senator), Voorhis of California (he was defeated for reelection), Wadsworth of New York and Wolcott of Michigan. Of these, Case, Dirksen, Halleck, Hope, Martin, Wadsworth and Wolcott are Republicans, the other 7 are Democrats.

On this first poll, La Follette and Wolcott were out front but did not have majorities. On the second, both had majorities of first choice votes, and on the third and final poll of the committee, both won with heavy majorities. The polls were taken several days apart to allow time for study between them.

And that's the story of Collier's congressional awards for 1946, the second year of this adventure in the interest of representative government.

JEFFERSON DAY DINNER ADDRESS BY SENATOR CONNALLY

[Mr. McMAHON asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Jefferson Day dinner address delivered by Senator CONNALLY before the Democratic Club of New York City, N. Y., on April 17, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

ADDRESS BY SENATOR WILEY BEFORE KIWANIS CLUB OF KENOSHA, WIS.

[Mr. WILEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject The Service Spirit in the Atomic Age, delivered by him before the Kiwanis Club of Kenosha, Wis., on April 16, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

APPROPRIATION FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—STATEMENT BY SENATOR HOEY

[Mr. HOEY asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a statement by him to the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations regarding the appropriation for the Labor Department, which appears in the Appendix.]

TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR WILLIAM H. KING

[Mr. THOMAS of Utah asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a letter from Mr. T. Odon Mathews, president of the Utah State Society, enclosing a resolution adopted by the society as a tribute to Hon. William H. King on the occasion of his return to Utah, which appears in the Appendix.]

JEFFERSON DAY ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH MITCHELL

[Mr. TAYLOR asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD a Jefferson Day address by Hon. Hugh Mitchell, at Wenatchee, Wash., April 10, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

A LABOR POLICY NEEDED—EDITORIAL FROM THE TRENTON EVENING TIMES

[Mr. HAWKES asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "A Labor Policy Needed," written by James Kerney, Jr., editor and publisher of the Trenton Times newspapers, which appears in the Appendix.]

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be absent from the Senate next Monday.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the leave is granted.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the agreement entered into last night, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] is entitled to the floor.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia yield to me to suggest the absence of a quorum?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. WHITE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Brooks	Capehart
Baldwin	Buck	Capper
Ball	Bushfield	Connally
Brewster	Butler	Cooper
Bridges	Cain	Cordon

Donnell	Lodge	Robertson, Va.
Downey	Lucas	Robertson, Wyo.
Dworshak	McCarran	Saltonstall
Eastland	McCarthy	Smith
Ecton	McClellan	Sparkman
Ellender	McFarland	Stewart
Ferguson	McGrath	Taft
Flanders	McKellar	Taylor
Fulbright	McMahon	Thomas, Okla.
Green	Malone	Thomas, Utah
Gurney	Martin	Thye
Hatch	Maybank	Tobey
Hawkes	Millikin	Tydings
Hayden	Moore	Umstead
Hill	Morse	Vandenberg
Hoey	Murray	Watkins
Ives	Myers	Wherry
Jenner	O'Connor	White
Johnson, Colo.	O'Daniel	Wiley
Johnston, S. C.	Overton	Wilson
Kem	Pepper	Young
Knowland	Reed	
Langer	Revercomb	

Mr. WHERRY. I announce that the Senator from Ohio [Mr. BRICKER] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. HICKENLOOPER] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] is absent on account of illness.

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. GEORGE], and the Senator from Florida [Mr. HOLLAND] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Georgia [Mr. RUSSELL] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, during the closing days of this debate, which has now consumed some time of the Senate, I desire to address myself to the pending bill.

In our work here in the Congress, as representatives of the several States of our Union and all the citizens who dwell in them, we confront many problems and make many decisions which affect our Nation's course for future years, and we shape in a large measure the destiny of the American people.

Today, I say to the Senate in earnest judgment that no decision we have made during the time I have been a Member of this body will so deeply affect our people now and in the days and years ahead, as the decision we make upon the pending bill.

It is not merely a gift of money to Greece and Turkey that gives us greatest concern, however little we can afford such gifts at this time. It is the embarkation upon a policy of Government that will lead us to new obligations, new problems, and to possible distress—yes, even to endangering our existence as a nation of free people—that is the overall danger in this measure.

If we pass this bill, we will have taken upon ourselves the duty to sustain every government that calls for our help to sustain it.

I cannot, under the sense of my obligation to my own country and my own people, support such a course. I consider it to be the most mistaken and most tragic policy that men in this Government have ever devised.

This world-wide spending and military plan was first stated to the Congress on March 12, 1947, by the President. The bill before us comes from the State Department. There is its place of origin.

We are told that the real object of this bill is to stop the spread of communism from Russia to Greece and Turkey. That is a smart appeal. That appeal at once grasps the interest of our people. The insidious work of communistic thought and action in our own midst has created here an aversion to communism and a determination that it must be eradicated from our land.

No one in this country can have any doubt as to my stand upon communism. I have opposed it everywhere. I have never compromised with communism in America; I never shall. There is no higher duty upon Congress than to take every measure to drive it completely from our shores. I have time and time again spoken out upon this subject. Only recently I spoke here in Washington before a large meeting of the Veterans of Foreign Wars upon the subject of communism. I meant what I said then, and I mean now what I said at that meeting. I quote from the statement I made at that time:

The call now comes to you as veterans of your country to work in unified effort to eradicate from our own land those philosophies that are destructive of our established way of government and of living, and to stop the work of those whose objective is to destroy this country.

Subversive activities have generally been referred to as communism, fascism, and nazism. Basically, the danger in them all is the same. The final objective of each is to seize the Government for group rule and to control all men and women in their lives and activities for the primary benefit of the group in power. That of course means destruction of freedom for the public.

That communism is extant in this land of ours cannot be doubted by those who have had contact with any phase of public life. Not only is the objective of communism bad but the means of operation are subversive, hidden, and underhand.

I may say, Mr. President, that a few months ago the Communist Party in my State published a tract in which they attacked me as being their enemy. Communists seldom tell what is true in the presentation of their cause before the public, but I want to say that in that instance, when they branded me as their enemy, the enemy of communism, they were truthful indeed.

So when I take my stand upon this measure, it is not for a moment to palliate communism, but it is to act in the light of what I believe to be best for my country upon a proposed policy which can, and I believe will, injure her; which will in the end weaken her and involve her in strife and make her less strong to resist those very forces of wrong which it is said we resist.

The bill, as I stated, comes from the State Department; and when I hear the spokesmen for that Department and of the administration declaim against com-

munist and Russia I am not much impressed with their statements, in view of the facts, and in view of their record on the subject in recent days and even at this time.

The confusion and inconsistency in the State Department, which initiated the bill, have been revealed in the course of this debate.

On Wednesday of this week it was clearly stated on the floor of the Senate, and stands uncontradicted, that during the present session of Congress representatives of the State Department appeared before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate urging and insisting that this Government give to Russia under lend-lease—supposedly long ago terminated—equipment and supplies for the erection of a high-octane gasoline plant at a cost of \$25,000,000. We are being asked to give to Russia the factory and means to make gasoline for her airplanes and thus strengthen her hand to expand her communism. Now the State Department asks that we give to two other nations millions of dollars and send military personnel for the avowed purpose of stopping that expansion.

How can such contradictory courses be reconciled or understood? What is the meaning of this confusion? What in truth is the real purpose of this measure? It seems to me we should establish a settled policy as to Russia and with regard to her actions, before we appropriate one cent more for such purposes.

Moreover, it has been brought to light here this week that since the fall of Japan we have given Russia, under lend-lease, equipment and supplies in excess of \$233,000,000 to strengthen her, in addition to more than \$11,000,000,000 worth of lend-lease supplies given her during the time of war. Today there may be added to those sums millions of dollars which are being poured out through UNRRA, of which money we contribute more than 70 percent. That is being done today, right now.

Mr. President, I wish to refer to the proposed plan of advancements to Russia. It is contained in the RECORD of the Senate, and I use the words of the able Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] who said:

Eighty percent of our shipments, even today, are going to Russia and to Russian-controlled countries. The shipments are being loaded in New York now. That was verified yesterday—

Meaning Tuesday of this week—by UNRRA.

To Austria, which is Russian controlled, we are shipping \$4,083,810 during the current month of April. To Byelorussia, which is merely a Russian Province, there has been allocated \$607,000; to Czechoslovakia, \$5,281,550. Poland—

Which we know is absolutely under the domination of Russia and votes with Russia in the United Nations—

Poland is scheduled to get \$14,437,800—

During this month of April—

The Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic is getting \$1,880,500. Yugoslavia—

Which is under the rule of Tito, one of the leaders of communism—is given \$21,027,600.

Those shipments are being made in this month of April, and, Mr. President, the State Department now comes before the Congress and says that it wants to stop communism.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. For a question I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. Just for a question, and a short remark. It shall not take very long.

The Senator realizes, and that is the reason he is bringing this point out, I take it, that when we turn over millions of dollars' worth of products to countries which are dominated by Russia we are putting into the hands of the Communists the power to make more and more people admit that they believe in their communistic philosophy. In other words, that is the only way that those poor people can receive any help. Does the Senator agree with me on that point?

Mr. REVERCOMB. Yes; but there is more than that to it. It shows a confusion in our own Government that is not explainable. It shows that with one hand we are handing out millions of dollars for the support of Russia and Russian theories, while we are asked by this bill to send millions of dollars and military personnel to stop the expansion of Russian communism.

Mr. HAWKES. If the Senator will permit me, I should like to make one further statement concerning an actual situation which I know about. I have received letters from three of my personal friends who are in the countries the Senator is talking about, countries which are receiving this help, and which are dominated by Russian policy. Each letter states very definitely that the countries in question can get no help from their Russian-dominated government because they have not signed the communistic pledge.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Of course that is so; and the very help we are giving is to strengthen communism, while we are told that the purpose of the bill is to stop communism.

Mr. HAWKES. On the one hand, we are breeding communism, and, on the other hand we are talking about spending hundreds of millions of dollars to stop it.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I heartily agree with the Senator.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEM in the chair). Does the Senator from West Virginia yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Can the Senator tell us under what authority payments are made to the various countries?

Mr. REVERCOMB. The sums advanced, which I last mentioned, are under authority of UNRRA, which is supposed to expire on June 30 of this year. However, I will say to the Senator that more than UNRRA is involved in attempting to supply these materials. As I stated, the State Department has come before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate at this session of the Congress and has asked that committee to rec-

commend to the Senate an appropriation to permit the sending to Russia of a high-octane gasoline plant, at a value of \$25,000,000, designed to make high octane gasoline for the planes of Russia. How can we reconcile the action taken by the State Department, on one day insisting before the committee on sending these materials to Russia, and on the next day bringing forth this bill to stop the expansion of Russia?

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. As a member of the Committee on Appropriations, I heard the testimony on the point now being discussed by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. I ask him if he knows that the \$35,000,000 for which the State Department originally asked was for administrative costs only? The State Department wanted such an authorization because under the interpretation of the Comptroller General the authority under lend-lease had terminated. The Department wanted \$35,000,000 for administrative costs so that it could continue to finance the delivery, under long-term contracts, of equipment which was then in the pipe line and would still be in the pipe line long after lend-lease had terminated.

These materials are not paid for in cash. They are to be paid for under long-term contracts extending over a period of 30 or 40 years. The contracts cover equipment which can be used for military purposes. Such equipment is now in the pipe line, under contract. The State Department stated that with the termination of lend-lease the equipment would be lost; that we could not sell it, and that we might as well send it to Russia.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Do I correctly understand the able Senator to say that \$35,000,000 would not be the total amount of money which would go to Russia?

Mr. WHERRY. No. The total amount runs into many million dollars. The equipment is not paid for in cash. The \$35,000,000 was to defray administrative costs, to pay for financing the program to which we were committed with respect to Russia. The program involves millions of dollars worth of lend-lease materials now in the pipe line, and which will be delivered long after the termination of lend-lease, under long-term contracts extending over a period of 30 or 40 years.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I am very much indebted to the able Senator from Nebraska, who is a member of the Appropriations Committee, for injecting into this discussion an elaboration of the point which I have presented. He shows more clearly than I have shown that the State Department is insisting on furnishing to Russia materials which could be used in waging war.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to make one further observation. At least some of the equipment which is being furnished would be very useful in military operations. I refer to such equipment

as trucks and other heavy equipment which would be very useful if it should become necessary for Russia to go to war.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I thank the Senator.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. YOUNG. I believe the Senator from Nebraska is in error. My understanding was that in connection with the amount of \$35,000,000, Australia and other countries were paying 100 percent of the cost, and that there was an administrative cost of 2½ percent. Russia was to pay only 90 percent. The \$35,000,000 was not for administrative cost. There was an additional 2½ percent for that purpose.

Mr. WHERRY. My understanding is that the \$35,000,000 was a cash advance, which included the administrative costs, but did not include the entire amount of money to be realized from the sale of surplus property. My understanding was that the State Department said that the \$35,000,000, which was a token payment, or perhaps administrative cost, would be lost if lend-lease were cut off, and the Department asked that it be reimbursed. If lend-lease were to be continued, the materials would be supplied under long-term contracts extending over a period of 30 or 40 years. Is that the Senator's understanding?

Mr. YOUNG. There were long-term contracts; but in the case of Russia she was to pay 90 percent of the cost. The other countries were to pay 100 percent of the cost, plus 2½ percent administrative cost.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Whatever the amount may be, the point still remains clear that the State Department is asking for the advance of funds for the shipment to Russia of materials to arm Russia. I think that point is particularly important when we are asked to appropriate money to stop the expansion of Russia. Under such circumstances there is only one course to take. Let us not appropriate one cent more for such a program. Let us not give away a pro-American dollar until a settled policy on this subject has been definitely established. We want no more policies like the one which we followed with respect to Japan, under which we shipped scrap iron to Japan and armed her and thus enabled her later to shoot down our own men. At that time we were in the very shadow of war.

Let us straighten out the whole situation before we move further. It seems to me that there is not much force in the appeal of the State Department, which is the source of this bill, when it says on one day, with one voice, "We want to send equipment to Russia to build plants for the manufacture of high-octane gasoline," and on another day, with another voice, says, "Give us money to stop the expansion of Russian communism."

In the course of this extended debate Senators have given their reasons for their positions. It is well that they have done so, because from those reasons we may judge, each from his own viewpoint, the soundness of the positions taken.

A principal reason advanced for this measure by some—and it has been argued strenuously upon the floor of the Senate—is that the plan must be carried through because the President has announced a policy, and that great injury would come to the country if that policy were not carried out to the letter.

We have the right and the duty to inquire into the reasons advanced for arriving at a decision. Search as I may, I cannot find any sound reason for such a position. The President came before the Congress, not with a declared policy, but with a proposal that a policy be established. He came to the Congress because under our law it is necessary that the people, through their representatives, concur in the making of any policy of government.

If the reasoning advanced by those who support this measure is to be sustained, then henceforth those who agree to that course must say that the policies of this Nation are fixed in completeness by the Chief Executive, and once announced by him, they represent a fait accompli, and nothing more can be done about it.

Under such a view the Congress need not exist. The power of national policy would be vested solely in the President. Such autocratic power was never intended to be given in this Government. Indeed, for what purpose does the Congress exist if it be not to declare the policies of the Nation, both in the domestic and the foreign fields? We do so by the laws we enact, by the treaties we approve, and by our action upon bills such as the one before us.

To follow a course that the Chief Executive can by his ipsi dixit declare a policy and that the Congress must blindly follow it would lead to the most complete one-man domination of the Nation. It could lead us to war; and the declaration of war, expressly vested in the Congress, would be but an empty perfunctory act. It could deplete our treasury and the people could not raise their voice in protest through their representatives, or, if raising their voice, their protest would be futile.

The very fact that the President submitted this proposal to Congress is a proper recognition on his part that the plan does not become policy, in reality, until the Congress puts its approval upon it.

Congress is not a rubber-stamp; Congress must act within its own wisdom and judgment.

I want to support the President in his acts in behalf of our people. I served with the gentleman who today occupies the Presidential office. I have for him, as he knows, the highest personal regard. I shall support him so long as I believe his course is right, and I shall part company with him when, in my earnest and sincere judgment, I believe him to be wrong.

That is the course which must be taken in this case. That, in substance, is the whole heart and life of our Government. That is why we are here as the representatives of the people. We have an obligation to fulfill our part in the affairs of the Government and not to act as echoes to Executive order.

No, Mr. President, there is not any soundness in the reasoning or excuse for support of this measure to be found in the words that "though it be wrong we must approve the plan because the President has stated it or has announced it to the world."

Any such action now creates a precedent whereby the Chief Executive may, if he desires, announce his policies and then say to the representatives of the people, "This is done; this is accomplished; your judgment is not needed upon it."

I do not and will not recognize any such philosophy or concept of government in this free country.

What will be the position of Senators hereafter when the President proposes that \$600,000,000 be given Korea? Will we still say the President has announced his views and the Senate must support it? We have had ample warning that \$600,000,000 will be asked for Korea. What will we do when other gifts to other countries are called for? Will we blindly approve them at any cost to our country?

If we adopt such reasoning at the first consideration of this world-wide plan of giving this Nation's wealth to others we shall have set for ourselves a basis that deprives us of independent judgment upon like cases for the future.

This is not spoken in criticism of any of my colleagues; it is an appeal to them to consider the implications of what they are about to do.

Is not now, indeed, the time to abandon any reasoning which would cause us to surrender our judgment? I urge upon the Senate that this proposal be considered solely upon its merits and that we vote solely upon the wisdom of following the course outlined in the proposal.

Mr. President, we are confronted with the proposal of a gift of \$400,000,000 to the Governments of Greece and Turkey and provision for the sending to those countries of American military personnel.

Let me point out in the beginning that this is not limited to a loan, but may be, and probably will be, an advancement of money which, in plain terms, is a donation. The bill provides that the President of the United States may loan or grant or otherwise give financial aid. This leaves the discretion in the President and, as I understand, already the Chief Executive has indicated his preference for a gift.

This proposal has two phases which may better be considered separately because each has different purports and effects. The first phase has to do with the gift of this immense sum; second is that which contemplates the sending of military personnel. The limitation upon such personnel is placed solely within the discretion of the President. While the bill refers to a limited number of the military, the judgment upon the limitation is given to the Chief Executive and, of course, the term "limited" can be construed in the light of any situation as it may develop.

The Congress and the people of the United States first heard of this proposal from the President in his message

to a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947. It came like the sudden burst of a bomb. We had no notice of it. The purport of it was shocking. It is readily admitted that herein lies the establishment of a new policy for us. In essence it means the extension of the Monroe Doctrine by this Nation from the Western Hemisphere to all the world.

President James Monroe, many years ago, announced the doctrine that this Nation would look with disfavor upon the act of any European government attempting to interfere with any governments in the Western Hemisphere.

Several incidents have arisen under that policy in the Western Hemisphere, the most outstanding being the one involving the British Government.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I call attention to the fact that the so-called Monroe Doctrine is a two-way highway. It applies not only to South America, but to Europe as well.

Mr. REVERCOMB. It applies to Europe in the sense that it says, "Keep out and do not disturb the status of any established and recognized government in the Western Hemisphere." That is the essence of it.

The British incident to which I referred—and I think it is well to discuss and review these incidents to show how far the Monroe Doctrine will carry this government in action—was that the British Government threatened to seize the customs offices of Venezuela and this country opposed that step. President Theodore Roosevelt went so far as to say, after Lord Cecil, the British Foreign Secretary, had stated that the British Fleet would come and take control of the customs houses of Venezuela to collect a debt owed her, that the British Fleet would be met by the American Fleet at the mouth of the Caribbean Sea.

On another occasion the German Government threatened, as I recall, to seize some of the customs houses in one of the Central American countries, and again this country, under its Monroe Doctrine, advised Germany that the United States would enforce its policy against such interference in this hemisphere. Those are merely examples which show the nature and extent of action under the Monroe Doctrine and what it obligates this Nation to do. It obligates us to go to the extent of war. But so far the doctrine has been applied only to the neighboring countries. It has been recognized by Europe and the rest of the world as being a very fair doctrine. They have observed it, and they have known that it meant a great deal to this country. The Western Hemisphere was remote from them, and they did not desire to invade it.

Able men upon the floor of the Senate have disputed the statement that the pending measure is an extension, in effect, of the Monroe Doctrine. Let us first compare the language; let us see whether the pending bill is an extension of the Monroe Doctrine and obligates the United States to go to the aid of other established governments throughout the

world. As I view it, that, in sum and substance, is the proposition. Let us see if that is not a correct view. I shall read the language of the Monroe Doctrine, which was enunciated by President Monroe in 1823:

But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it—

He was speaking of the governments of the Western Hemisphere—

and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me, to permit me to make a very brief statement?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I ask the Senator to permit me to continue for a moment until I finish my discussion of this particular point.

Mr. PEPPER. Certainly.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I am trying to bring out, Mr. President, the likeness between the original Monroe Doctrine, now more than 100 years old, applying to the Western Hemisphere, and the new doctrine now proclaimed which, in effect, extends the same principle to the rest of the world. As I have said, after reading the language and considering the actions taken under the Monroe Doctrine and then reading the President's statement with respect to the pending measure, it is inescapable, to my mind, that the presently proposed world-wide doctrine is an extension of the Monroe Doctrine to the rest of the world.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, inasmuch as the Senator from West Virginia is making such an important statement, and since I am sure he wishes to have it carried in the press and fairly reported there, let me say to him that what I wish to say will have an important bearing on what he is saying.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I shall yield in a moment. I hope this side of the question will be carried by the press, because I have never seen any public question of such importance so greatly ignored and given so little consideration by the press.

Mr. PEPPER. It is on that subject that I wish to speak.

Mr. REVERCOMB. In a few moments I shall, indeed, be glad to yield to the Senator on that point.

Mr. President, I have read from the Monroe Doctrine with respect to any European power's interposing itself upon the government of any country in the Western Hemisphere, and I have read the portion of the Monroe Doctrine which states that such an act will be regarded as an unfriendly one toward the United States.

Now turning to the President's message before the Congress on March 12, 1947, when he presented this policy for the first time for our consideration and action, we find that he said this:

We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive

movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.

Mr. President, the word "we" used by the President in that statement refers to the people of the United States; and "free peoples" means people anywhere in the world. "Totalitarian regimes" are such as we ourselves call totalitarian. No one doubts that Russia is totalitarian, and there are many others, so I am told. For instance, I am informed that Yugoslavia has a totalitarian government. But the President's statement means that he proposes that we undertake to secure all people against having other governments interpose themselves upon them.

I read further from the President's address to the Congress:

I believe that it must be the policy of the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I quote further from the President's message:

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

Mr. President, it is interesting to note at this point that in his message President Truman said that "the free peoples of the world look to us"—the United States—"for support in maintaining their freedoms"—in other words, that the whole world looks to us for that. The President did not say—and the point is accentuated by the absence of any statement on this point—that the free peoples of the world look to the United Nations for support in securing their freedom. All of us want to believe in that organization, and we have had hope in it. But in his message the President of the United States, the country which was most active in bringing the United Nations into being, says that the free peoples of the world look to this country alone for support in preserving their freedoms—in other words, not to the United Nations.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I shall be glad to yield in a moment.

As I have said, Mr. President, the President of the United States in his message said that the free peoples of the world look to the United States for support in preserving their freedoms—not to the United Nations, but to this country alone. I say that is an extension to all the world of the very principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

Now I yield to the Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Let me say that by no stretch of the imagination could we call either Greece or Turkey a free people; could we?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I have some doubt about their being free peoples. I have heard them called democracies. In the President's message to the joint session of Congress I heard Greece referred to as a democracy.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Greece is a monarchy.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Yes; we know Greece is a monarchy, ruled over by a

King. Greece cannot be called a democracy.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Turkey is ruled by a dictator.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me, to permit me to make a clarification of the RECORD relative to the observation I made a few moments ago to the distinguished Senator from North Dakota?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I shall be glad to yield.

Mr. WHERRY. My remarks can be placed either at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia or at the conclusion of my own remarks.

I wish to refer to the request for an appropriation of \$35,000,000 which came up before the Senate Appropriations Committee. It is a fact, as the distinguished Senator from North Dakota mentioned, that that appropriation came before us for the reason that the Comptroller refused to approve any more administrative costs after December 31, 1946, because lend-lease terminated at that time. What Mr. Lane asked for as Administrator of Lend-Lease was congressional authority to grant the Comptroller the right to pay the necessary administrative costs. I find that I am in error as to the amount. Instead of being \$35,000,000, it was reduced to \$25,000,000, and the amount for costs was \$2,500,000, or 10 percent of the amount of the appropriation or the amount of the funds necessary to purchase the lend-lease equipment which was in the pipe line, so to speak.

I wish to stress that it is not the amount involved that is of such great importance, but it is the fact that in the pipe line there were nearly \$35,000,000 worth of property at that time—which included such equipment as that which the distinguished Senator from West Virginia has been mentioning.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD five pages of Mr. Lane's letter, which gives a breakdown of that equipment.

There being no objection, the portion of the letter referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LIST OF ITEMS SALABLE AND NOT SALABLE IN UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OFFICE,
FOREIGN LIQUIDATION COMMISSIONER,
Washington, D. C., February 13, 1947.
The Honorable STYLES BRIDGES,
United States Senate.

DEAR SENATOR BRIDGES: In the course of the hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee on February 7, 1947, Senator TYDINGS asked whether the State Department could review the material in the lend-lease pipe lines and divide it into two categories, those which could find a ready market in the United States and those which might not find a ready market. In response to this inquiry I have prepared the attached memorandum entitled "Marketability in the United States of Undelivered Lend-Lease Pipe-Line Material." I trust that this will provide the desired information.

In connection with this memorandum, it will be noted that the total amount of material in the pipe lines now is estimated at \$25,479,591, as contrasted with the estimate of approximately \$35,000,000 previously given to the committee. The discrepancy is explained by the fact that we have now learned

that more material had been transferred to the foreign governments before December 31, 1946, than had been reported when our original estimate was made.

The clerk of the committee has called my attention to certain additional information requested in the course of the hearing on February 6, 1947. In response to this inquiry I am also enclosing herewith a copy of the statement, as of December 31, 1946, showing the general contents of the pipe lines for the various countries (see p. 8) and a copy of the twenty-first report to Congress on lend-lease operations, which contains, on page 48, the text of the pipe-line agreement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, dated October 15, 1945 (see p. 38). The statement of the contents of the pipe lines is the same as was attached to my letter to you dated January 17, 1947.

Sincerely yours,

CHESTER T. LANE,
Lend-Lease Administrator.

[Enclosures.]

[Prepared by Lend-Lease Administrator, Department of State, from data supplied by Bureau of Federal Supply, Treasury Department]

MARKETABILITY IN THE UNITED STATES OF UNDELIVERED LEND-LEASE PIPE-LINE MATERIAL

The remaining items in the lend-lease pipe lines are divided into two main categories, namely, the material now in storage and the material not yet delivered by suppliers.

1. Material in storage (as of Feb. 1, 1947)

Country	Net tons	Value
Russian:		
Oil-refinery equipment.....	19,919	\$6,971,650
Miscellaneous (as per inventory).....	1,677	838,500
British (as per inventory).....	14	7,000
French North Africa (as per inventory).....	58	29,000
Continental France (as per inventory).....	28	14,000
West Africa (as per inventory).....	16	8,000
Total.....	21,712	7,868,150

The material held in storage for the British, French North Africa, continental France, and West Africa consists of miscellaneous industrial equipment and parts for such equipment. Much of the equipment itself, as well as the parts, has been built to foreign specifications and would not realize any substantial return in a surplus sale. The material in storage for these countries, in any event, constitutes a very small proportion of the pipe-line material, aggregating only \$58,000 in all. A complete list of this material is labeled "schedule A" and has been filed with the committee.

The miscellaneous material held for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contains a very high proportion of material made to foreign specifications and is of no value, other than scrap, in the United States. A list of this material, showing the general categories, is contained in schedule B, which has been filed with the committee. The oil-refinery equipment held for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics consists of miscellaneous component parts of oil refineries. Large portions of the refineries have already been delivered in Russia. The equipment still in storage consists of parts of machines, other parts of which have already been shipped. As a result, it is unlikely that the unshipped material has any value, other than scrap, unless it is combined with the delivered portions. Furthermore, the oil-refinery processes for which this equipment was built are of obsolete types from the point of view of the United States industry. Accordingly, it would be of little interest to United States purchasers for its original purpose.

The conclusion of those officials of the Bureau of Federal Supply (formerly the Procurement Division of the Treasury Department) who have been concerned with the procurement and shipment of the pipe-line material, is that the items now in storage would bring a very small return if they have to be disposed of as surplus.

2. Material on order as of February 1, 1947, but not delivered by suppliers

The grand total of items in this category is estimated at \$17,611,441.

Five million one hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-three dollars' worth of this material is covered by contracts on which no definite delivery dates have been scheduled. Most of this material consists of items fairly short in supply, and cancellation of the contracts with the suppliers would probably not result in loss to the United States Government.

Material valued at \$9,181,566 in the undelivered category is deemed by the Bureau of Federal Supply to be "unsalable except as scrap." This means that any of such material already completed, although undelivered by the suppliers, could not be sold as surplus with any expectation of a substantial return. Furthermore, it is to be expected that the United States Government would be required to pay heavy cancellation charges in case of cancellation of such contracts.

Three million two hundred and eighty-one thousand three hundred and twelve dollars' worth of the undelivered material is considered "usable in domestic market," which means that, if sold as surplus, approximately 75 percent of the full value could be expected to be realized.

There is attached hereto, as schedule C, a list of the undelivered material, broken down in the three categories described above:

3. Summary

	Unsalable except as scrap	Usable in domestic market	Cancelable without loss
Material not delivered.....	\$9,181,566	\$3,281,312	\$5,148,563
Material in storage.....	7,868,150		
Total.....	17,049,716		

SCHEDULE C.—Recapitulation of undelivered lend-lease items as of Jan. 15, 1947

Considered usable in domestic market.....	\$3,281,312
Unsalable except as scrap.....	9,181,566
Not scheduled, indefinite.....	5,148,563

Estimated grand total..... 17,611,441

Recapitulation of undelivered lend-lease items, Jan. 15, 1947

Program	Number active contracts	Commodity classification, undelivered	Estimated value			Total
			Disposal, domestic sale	Unsalable, except scrap	Not scheduled, indefinite	
Continental France.....	17	Spares, trucks.....	\$84,917		\$196,205	
	3	Electric sheets.....			306,510	
	7	Steel bars.....	27,000		298,332	
	1	Cranes and spares.....	1,579,272			
	1	Locomotives and spares.....		\$37,781		
	1	Estrone.....			29,700	
	1	Magnesium wire.....			10,685	
	1	Copper wire.....			1,377	
	1	Hand saws.....	98,554			
	11	Machine tools.....		266,279	26,262	
	1	Air hose.....			26,880	
	3	Telegraph poles.....	50,000		72,450	
	7	Tractor and agricultural spares.....	379,077		7,500	
	3	Tractors, plows and spares.....	316,918			
	5	Industrial machines.....	7,076		182,042	
	1	Motors and parts.....		3,371		
	3	Air compressor parts.....	16,934			
	3	Tires, tubes, and flaps.....	5,969		8,216	
	2	Structural steel.....			1,285,000	
Total.....	72		2,565,717	307,431	2,451,159	
French North African.....	10	Tractor spare parts.....	\$28,069		\$6,982	
	18	Agricultural equipment and parts.....	23,111		51,870	
	1	Lumber.....			5,955	
	1	Sheet steel.....	16,000			
	1	Pillow blocks.....		\$5,526		
	1	Circular saws.....	11,408			
	1	Pumps and parts.....		404		
	1	Fruit pulper and parts.....		500		
	1	Rubber hose.....			13,402	
	1	Engine spare parts.....	15,035			
	2	Electric wiring devices.....		8,025	1,100	
	2	Refrigerator parts.....		14,517		
	18	Auto spares.....	20,429		18,540	
	4	Electrical equipment.....		3,764		
	1	Garage equipment.....	660			
	1	Electric station and spares.....		1,500		

Recapitulation of undelivered lend-lease items, Jan. 15, 1947—Continued

Program	Number active contracts	Commodity classification, undelivered	Estimated value			Total
			Disposal, domestic sale	Unsalable, except scrap	Not scheduled, indefinite	
French North Africa—Con.	1	Electric material and substation		\$26,483		
	1	Auto equipment	\$4,670			
	1	Mine locomotive		9,800		
	1	Gaskets		760		
	1	Sulfur dioxide			\$28,860	
	11	Bearings	60	7,413	200	
	3	Electrical switches	389		5,469	
	1	Chain	4,166		3,656	
	1	Dyes			2,565	
	5	Tools		7,500	15,431	
	1	Brush cutters	2,822			
Total	91		126,819	86,192	154,030	\$367,041
China	2	Bearings	682	1,031		
	1	Petroleum products equipment	32			
	1	Electrical materials	14,407			
	1	Magnet wire			6,726	
	1	Microphones	5,400			
	1	Laboratory equipment	1,112			
	2	Steam power plant		22,963	48,300	
	9	Spares-truck	7,724			
	1	Switch gears		938		
	1	Petrol equipment		1,043		
	5	Electrical equipment	15,082			
	1	Wire cloth	1,360			
	13	Tires and tubes			1,150,821	
	2	Electrical equipment	9,847	1,676		
	1	Laboratory equipment	1,818			
	3	Testing machine	23,811	9,825		
	1	Engines		224		
	1	Watt-4 motors			110,588	
	1	Turbine generator		8,810		
Total	48		65,993	61,592	1,316,435	
Netherlands	1	Tires and tubes	42,502			
Total	1		42,502			
Russia	12	Spares for cranes	4,094		74,229	
	2	Telephone equipment	24,697			
	3	Laboratory equipment	16,174			
	5	Machine tools	30,283	144,249		
	1	Electrical instruments			288	
	1	3 roll machine			1,090	
	1	Sieves	5,800			
	1	Electric motors		344		
	1	Pipe fittings		13,842		
	1	Bearings		1,056		
	1	Copper cable		8,249		
	2	Locomotives		25,641		
	11	Power equipment and spares		1,272,417	5,545	
	22	Electrical equipment		945,137		
Russia	7	Mine hoists and controls		3,057,988		
	1	Diesel spares	29,464			
	3	Pumps and spares	6,194	14,400		
	7	Electric motors and controls		349,855		
	1	Service condenser		40,000		
	2	Boilers and spares		6,347		
	1	Locomotive storage batteries		1,776,632		
	13	Industrial equipment	3,199	299,531	31,738	
	1	Tools	33,351			
	2	Mining equipment		674,081		
Total	102		153,256	8,619,769	112,890	
Peru	2	Auto spares	491			91
Saudi Arabia	1	Pumps and spares		515		
	6	Auto spares	2,031			
	2	Electric wiring and accessories		226	2,000	
	1	Truck and spares			47,401	
Total	10		2,031	741	49,401	52,173
West Africa	5	Locomotive parts		78,114		
	1	Motor pump		220		
	1	Rubber sheet			150	
	2	Welders		10,934		
	1	Bronze bars			1,024	
	4	Auto spares	3,900		658	
Total	14		3,900	89,268	1,832	95,000
Brazil	1	Auto spares	2,560			
	1	Battery charger	372			
	1	Industrial machinery	10,575			
Total	3		13,507			13,507
British	1	Medical X-ray		9,072		
	15	Tractor, agricultural and industrial spares	5,755	979	8,386	
Total	16		5,755	10,051	8,386	24,192
Belgium	1	Agricultural spares	25		7,551	
	2	Paper			19,358	
	2	Tires and tubes			230,444	
	1	Trucks and spares			46,485	
	5	Truck spare	31,283		17,791	
	1	Bicycle chains				
Total	15		31,308		321,829	352,937

Recapitulation of undelivered lend-lease items, Jan. 15, 1947—Continued

Program	Number active contracts	Commodity classification, undelivered	Estimated value			Total
			Disposal, domestic sale	Unsalable, except scrap	Not scheduled, indefinite	
Austria.....	1	Crosscut saws.....			\$62,617	
	1	Cardiograph.....		\$6,502		
	2	Truck spares.....	\$8,393			
	1	Laboratory equipment.....			230	
	7	Tractor, agricultural spares.....	37,770		16,236	
	7	Tractor and parts.....	19,445		653,518	
	2	Balers and spares.....	204,420			
Total.....	21		270,036	6,502	732,601	\$1,009,159

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, the first item we find for Russia is oil-refinery equipment in the amount of \$6,971,000—new equipment going through the pipe line to Russia. The letter breaks down the equipment into different categories. There are automobile fires, tractors, and a variety of items which I think would be of interest to the Senate.

I wish to say further that the amount of money involved exceeds \$25,000,000 or \$35,000,000, because at that time there also was brought to the attention of the Appropriations Committee the matter of the disposal of goods and supplies in continental Europe by other Government agencies, such as the War Assets Administration, the State Department, and also the Army, which continued to sell and is now selling to Russia millions of dollars' worth of property on long-term security. Some of it is just as vital in a military way as the oil-refinery equipment to which the distinguished Senator has referred.

Mr. President, I thank the Senator for giving me the opportunity to continue my remarks to this extent.

Mr. REVERCOMB. I thank the Senator from Nebraska for his remarks, because they clarify the point which has been made; namely, that while we are, by the measure now before the Senate, asked to take steps to stop the expansion of communism from Russia, yet at the same time we find the departments of our Government, even the same department which has brought forth the pending bill, urging the Congress to permit the sending of military supplies, even a high-octane gasoline plant, into Russia. It is inconceivable that such a thing should be done, and it is unreasonable. Certainly we should not proceed until a definite policy is established.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. PEPPER. Yesterday in Washington Mr. Arthur H. Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, addressed the Society of Newspaper Editors. The article in the New York Times reporting Mr. Sulzberger's address contains, among other things, the following, on page 19:

Responsibility to print unbiased, objective news is a part of the price which the public expects of the press in return for its basic guaranty of freedom, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, declared today in an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Later in the same article the following appears:

The public, Mr. Sulzberger said in his speech, had the right to demand a fair presentation of the news.

"It has a right to protection from unscrupulous advertising," he said. "It has the right to demand as accurate, full and impartial a news service as the public itself is prepared to support. It has this right because freedom of the press is one of its own fundamental freedoms which, in effect, vests with a relatively small number of its citizenry. The press and freedom suffer where a community fails to demand and receive its rights in this respect."

The New York publisher said that the chief external attack against the newspapers comes now from Communists and fellow travelers. But, he had previously emphasized, "most important among the dangers to press freedom are the shortcomings of the press itself."

The article then proceeds:

The present administration, Mr. Sulzberger said, "unlike the last, has not sniped at newspapers." On the contrary, he went on, this administration "has advanced the theory of press freedom as an element of democracy to such an extent that those who are in conflict with our American way of life are those making the most propaganda against the newspapers on the ground that they are not free.

"But also," he stated, "we must not forget the honest critics who have no ulterior motive and who, quite the contrary, are fully aware of the importance of press freedom, and who wish to have the product improved in order that the threats to the institution can be removed or at least minimized."

Mr. President, I consider myself in the category there referred to by Mr. Sulzberger as an honest member of a group who criticizes the press because I want to preserve its essential freedom to be a free press. But I am also one of the public, who, as Mr. Sulzberger says, has the right to demand a fair presentation of the news, and one of those who have a right to demand fair and full reporting of the news.

My application is this, Mr. President. I commend to Mr. Sulzberger's consideration the article in the New York Times reporting the speech made in this body yesterday by the senior Senator from Florida. I say it was not fair, it was not full, it was not accurate, in the information and in the impressions it conveyed of the remarks made. In that whole report not one reference was made to the fact that the Senator from Florida, in two speeches made to his colleagues on this floor, has made the burden of his argument that the measure now pending should go through the United Nations Organization, and that the vice of it lay in an attempt to achieve the objective enunciated by the President through unilateral action on the part of the Government of the United States.

No man on this floor has gone further than the Senator from Florida in those

two speeches in saying that he would vote and do what he could to resist Russian aggression, and that if it took arms to do it through the United Nations, he would support that objective in every possible way. But in the New York Times report of the speech it took out of the context a little colloquy between the Senator from Florida and the Senator from New Mexico, and played it up into a sensational journalistic report hardly better than would have been done by a part of the press of this country that does not claim to be in the category with the New York Times.

Mr. Sulzberger has a great responsibility, not only to keep his word, but to set an example to the American press. I understand his paper gets more newsprint than any other paper in the Nation, when many little papers in our country are having to curtail or to shut down because they are just little newspapers, and do not have Mr. Sulzberger's access to the great newsprint cartel of America or the world.

I say that Mr. Sulzberger would do better to practice what he preaches. I say he would do better to give in his paper a representation that comports with his principles as he has declared them to his fellow publishers, and I brand as unfair, as inaccurate, as giving a wrong impression, the report of the New York Times of the particular speech yesterday to which I have referred, of which I have knowledge, because I was the one who delivered it.

Mr. President, this is why I called attention a moment ago to the speech being made by the Senator from West Virginia. It is no function of the American press to censor public speeches, either. Whether they like them or do not like them, they owe a duty of fair representation of the facts. It is none of their business whether they like a Senator's speech or whether they do not like it, their duty is to report it, and let the people determine whether they like it or not, whether they give it their approval or whether they reject it. Yet we have seen in this debate that when the Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] made an address in the Senate on Tuesday, and spoke all afternoon, one paper stated, in a dignified report of the speech, that all Senator TAYLOR did was to spend an afternoon speaking, waiting for the Senator from Florida to return.

Would anyone call that freedom of the press being fairly exercised, responsibility being fully discharged? It was the duty of the press to report the substance of what the Senator said. He is one ninety-sixth of the senatorial power of the United States. The papers cannot carry

all that all of us say, or all of what any of us say, when we make protracted speeches; but I denounce the kind of newspaper reporting that will castigate a Senator's remarks on this floor with that kind of an epithet and that kind of disregard.

The representatives of the American press are meeting here in Washington. They are fine, honorable, patriotic gentlemen, and I wish a test could be made of the report of this debate, not by all—and I am not criticizing the press services, either—but by some of the papers who have read into their news reporting their editorial policy. They are the enemies of a free press. Any paper that censors its news columns attempts to deny the fundamental civic right of a free press. It is its own worst enemy. It betrays a public duty. I say the pending issue is a matter of colossal import, and that the people are entitled to know the facts; they are entitled, as best they can, to get the arguments made and to weigh those arguments according to the information they have. A press that denies them the fullest possible information betrays its duty; it does not deserve the freedom it enjoys if in that manner it discharges its obligation.

I conclude by saying that I come squarely within the principle enunciated by Mr. Sulzberger. I have tried to be an honest critic in order to preserve the freedom of the press, which we cherish. Let the newspapers write any kind of an editorial they desire to write. But they do owe a duty to us all that they report the facts to the people. When they have done that, they are entitled to give any interpretation in their editorial columns they care to give. But as an honest critic, and as one who cherishes the fullest freedom of the press as a part of our great democracy, I wanted to call attention to what I believe has been a failure on the part of the press adequately, at this important moment in American history, to discharge its commanding obligation.

I thank the Senator from West Virginia for yielding.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, I am very glad to have heard the statement of the able Senator from Florida. I think it is entirely timely. I know that he advocated—I heard him do so upon the floor of the Senate—that the question involved in the bill before us should go to the United Nations. In that suggestion I certainly concur, and I advocate here today that such a course be followed. It is not a burden which the United States should carry alone. It is wrong for this Government to saddle it upon the backs of the American people alone. It is a matter which should go to the organization which was established for the purpose of meeting these problems—the United Nations.

Mr. President, before I yielded I was discussing the message of the President and certain statements therein which dealt with the subject of the scope of this problem and whether or not it was an extension of the principles that we know, and that are known to all the world, as the Monroe Doctrine. I quote further from the President's message:

But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United

Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

This means nothing less than that the United States is taking upon itself alone the obligation to see that existing governments of all nations in the world are to be held in status quo. It further means that we are adopting a policy of taking upon the United States alone the duty to carry out the objective of the United Nations because the President says if we will do this the United States would be effecting the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

To me, it is inescapable that, through the President's language when he presented this new plan for Greece and Turkey, he desires to extend to every country in the world a policy to sustain their governments, to protect them against disturbances within or invasion from without.

That goes further than the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. President. It is to protect the status quo of the governments of the world. That is definitely in true essence an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. It is even broader than the Monroe Doctrine, in that it applies to internal insurrections. Furthermore, the President, by the language which I have quoted, states that by following this policy we, the United States, alone will be carrying out the purposes of all those who have joined together in the United Nations. We divest the United Nations, if you please, of its duties and purposes, and take them upon ourselves.

I remember that when the question of the adoption of the Charter of the United Nations was pending before the Senate, a strong appeal was made that there would be taken from the shoulders of the American people and of the Government of the United States the duty, alone, to settle difficulties and troubles in parts of the world remote from us and that such responsibilities would be placed in the hands of a united group of nations for the purpose of maintaining peace and stopping wars that might burst forth. When, in the Senate, we voted for the United Nations Organization, we did so in the belief that it would carry the burden of such problems as might arise in the Middle East. "But, oh," it is said, "the United Nations cannot act." Has it been tried? No. Has this question been submitted to the United Nations? Not once. It was presented first to the Congress of this Government, not to the council of the United Nations. Why is it said that the United Nations cannot act? The able Senator from Florida on yesterday pointed out the instance of the United Nations, upon complaint of Iran, compelling the Russians to withdraw their troops from that country. There have been other instances in which the United Nations have intervened to bring about settlements.

(At this point, Mr. REVERCOMB yielded to Mr. COOPER, whose remarks, by request of Mr. REVERCOMB, appear at the conclusion of Mr. REVERCOMB's speech.)

Mr. REVERCOMB. Is I have said, Mr. President, those who continue to argue before the Senate that this question can-

not be taken to the United Nations are themselves taking a course which it seems to me is a belittlement of and the beginning of the end of that organization. It stands as a great and beautiful structure of uselessness, if we permit any country that is a member of it to take upon itself the duties and work of the United Nations. It is regrettable indeed that the United States of America, where it had its birth and its organization, should be the first to avoid the use of that great instrumentality in an attempt at least to meet the problem that exists in the southern part of Europe.

The President, further in his remarks, made it clear that this was the beginning of a new policy. He said in his address to the Congress:

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

He, himself, recognized the true seriousness of it. He was fair to the Congress in saying that it is serious.

It is so serious because it is fraught with the danger of early involvement of this country in war without an ally to aid in the cause. Our country would be acting alone and creating situations or incidents which could plunge us into a devastating war at any time. When the President says it is a serious course upon which we embark, I agree with him; it is not only a serious course but, if adopted, would be a tragic course.

If the Monroe Doctrine is applied to all the world and to every country in it, it means that the Government of this Nation has assumed, on behalf of our people, an obligation to protect every country in the world against invasion or aggression from another.

The best example of such a policy is summed up in the language of those who have said that wherever there may be trouble in the world it is the trouble of the United States of America. We become the police force of the world. We shoulder as one nation the burden that was to be that of the United Nations.

Perhaps wherever trouble may be in the world it may indeed be of interest to us, but we now confront the question of carrying that policy to the extent of using the wealth and the armed forces of the United States to enforce such a doctrine in lands far remote from us.

The bill now before the Senate of the United States marks the first definite step on the part of those who seek to place an obligation upon this country to protect every established government, wherever it may exist, and to underwrite and guarantee the security and safety of every government in the world. If we consider the proposal thoughtfully we can but wonder where such a course will carry us.

First, Mr. President, let me discuss the matter solely from a financial and monetary viewpoint. This is, in fact, not a completely new monetary policy. Our Government has heretofore used the wealth of our people for others. We have loaned billions of dollars to other countries. Such a step was taken after the First World War. Much of the money we advanced was not repaid, and a Second World War was not averted. Mr. President, I say that the action we are now asked to take, if taken, will not avert a third world war.

We were cursed for our beneficence, but failed to learn a lesson therefrom. Already we have again set out upon the same course. We have loaned approximately \$4,000,000,000 to Great Britain, a country which still owed us \$6,000,000,000 on a debt it had refused time and again to honor. When the subject of the loan to Britain was before the Senate I said that it was not so much the matter of a particular loan to Great Britain wherein the danger lay for us as it was the renewed establishment of a policy of loaning the wealth of America to other countries. The charge that we were beginning such a policy was denied on the floor of the Senate. Now we see that not only the loaning of money to other countries was established as a policy, loaning money whether there was any hope of it ever being repaid or not, but we see established as a policy the giving away of money to other nations. That, in candor, is the plan which is now before us. How long can this Nation survive such a course without impoverishment?

Even today we are advised that these donations will not stop with the four hundred millions proposed to be sent to Greece and Turkey, but we are told that we must give six hundred millions to Korea, a country which has today no settled government and is divided into spheres of government between Russia and the attempted influence of America.

This new billion dollars to be given away is but an inkling of what it will mean if we are to set ourselves up as the guardians and supporters of every remote country in the world, whatever our motive may be, whether to aid them to have what they want or to insist that our ideas of government shall prevail for them.

We are at once confronted with the very practical question of how long the wealth of America and her people, who even today struggle under a crushing debt, can long endure a constant drain upon our resources for the benefit of crumbling governments abroad. Can we dare take the chance of throwing our own country into economic turmoil and impoverish our own people through any such policy?

It seems to me that such a plan whereby America must shoulder the financial burdens of the world and pour out what she may have here can mean only the end of a wealthy America and the end of a strong America. When her strength is gone this country will be begging alms and who will there be to help?

Such a plan as that proposed is bound to carry us to that end if we follow it with consistency.

Mr. President, history is replete with examples of nations which have fallen. I doubt if anyone who lived in the days when the Roman Empire was rich and powerful dreamt for a moment that that great power could crumble. But we who read her history know how she extended her borders farther and farther throughout the world, and we know how she eventually fell. The power that was Rome has long since ceased to exist.

If we cannot follow the proposed plan with consistency, we should not begin

it, because unless we follow it through to its end certainly that which we pour out will be of only temporary aid, and will be lost both in purpose and in repayment. Abandonment of the plan will bring hate from those we promised more than we can give.

We are confronted now with the question, plainly, clearly, are we to undertake a course whereby the people of America are to finance the governments of the world? The proposed plan is the first step on such a course.

It is but the beginning of the spending. We should not ignore the practical effect of what is sought here to be done. It is \$250,000,000 to Greece this year and one hundred and fifty millions to Turkey this year. Having started this undertaking, I warn Senators that the budgets of next year and the appropriations of next year will carry additional millions and millions to meet the cost of the plan that we have set up for those countries. No man can foretell when it will end, whether in 5 years or in 20 years. This Nation's wealth can be exhausted in such a venture. Once embarked upon there can be no turning back without the charge of failure, and those we would make the beneficiaries of our bounty will rise to hate us for not carrying through to the end the plan we declared upon.

Great Britain undertook this scheme, and it had to stop.

There was reason for the British people to undertake such a plan. Their very life on their rugged islands depended on it. Great, strong people that they were, they had the plan of empire. They had to protect the ways of commerce through the Middle East. But, Mr. President, we have in Great Britain the example—with her great wealth—of having failed, and today we are told, and it has been told here upon the floor of the Senate in the course of this debate, that the British people now face ruin economically.

To quote the President's own language, the Government of Great Britain today had to "liquidate its commitments."

Great Britain has liquidated its commitments in Greece and in the Middle East. It made certain commitments, certain promises. It undertook to sustain its former course and carry out its commitments. It failed and it has withdrawn, and we are asked to take up the burden in the face of the failure of another powerful nation.

Liquidating a commitment simply means repudiating a policy because of inability to fulfill it. Is America to place herself in the position not only of liquidating her commitments abroad, but also failing in her first obligation to her own people? If we pass this bill she will have to do so or go down the road to virtual economic ruin and bankruptcy. She will have to abandon this plan. She will have to suffer the dishonor of repudiating promises, or else pour out the wealth of the people of this country to support all other governments in the world. That is the reason why I oppose starting upon such a program. I can see no other end if we follow this program to its logical conclusion. We shall be helpless to prevent the spread of com-

munist in our own land. Cannot men see what lies ahead? Why embark upon a course which may bring us to such an end?

The President himself frankly stated to the joint meeting of the two Houses of Congress that if the sums of money which he requested did not meet the needs of his policy he would again come to us. Senators recall that statement. He said that if the sum of \$400,000,000 did not meet the requirements in carrying out the world-wide policy, he would come back to us and ask for more. He will be back if this policy is adopted. It will become a regular part of the yearly expenditures of this Government. He will come to us again and again if we ever embark upon so fateful and tragic a course. Can Senators ignore those facts? Shall we, in our zeal to carry out a plan which now seems beneficent, blind ourselves to reality?

There is a publication known as the Kiplinger Letter, which is issued at intervals. It deals with government activities. In this week's issue the statement is made that this plan will cost between \$10,000,000,000 and \$15,000,000,000.

The people of this country are crying out to their Government to relieve them from the taxes they now bear. This must be done if we are to progress and if our people are to have the use of their own money. Senators have urged the retirement of the great public debt which hangs around our necks like a millstone. The people, by their votes and voices, have asked that expenditures be curtailed so that less expense of government will be placed upon them. If we pass this bill and embark upon this policy, we cannot hope either to reduce the debt or to reduce taxes. Yet in the face of this call of the people we embark upon a policy which means increased debt and increased taxes for no good end.

Mr. President, let me say as earnestly as I know how that this measure will not stop the spread of communism. The expenditure of \$400,000,000 will not stop the spread of communism. We plunge into a policy of giving away our wealth and sustaining governments which totter, with no assurance whatever of success, and with the certain result in the end of our own country being weakened. Only in the preservation of our own strength lies our security and the security of the world.

Figures have already been placed before us in the course of this debate, but a recapitulation of them will, I hope, impress them upon us and bring them more definitely into the consideration of the decision we are about to make.

We are told that since July 1, 1945, this country has obligated itself and its people to the extent of almost \$16,000,000,000 to assist those in foreign lands. That has already been done, before any move is taken upon the course we are now asked to undertake. We are told that that figure does not include our military costs abroad or most of our aid to Latin-American countries and countries of the Orient. These expenditures include commitments and loans to Great Britain; the support and feeding of people in the invaded countries of Europe; loans

from the Export-Import Bank to help the Allied countries rebuild their commerce; and money given through UNRRA.

What has happened to the Bretton Woods project? America committed herself to the extent of \$6,000,000,000, with a contingent liability for even more. We were told that that fund was created so that countries which found their economies depressed through war could borrow money to reestablish themselves. All of this is apparently forgotten. We now embark upon a new scheme which, in effect, is a commitment to support with money all the governments of the world if they will but call upon us and say that their regimes are threatened by an uprising from within or attack from without.

Are we ready to sacrifice America, to weaken her, to destroy her, under a plan which has no end in sight, a plan which can carry us to impoverishment and weakness? I am not willing to go along with such a plan.

No one deplores more than I do the spread of communism anywhere, and particularly in my own country. It seems to me that our first duty is to meet the threat of communism at home. But I am not willing to sacrifice the strength and power of America and destroy the freedom of our own people and our right to enjoy the fruits of our labor in order to protect tottering governments in other lands. I am not willing to weaken America to the point where communism can take a strangle hold upon us.

To what extent do we expect these gifts to save Greece and Turkey? Doubtless when Russia is ready she can move with speed into those countries. Yesterday I heard the statement made upon the floor of the Senate that some high military authority had stated that Russia's armed forces could move into the countries of Europe within 8 days if she so desired. Under those circumstances what good would it do to spend this money in Greece and establish a force in Europe for the purpose of stopping the spread of communism, if that is the real intent?

It was well pointed out yesterday from the map on the wall that Russia borders on other countries to the east, through which she could move. Are we going to pour out money there too? It has not yet been suggested, but if this plan is followed through it is reasonable to expect that we shall be asked to make such expenditures. What about Yugoslavia? Are we to pour money into Yugoslavia, which is now under Communist domination, to stop the further spread of communism? Where will this program end? The very fact that we, under the shadow of the borders of Russia, take such a step at this time, in my judgment, is but a reason for her to act more promptly in moving into those nations if she has the intention of doing so. She has a reason, in the eyes of the world, to say that the United States of America is attempting to set up a foreign sovereignty on her borders and for that reason she must move into those countries to protect her own border lines.

That is the hue and cry which she can make to the world. We cannot give one

reason for ourselves and another reason for some other country.

This is a tragic course. It means the ruin of our internal economy. It means hastened involvement in war. Surely the future could hold no greater tragedies—tragedies that are hastened and precipitated by our own actions.

So today, as I stand here, a Member of the Senate, I earnestly plead with my colleagues to stop and consider and not to take an action which, in my judgment, can lead us only upon a path of dark regret.

The loan to Greece and to Turkey is not great in itself. But, as the President has said, this is a serious policy. Oh, how serious it is when we think of the end to which it can carry us. It can carry us to internal economic destruction. Every country shown on the map which is on that wall of the Senate Chamber wants protection against communism. This action will not stop the spread of communism. Only one thing will stop it for us and that is a strong, internal economy in America.

Mr. President, there is another feature of this policy of sending money and the military into other countries, and it is a feature which must cause other nations to shudder in apprehension of what America is up to, and that is the subject of American imperialism—of America attempting to dominate the world and the governments of other countries. We will not admit such a purpose, and, in truth, we do not have such a purpose, but, indeed, how quickly may that purpose change if we find ourselves dominating the governments of other countries or find ourselves in a position where it is necessary to dominate others in order to have them repay to us that which we have advanced them. Is America to start upon an imperialistic policy in the Mediterranean and in Asia? Can we in fairness fail to see the fear in other countries even when we start with declared good intentions? I can understand that such apprehension on their part is well founded, for the day may come when for our own economic stability it may be necessary to demand that they return to us that which we have advanced in the form of financial aid.

However, were this but an advance of money, with all the dangers fraught to our economy in such a policy, it would be less dangerous to our welfare if it were not connected plainly and outspokenly with the sending into those countries of military personnel. There is the interesting feature, and I want my country to be earnest and frank about what is intended.

There is no limit upon the number of such personnel. The Congress gives the President authority to send limited personnel. Under the language of the resolution he can send 20 or 20,000 or 200,000, depending upon what, in his judgment, is a necessary limitation under the exigencies that may arise out of this whole undertaking. Military commissions are the forerunners of war.

We are told that this combination of money and military might is necessary to stop the spread of communism from Russia into Greece. If that be the real

reason, it is to stop Russia over and near her own borders from advancing her power and infiltrating her ideologies of government into a neighboring country.

To sum it up, we are undertaking to say to other nations of the world that ours is the only true way for you, whether you like it or not. That is imperialism in its strongest essence.

There is no one more opposed to communism than am I. Time and time again I have spoken openly upon the floor of the Senate and before the people of my country in the condemnation of communism. I want it eradicated completely from every phase of American life.

At the same time, I have recognized the right of the Russian people that if they desire communism that is their own choice. I recognize the right of every country within its own borders to have any desired form of government, so long as they themselves can sustain it.

Suppose Russia, or Great Britain, with her form of government by a limited monarchy, were to send military personnel into Mexico to see to it that the principles of American democracy were not to be considered in that country, what would be the reaction of America to such a step. Undoubtedly, we would consider it an overt act of hostility, and, in truth, a declaration of war.

Let us get down to facts and realities and see whether we are moving toward war. I cannot accept the statement that it is not a hostile act. We have been outspoken and we should be outspoken with reference to it.

Can we expect Russia to consider such a step on our part in any other light? In fact, is it any other step?

This is a far move toward World War III, a definite step taken by America in that direction.

If, in truth, we have found it necessary to make war upon Russia, why not tell the American people and the world that we are doing just that so that they may know where we are going and prepare for it.

This talk about this being a step to avert war is to ignore realities. It has the same sound as the words that came out of the Congress when the Harrison Neutrality Act was repealed, and we began to send arms abroad. We were told then that was a step to assure our protection against involvement in a war already raging. At first it was said that we would sell arms to combatants on the barrel head, for those who wanted to come and get them at our shores, and shortly thereafter we were shipping arms to the Allies in American boats. Why did not our Government then tell the people of America that it was to the best interest of this country to join the Allies and go to war with them. Why must the people be fooled?

We confront the very same situation here today. If we must resort to arms, why not tell the people of this country and tell them why we must go to war.

If the spread of communism into Europe is the reason for this action, and if the spread of communism over into Asia is the reason for the proposed advance to Korea, tell the people of this

country and tell them why we must go to war.

It seems to me, in the light of any principle that may be laid down, that we cannot hope to avert eventual war by such a course of action.

We could hope to do so if we would take the matter to the United Nations, start with it there, and go as far as we could with it. We cannot expect to apply one principle to the government of another country and another principle to ourselves. If such action were directed at us, you and I know that war would be inevitable and immediate. Can you expect anything other than that from Russia?

There may be some lapse of time for preparation, but certainly this act on our part can never be forgotten and can be used as a cause of war against us. How practical, I wonder, is the sending of military personnel into Greece and Turkey. How long would such military personnel block the way for Russia if that country desired to make an advance or invasion?

Indeed, it seems to me that instead of preserving peace we are precipitating certain war. This is a time for men to speak frankly, and I am speaking frankly. I do not want to take a step that will needlessly plunge us into war or hasten war. If war be inevitable, if we know that Russia is to advance upon us, then let us say so openly to the people, and go ahead. No one has yet said that, however.

The step now proposed is but a dallying step, a taunting act that cannot help but inflame the hearts and feelings of those at whom it is directed.

I do not have any defense, from my own viewpoint, for what is going on in Russia. When I went into Europe after the fall of Germany and saw that torn land, when I went into France and saw its 16 largest cities elect Communists to head up their government, and when I went into Italy and saw the red banner of communism over the graves of their Italian dead, I made the statement that we had helped to destroy a bad thing in Europe but we had paved the way for something equally bad, and that was communism. I was criticized for that remark, but I still believe I was right.

Now the question comes as to whether this country must invite another war to block the communism that is sweeping Europe, sweeping it through the people of their own lands, through the force of Russia. Communism is strongly entrenched in many countries of Europe. Are we to carry this now proposed policy into all other countries? Certainly to be effective and to be consistent in any degree would require it. Such a course, I believe, would wreck this Nation before it could defend its own shores and its own people against the spread of that threat.

If, in soundness, it could be believed that \$400,000,000 taken from our own Treasury and our own people and given to Greece and Turkey would strengthen those countries so that they would be a happy people and secure against communism, even at that cost to us this particular gift would have a strong appeal.

However, I submit to you, Mr. Presi-

dent, that such an act will not stop communism, if communism through force is to be brought into those countries. I submit to you that if the people of Greece are going to fall for communism, this loan of money and a military commission will not stop it. It will not stop it any more than the three and three-fourths billion dollars would have saved the economy of the British Empire. We know that it has not and we know that will not. It means that much loss to this country without substantial and lasting aid to the donees.

The United Nations Organization has been brought into this picture. I have referred, as several other Members of the Senate have referred, to the suggestion that this problem should be submitted to the United Nations, which is where it should have originated, certainly. The trial should be made there.

It is proposed that we give this aid and money to Greece and Turkey and that we send military missions—ours, no one else's—into those countries.

It is said that if we take this matter before the United Nations, the United Nations might veto our proposal. I believe a provision now in the bill would have us take this step subject to the approval of the United Nations, so that if the United Nations did not see fit to approve of our action, the United Nations could veto what we were doing in those countries.

In the first place, I think that is utterly unsound. If we are to permit the United Nations to veto what we are doing, why do not we go to the United Nations in the first place and ask their approval of this action before it is taken, and then take it through the channels that Organization offers? Why must America suffer the cost of this enterprise and take unto herself the whole burden of the world, when such a problem was supposed to be handled by the nations acting in concert? It has been pointed out that we cannot act through the United Nations because of Russia. Naturally, Russia would veto such action of the United Nations, and reasonably so because the very step is taken against her.

Then it has been proposed by an able Member of the Senate that if Russia acts in that way, she should be faced squarely with the proposition, and should be dropped from the United Nations in such case, or that action should be taken regardless of her opposition. Mr. President, that proposal is a realistic one, to me, and I believe it deserves sound consideration. If we are to move to block communism, why not act in a practical way by getting other nations to move with us? How can we say in one breath that the proposed move is to block Russia and to block communism, and then say in the next breath that it would not be proper to ignore Russia? We are setting out not only to ignore Russia, but to block Russia.

The view of leaving Russia out of the United Nations has been criticized upon the ground that it will be the means of creating a power bloc of the other countries against Russia. Is not that just what we want if we are proceeding against Russia? Is not it better to have a power bloc of nations against Russia

than to have the United States undertake the project alone. I cannot understand the reasoning of those who, having espoused and fought for an undertaking that has as its prime objective blocking the influence of Russia, would then oppose forming a power bloc against her. There is too much contradiction in that position.

The time has come here on the floor of the Senate of the United States for this Government to decide whether it wants to adopt a policy that, stripped of all decorative verbiage, means that this country is to undertake to sustain, through military force and through financing, the government of every country in the world that fears the uprising of a minority within it or an attack from without.

The alternative to such a plan—and it seems to me there is but one alternative—is to avail ourselves of the one agency and the one power and the one group that exists in the world, the United Nations, that is established for such a purpose, and go there and try to use it first, and see whether it will be successful. We should at least be fair enough with it not to ignore it, not to bypass it, or to have this country, the scene of its birth, be the first to pursue such a course.

If the United States is to follow the policy which is now proposed, then America should get ready for continuous and recurrent war, and get ready to sacrifice the lives of her young men, and get ready to exhaust her wealth, because that will be the ultimate end, and the only end, to which such a course can take us.

I am opposed to the philosophies and the brutalities of Russia. But what controls my course more than my dislike of communism or any other dislike is the security and strength of my own country and the protection and well-being of my own people. When I see my Government embarking upon a plan which in my own honest thought can but lead to another war, can but lead to a weakening of our Nation, I shall oppose that course so long as to oppose it does not mean to oppose the defense of my own country; and I do not believe that is involved in the present case. If it can be shown that the adoption of such a course is necessary for the defense of the United States, that it is necessary for the defense of the United States that we go to war with Russia at this time, let that be shown. But let us not adopt a plan under some covert step to look after all the other countries of the world and sustain their governments and, through following such a course, thus fool our people into taking a step that can only lead to war.

This subject is the gravest one which has confronted our Government in many years. Not only is it grave in respect to being a step toward war, but it is also grave in that we shall be undertaking a policy which may mean recurrent and continuous warfare for America. Furthermore, it is the making of a policy which would place upon the backs of the American people the costs of sustaining every failing government in the world.

Mr. President, I have spoken frankly today. I have spoken at great length. I have listened to the debates upon this subject. I waited some time before arriving at my own decision in regard to the pending measure and this issue. But I say to you that I have come to the sincere conclusion—a conclusion contrary to that held by many Members of this body whom I respect greatly—that the only course for the United States to take and the only way for the United States to go is through the United Nations, and that not until failure is met with there should this country attempt to act alone. This bill is the way to war and economic injury for our country; the United Nations may offer a way to peace and continued strength for us.

During the delivery of Mr. REVERCOMB's speech,

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I hesitate to interrupt the Senator at this time and interrupt the train of his thought. I am a little late in my remarks, but a few moments ago when the Senator from Florida was speaking, I was moved to make a statement, and I should like to do that now.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Does the Senator wish to speak at length?

Mr. COOPER. No. I should like to refer to the statement just made by the Senator from Florida, if the Senator from West Virginia will permit me to do so.

Mr. REVERCOMB. At length?

Mr. COOPER. No, for only two or three minutes.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Very well; I yield.

Mr. COOPER. I can say that I was sitting on the other side near the Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] yesterday when he was speaking, and I heard practically all of his speech. A few minutes before that time the Senator from Florida and I had engaged in a colloquy consisting of some questions and answers. While I can say that I do not agree with the Senator from Florida in many of the conclusions he reached in his argument, and I am not in accord with his attitude upon this bill—I am supporting the bill—yet in reading this morning the article, to which he referred, I myself felt that I had interpreted his remarks in a much different way than they were reported in the article.

As I understood the sense of what the Senator said and the context of his speech, he was speaking about fundamental governmental positions, and what one country could argue as against the position of another. It was my opinion in listening to him that he was expressing it as a matter of argument and not as his own conclusion.

I am moved to make this statement because after listening to his speech yesterday, with many of the conclusions of which I did not agree—and I am not with him in his position upon this bill—I wanted to say that I did not arrive at the conclusion that was reported in the newspaper this morning.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, may I thank the Senator from Kentucky for his

characteristically kind and generous words?

Mr. REVERCOMB. I ask that the remarks by the Senator from Kentucky, and the last remark by the able Senator from Florida, appear at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

After the conclusion of Mr. REVERCOMB's speech,

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask that there be inserted in the RECORD a suggestion I am making, first, that the Senate obtain immediately the recommendation of General Marshall on the Greek loan; and second, that when he returns, he be requested to furnish the Senate a full report on world affairs.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUGGESTIONS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Mr. President, I submit two suggestions with regard to our foreign policy. Rather than put them in the form of resolutions, I offer them at this point for purposes of speed and simplicity, merely in this form:

RECOMMENDATION OF GENERAL MARSHALL ON GREEK LOAN

The first is that Secretary of State Marshall, in Moscow, advise the Senate and the House, by cable, of his personal position with regard to the proposed Greek and Turkish loan program, based upon his latest experiences in the Foreign Ministers Conference. There is no single citizen in the United States of America who possesses a greater and more up-to-the-minute insight of United States-Russian relations than our distinguished Secretary of State. If my suggestion that he advise us at this time on the Greek and Turkish loan meets with favor here, and with the State Department, and the President, then I believe that General Marshall could, with that keen mind and great brain of his, within a few hours or less cable word to the Senate and to the House of Representatives on this matter. In so doing he could help resolve many of the questions and doubts in the minds of my colleagues here and in the minds of all Americans.

It has been imputed here in the Senate that Secretary Marshall is not wholly in favor of the proposed Greek and Turkish loan program. Such rumor could be spiked immediately, certainly before the Senate takes action on this measure next Tuesday. America stands at the crossroad of international policy. She deserves the benefit of the first-hand judgment of her Secretary of State. Too long have we received only the judgment of the second-level State Department officials, however able they may be.

Some might say that such a report from General Marshall at this time might embarrass him in his role at the Conference. I say, on the contrary, it would strengthen his role. It would indicate the ideal, indivisible unity of United States foreign policy for a United States diplomat working out the problems of Germany to report simultaneously on the problems of the eastern Mediterranean.

POST-MOSCOW REPORT ON WORLD AFFAIRS

My second suggestion is that immediately upon the conclusion or suspension of the Foreign Ministers Conference in Moscow, that Secretary of State Marshall report to the Senate and the House of Representatives in joint session on the status of United States foreign relations. Here again we should have the direct benefit of his able judgment on the greatest single problem in

the world today—the problem of the relationship between the United States and Soviet Russia, which expresses itself in the problem of the west versus the east.

I recall that some 6 years ago in February 1941 I urged that Secretary of State Hull report to the Senate in similar executive session on the crisis in the Far East. This was 10 months before Pearl Harbor. Such a session was not held, and America was not informed of the gathering war clouds over the Pacific; the result was tragic, as we know.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, returning from a trip to attend the Inter-parliamentary Union meeting at Cairo, where, during the course of our aerial voyage, we saw the remnants and the relics of the civilizations which have waxed and waned in the Mediterranean Basin, we are compelled to ponder the implications of the action now proposed. It is a matter of regret that we missed the discussions which have proceeded on the Senate floor during our absence. On the other hand, it seems possible that from the first-hand impressions gained, there might be something of value contributed to the understanding of the situation as it now exists.

Some of the things we observed might not seem to lend great support to the position of the President. Yet, on balance, it is my considered conclusion at this time that the course the President recommends is the one we may well pursue.

The brevity of our visit necessarily left us qualified as experts, as it has always been my theory that unless one stayed in a country more than 24 hours, he could qualify as an expert. If he stayed any longer, he was disqualified. So we may in some instances be in the happy state of being experts.

We returned with an overwhelming impression, which was fortified by the recurrent stories about the economic problems of Europe resting upon the lack of coal. That was the story in Italy, the story in France, the story we read in Germany. So it became obvious that the conversion of European economy to a petroleum base is apparently the only possible solution of Europe's economic ills.

Whether or not this is one world, there is certainly no doubt that there is one Middle East, and we cannot divorce Greece and Turkey from the picture of the Middle East as a whole. I think it would be utterly unrealistic for us to approach the problem without the far broader view that the petroleum sources of the Middle East are a vital stake in the economic situation, a matter to which we must give increasing attention as the days go by, not only from the standpoint of our own national security, and supplies and reserves, but from the standpoint of the reconstruction of the European economy, which must be a matter to engage and invite the interest of everyone concerned with the progress of the world.

With the timing of events I find myself somewhat concerned. The fact that the Greek commission was about to report, within a month, regarding the conditions on the Greek border, and that we were

precipitated into this situation by the action of the President, seems to me to be extremely unfortunate. It is useless to indulge in speculation, but whether or not there is anyone in the world who desires that, instead of a united solution of the problem we are now considering, there should be a world in which Russia and the United States shall be opposed, and somebody else shall be in between, necessarily invites speculation.

It had been my thought for some time, for many months, that as it became more obvious that we were having difficulty in doing business with the Soviet, we must shortly begin to consider whether in the United Nations we could live with Russia, or must consider whether in the United Nations we could live without Russia, and that the other nations of the world should proceed, holding the door open for Russia to collaborate if she desired. But Russia proceeded, by the exercise of the veto, to indicate her lack of that co-operative spirit which is essential to the successful functioning of the United Nations, and it seems necessary to decide if the nations of the world must go forward, either within the framework of the United Nations or in a supplemental organization along similar lines, awaiting patiently the day when Russia will recognize the desirability of cooperation.

It is for this reason that I think all of us share profound regret that this issue was precipitated before a finding of the commission surveying conditions in Greece had at least furnished a solid foundation on which America, well within the terms of the United Nations Charter, could have proceeded to extend the economic or military aid that was necessary. But it is a condition and not a theory which confronts us, as was said some 50 years ago by Grover Cleveland when leaving office at that time. So we face a situation in which we must resolve our action in the light of what exists, rather than of what we may desire.

There has been controversy as to how long this situation has been developing. It was my understanding that it was indicated last fall that something of this sort might develop. The pressure under which the question necessarily has been considered is, of course, unfortunate. To the extent that it represents any departure from the bipartisan cooperation to which so many of us have been devoted, it is even more unfortunate. If there is any likelihood, in connection with the present development, of there being a lack of the confidence and cooperation which prevailed so happily in the development of the United Nations Charter, which will stand as a monument to the labors of Cordell Hull, the senior Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY], and the senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], then indeed it is a sorry day. It is my earnest hope that if there has been any deviation from that procedure we shall soon see a resumption of that cooperation between the executive and the legislative departments, which is well within the scope of our constitutional process, which unfortunately has been ignored or disregarded many times in the century and a half of our

history, but which developed so happily in the United Nations, in contrast to the tragic experiences in the League of Nations, and which seemed to augur the day when the Senate of the United States might really occupy such a position, in advice and consent in connection with our foreign affairs, as to develop a stability in the conduct of our foreign relations that is absolutely vital if America is to occupy the position in the world to which she is entitled by her preeminence in power and responsibility.

No man, as President, whoever he may be, necessarily limited in term, can possibly give to our foreign policy the continuity that could be achieved by a Senate united in the sense of its responsibility and able, if it has opportunity, by bipartisan collaboration, to carry America forward and to occupy in the world a position which, in the past century, gave us a century of peace under the Pax Britannica, and may give us a century of peace under a new concept of a Pax Americana, if we can only rise to our self-evident responsibilities in the challenge of this new world. So much for the broad outlines.

Our trip took us first to Palestine, where we landed on Easter Sunday morning. We spent the day there, visiting the holy shrines, and observing also at first hand some of the conditions in that beleaguered land. At one of the churches which we visited, we witnessed a controversy between Christian sects that invited police intervention. Neither Arabs nor Jews were involved; which indicates that arguments are not confined to the Jews and the Arabs in that land.

It was my privilege to visit a Jewish community farm on a Sunday afternoon, and to observe the miracle that had been wrought on those devastated acres by the Jewish rehabilitation of the land. There I saw 50 refugee children from Dachau and Buchenwald, who were blooming there in what had formerly been a desert and who were a token of what it is possible to do. Fifty or a hundred cows give them milk from the hills of Palestine. And yet, as I rode away from there, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, there were thousands of idle acres, deserted by the Arabs and denied to the Jews. Meanwhile, America goes on spending millions of dollars to support thousands of refugees in the detention camps of Germany. How long this must continue, as a result of the denial of immigration by the mandatory power, is still of course in doubt. It is my earnest hope that, pending the discussions in the United Nations and the operations of the committee, the mandatory power may see fit to observe what is the undoubted international obligation of permitting the continued migration of the Jewish refugees of Europe; not primarily to relieve the American taxpayers of the millions of dollars of expense in which we are now involved in supporting these unfortunates but primarily in order that these poor unfortunates, persecuted, the remnant of 6,000,000 who have been destroyed, may establish themselves as self-respecting and self-supporting citizens in the land that has so clearly been promised to

them. It is my hope that the mandatory power may, in the not too distant future, see the wisdom of that course.

Going on to Cairo, we attended the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union, which has been holding sessions for many years, and which consists of members of the parliaments of various nations. In Cairo 24 or 25 were represented in an entirely informal parliament of the world, which discussed and adopted certain resolutions. The preeminence and supremacy of the United Nations was entirely recognized and only certain resolutions of recommendation addressed to the United Nations were adopted. I have copies of them here. The meeting brought home the difficulties of developing world government, which has been a fond dream. Meeting there with the members of 24 other parliaments, it became obvious that not in the very distant future even could we attempt a form of world government, that the United Nations, with its Assembly and the Council, and the very carefully worked out limitations upon its functionings, obviously represents about as far as it has been practicable and possible to go. The session of the Interparliamentary Union is rather a forum of acquaintance, of interchange of views, of the meeting of various people, and of developing gradually an understanding of various problems, without the pressure of official responsibility, which results often in acerbities which are unfortunate. There the utmost of good fellowship prevailed, although, as the American delegation walked into the scene, 5 or 10 minutes late as the result of an apparent error in time, there flooded over me a sensation that the ancient civilizations which were represented there, viewing us, must well have pondered somewhat as did the Romans in the forum when the barbarians marched in. We, who were probably the only group that did not understand the language of anybody else participating there, outside our English friends, represented America, great in her power and might and resources, which are so much desired, and while they viewed us as a people they did not understand, yet they still wanted to be friends.

The British delegation was a most representative one, with the deputy speaker of the house as the head of the delegation, who is also chairman of the ways and means committee, Lord Stangate, who had formerly been Minister of Air and is now president of the Interparliamentary Union. This delegation was also most carefully and comprehensively briefed, as I had occasion to learn when I came to the discussion of reparations. Our delegation had practically no collaboration or assistance so far as our State Department was concerned. I hasten to say this was not the fault of the State Department, but of the very casual way in which the delegations were developed, not knowing what our plans were or what our problems were, and not having any advance agenda of the meeting or of the resolutions which were to be proposed; so that we were operating more or less in the dark. The British

arrived there with every resolution having been carefully considered by their foreign office and most exhaustive briefs prepared as to British policy and procedure; indicating the importance which they attach to any gathering of this kind.

The sharpest issue there developed arose in connection with the subject of reparations. There was presented to the union, a resolution which had been formulated by a committee which adopted the Russian viewpoint regarding reparations, namely, that they should be maintained at the maximum level out of current production. This was obviously squarely in conflict with the policy of the United States and of Great Britain, that we cannot feed the cow at one end while the unfortunate countries of Europe milk the cow at the other. We did that after the last war. There were paid out in reparations by Germany somewhat more than what the United States advanced to Germany. So a sharp issue was presented on this score. The resolution had no binding or legal effect, but it seemed to us that it would be most unfortunate if a resolution of that character were adopted. So we presented as strong a case as we could. It was argued on the floor. An amendment was offered, representing the American point of view as advanced by our Secretary of State at Moscow, and after considerable discussion and some approaches to the various delegations, the amendment was adopted by a vote of 119 to 74, with 73 abstentions; which is apparently a rather prevalent European system of sitting on the fence. They did not care to offend either side in the controversy. So the resolution which was finally adopted represented the American point of view, which is that if we are to put up money for the rehabilitation of Europe that money shall first be repaid before reparations are provided out of current production as distinct from capital.

There was also considerable discussion of the question of migratory populations, and rather unanimous agreement against forceful removals of either populations or refugees. A resolution dealing with that subject, addressed to the United Nations, was referred to a committee for further study as to form.

This represented approximately the discussion and the committee work during the week we were in Cairo. We had opportunity to see the relics of the civilizations which during thousands of years had developed in the Nile Valley and had left their impress upon the history of mankind.

Then we moved on to Turkey and to Greece, making a brief visit in Ankara, the capital of Turkey, selected by Ataturk after the revolution following the First World War—a city which has been developed there in 25 years. It was formerly a little country town and now is a city of 150,000, of most modern type construction. They are building a magnificent capital there. They have acres and acres of government buildings, not equal to our own Capital City, but comparable with it when one considers that Turkey is a nation of 18,000,000 people.

What we thought was a rather significant thing—and here I seek to give only

impressions as to the character of the country, and I gather that perhaps this may be helpful in considering the result of our trip—was that the residence of the President, high on a hill, is the most modest structure we saw. That is rather unusual in view of the stories we hear about dictatorships and police governments, and so on.

It is a rather modest little house, pink, not white, erected on the hill but smaller than the British Embassy or the German Embassy which had been built there, indicating that Ataturk, and his successor, Inonu, were men of rather modest inclinations. Inonu, the present President, showed himself very little. He has very little contact, at any rate, with the foreigners who are there. We met the Prime Minister and the foreign officers, and also the Minister for Air.

What impressed one about Turkey was that it is a land of ample resources to support its people; that it was under very adequate cultivation, and that democracy was making progress. We had no illusions as to how far they could have gone in 25 years, but one sensed in the conversations a sincere devotion to progress of a democratic kind.

Turkey has suppressed certain Communist newspapers, in contrast to what is being done in Greece. Perhaps anything can be proved by it, Turkey suppressed Communist newspapers which went too far, as they felt, in attacks on the government. There was what was called a free press. I talked with Americans resident there, not only in the embassy, but with those who lived in Istanbul for 30 years and who lived at Robert College, who talked freely about the suppression of the Communist press.

Whether the Turkish policy of suppressing the Communist press or the Greek policy of allowing it is the wiser is a matter of opinion, but when I hear a suggestion that Greece is a police state I find myself utterly unable to reconcile such a statement with what I hold in my hand, which is a Communist newspaper published in Athens on the day we were there, bitterly attacking President Truman and the United States of America, and praising Stalin. Here is a picture of Stalin on the front page giving his answer to a correspondent who had communicated with him about the theories of Clausewitz, and whether or not the criticism of those theories was a criticism of Lenin. Mr. Stalin had replied that that was all right; that Lenin was only speaking of Clausewitz as a statesman, not a military man, and that it was all right therefore to differ with him.

That article is not so interesting or so illuminating as the back page, which carries the caricatures and cartoons of the American position, of the American loan, and again putting Stalin in a most favorable light.

It might be said that the fact that they would not suppress a newspaper such as that indicates the weakness of the Greek Government. I have here 10 other newspapers of varying points of view all the way from the extreme left, red, and pink organs through to the conservative and right wings. But whatever one may think as to Greek policy, it certainly does not indicate that the Greek Government

is suppressing free speech. Certainly we have no freer speech in this country than is exemplified there. But what it seems to me it does conclusively show is that this is obviously of Soviet origin. Certainly no Greek Communist or group would be capable of producing day by day cartoons and caricatures of this character secured from Soviet sources and presented to a simple little publication there in Athens for daily issuance to the Greek people. That was to me far more significant evidence than the finding on the Greek border of a Russian machine gun with the date of 1946. One was found. What conclusion should be drawn from that? Certainly that the gun was made in Russia in 1946, that it was given to Bulgaria, Albania, or one of the other countries, and then it found its way to the Grecian border. That is material evidence that something is going on, but to me not by any means as clear in its persuasiveness as is the publication of a newspaper of this kind carried on day by day in Athens by Soviet sympathy and support in an attempt to subvert the form of government of Greece.

The Prime Minister with whom we talked in Athens was a very mild and benignant character, a man 73 years old. He had been a banker much of his life, a diminutive little banker who weighed 84 kilos, whatever that is, when the war started, and lost 40 kilos during it, as he said, not as the result of inadequate food, because he said, "I was able to get food," "but," he said, "because of the catastrophe under which my country was living." And one believed him as he said it. He talked with us very simply and directly for half an hour. He was called back from retirement. He had retired from his business, his banking, and from politics. Many years ago he was Prime Minister, and he was again trying to carry on. The curious situation is that in spite of the criticism of the Greek elections, whether or not they were right or wrong, the leader of the majority of the House of Commons there was not permitted to be Prime Minister, apparently through disapproval of the British, who were at that time furnishing the support. After a great deal of discussion a compromise was finally worked out by which the present Prime Minister took over. He certainly did not impress any of us as a belligerent or dictatorial type of man. I can say that for him. We sat and talked with him for perhaps half an hour, and he told us of the problems of the future. If one were to criticize him for anything it would be for a certain lack of force, but I am not sure that such a criticism is justified.

We later met the Foreign Minister who is the leader of the majority in the House of Parliament and who was not allowed to be Prime Minister. He was a considerably more aggressive character. It might be suggested that he was the power behind the throne.

We talked at some length with one who was in the minority in the Parliament, one of the followers of Venizelos, whose son is also a Republican, meaning by that that he had been opposed to the monarchy. The one with whom we talked was a most intelligent young man who

had finally gone into the Government because he felt, although the liberal party had been opposed to it, that the crisis facing the country demanded that they should cooperate. We were very much impressed with this young man. He was a professor in the college. He was now Minister for Air. He said to us frankly that there was much of which he did not approve; that he thought there were many reforms to be carried out. We discussed the question of taxation and the fact that many wealthy Greeks were avoiding taxation. He said, "It is undoubtedly so, but we do not have the power at this time to enforce such taxation, much as I should like to do it. I should like to see the Government do it, but I recognize at the same time the very great difficulties under which the Government must carry on with the Soviet sword suspended over their heads."

He said, "A little group of us, the liberal party, decided to cooperate with our Government in this hour of crisis, although we still adhere to our ideals and ideas." He stated that they had separated from some of their colleagues.

We went from the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to be received by the new King Paul and his queen, Fredericka. It has been a matter of discussion that Greece is still a monarchy. Our visit with the King and Queen was most interesting. We are not very familiar with kings and queens. It has been my fortune to meet a few in my travels around the world.

We were received by them about 8:30 in the evening. They had a few sandwiches for us and we stood around talking with them alone for half an hour. It was an interesting experience and afforded an opportunity to appraise what kind of people they were, which I think is a matter of some importance to America. I had seen King George, the predecessor of King Paul, when he was here. Everyone recognized that he was a rather austere, reserved character. He was a diminutive figure who had the concept that being king was a job, and that one had to carry it with him. So he rather repelled popular acclaim. When he appeared in public he did not attract the people. Whatever other good qualities he possessed, there is no doubt that he did not possess the quality of popular appeal.

King Paul, his successor, is a very different type, as I think the newspapers have indicated. One would think that he was an all-American fullback from a college football team. He is 6 feet or more tall, and splendidly built. Apparently he is in perfect physical condition. Although he is 45 years of age, he has a long record and a reputation as an athlete. That has been one of his occupations. He is a very fine looking gentleman. The only difficulty I found with him was that he still wore a monocle. I thought that if he ever came to America his public relations adviser had better get rid of the monocle. But he wore it with a skill which did him credit. He did not have a ribbon on it. It stuck all right. I suppose he was demonstrating his ingenuity.

But he had very tough competition. Personally I took pity on him and re-

mained to talk with him, because all the rest of our delegation had clustered around the Queen, who is one of the most intriguing and interesting young ladies it has ever been my privilege to see. I do not think it was because she was decorated with a queenly crown. I have never met a more charming young lady, even among American girls—and I do not wish to compare them to their disadvantage, because I am sure they can measure up.

The Queen is a slip of a creature who appears to be about 21 years of age, although, I believe, she is really 27, and has three children. She has a very pleasing personality. The entire delegation was charmed. However, one of our comrades who is somewhat to the left, and who had evidently read something about her German background, perhaps in order to put her on the spot, proceeded, to my consternation and that of the others, suddenly to say—I do not think he even said Your Royal Highness—"I would like to know about your ancestry and education." The Queen looked a trifle aghast, as did the rest of us. In the pause which followed he repeated, with even more firmness, "I would like to know about your ancestry and education." At that point the Queen, with perfect composure, said with great simplicity and directness, "I was born a pure-blooded barbarian, and I came to Greece to be civilized."

I thought that was not bad for any young lady under those circumstances. She said not a word about her great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, whom she might, at least, have brought into the picture to alleviate her German background. She "took it on the chin."

In my discussions with both the King and Queen I thought that perhaps some divine dispensation was moving me to have considerable confidence in what they outlined to us that they had in mind to do. This was apparently not known to our embassy. We were questioned very closely about it in subsequent discussions when we returned. We were asked, "What did the King and Queen have to say?"

The Queen indicated that she had a rather comprehensive program of child welfare, which included legislation which she hoped to have submitted to the Parliament, and which she hoped would be approved, looking to the welfare of the children of Greece.

It may be added that long before she had ascended to her present place she had given herself wholeheartedly to this work. We were told that by others, including the officials of our embassy. She had gone about laboring without limit in hospitals and welfare institutions. She had gone to Saloniki among the Communists and had been received by them, although she was warned against going there. She said, "Those people are in trouble, and that is where I belong." So it seemed that the King and Queen were both sincerely devoted to their people.

The King indicated that he intended to try to organize the young men of Greece over 16 years of age—taking up, apparently, where the Queen left off—into something comparable to our civilian labor corps, to restore Greek roads

and Greek utilities. He proposed to lead those boys himself, which he was evidently perfectly capable of doing. He told us with a smile that he had asked the members of the cabinet whether they would participate, and whether the 73-year-old prime minister would come out the first day to start digging in the road.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. TAYLOR. Does the Senator know that King Paul has considerable background and experience in the business of leading young men? He was the head of the Fascist Youth group under the dictator Metaxis. I have a picture in my office of King Paul with his Youth Group giving the Fascist salute.

Mr. BREWSTER. I am glad that he has had experience.

Mr. TAYLOR. It helps.

Mr. BREWSTER. I am simply giving the impressions which I formed. As I shall subsequently say, I hold no brief for the King and Queen on the basis of this brief interview. My whole attitude in supporting this measure is to buy time. It has come upon us suddenly. I wish we had much more time to consider it. I am not sure that it was not forced upon us for certain reasons. But I am certainly giving the President the benefit of the doubt. I feel that at the end of 12 or 15 months we shall know much more than we now know.

So far as I am concerned, the King, the Queen, the Prime Minister, and the Foreign Minister are all on probation. By their fruits we shall know them. If 10 months from today the fears which many feel prove to be justified, it certainly will have great weight with me. I am simply trying to give my impressions. If they were selling us a bill of goods, they did a good job.

Mr. TAYLOR. I have been listening with great interest to the Senator's description. When he referred to the young men the statement struck me quite forcefully, because I have just finished reading an article on the subject.

Mr. BREWSTER. I would appreciate the Senator's comment on this evidence. I have heard a great many statements to the effect that Greece is a police state. Can the Senator reconcile the document which I hold in my hand with a police state? How does the Senator figure it out?

Mr. TAYLOR. I have a newspaper article written by a reporter for a reputable newspaper. The dispatch, which comes from Greece, states that newspapers of all shades of opinion are published in Athens, but that after leaving the environs of the city if one is caught with such publications, it is as much as his life is worth.

Mr. BREWSTER. They are certainly circulated freely in Athens, which has a population of approximately a million. That seems to me to be a rather curious way to suppress them. We did not get out into the country, so I do not know what was going on out there; but I do not believe that anything like this attacking the administration, could be published in Russia or in Bulgaria.

Mr. TAYLOR. Probably not. The impression I obtained from the news ar-

ticle—and I shall have it placed in the RECORD, inasmuch as it has been mentioned—was that the publication of such newspapers was permitted in Athens in order to impress people with how fair they were.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think that is a pretty labored explanation. Does the Senator take it seriously? I have half a dozen such newspapers before me. They certainly contain considerable internal evidence. I had them translated over here.

Mr. TAYLOR. I am simply repeating what the newspaper article stated. I shall get it and place it in the RECORD.

Mr. BREWSTER. This article is on the front page, together with a picture of Stalin:

THE THEORIES OF CLAUSEWITZ OUTMODED

This article contains a letter written to Stalin by Colonel Razin, a professor of military history, and Stalin's reply.

Razin asks Stalin if articles such as one published by Colonel Baz in a military journal which say that Clausewitz's theories have been outmoded are not anti-Leninistic and, therefore, bad for the morale of the Red Army.

Stalin replies that Lenin approved of the theories of Clausewitz only as a statesman and not as a military expert. He approved the general theories of Clausewitz, some of which were Marxist, but he did not claim to be an expert on military tactics and, therefore, did not pass judgment on the military aspect of Clausewitz's book. It is, therefore, not being untrue to Lenin to criticize these theories which, according to Stalin, are out-dated in this day of mechanized warfare.

That is interesting and illuminating. I thought the cartoons were more illuminating as revealing both the origin and the character of the thing, but I thought the explanation that this is published for the benefit of American visitors was a trifle strained.

Mr. TAYLOR. As I say, I shall get the clipping to which I referred. I am not saying that that is my estimate of it.

Mr. TAYLOR subsequently said: Mr. President, a few moments ago, during the exchange which I had with the distinguished senior Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] on the question of Communist newspapers published in Athens, I stated that I had read a newspaper article saying that newspapers were published but not permitted to circulate outside Athens. I should like to read a clipping at this time and, if it is agreeable to the Senator from Maine, I should like to have it inserted in the RECORD. It is a dispatch by Raymond Daniel, dated at Athens, April 4, and appearing in the New York Times under date of April 5. It is as follows:

The Government boasts that there is no censorship in Greece. That is true. Communist and other left-wing papers are sold freely in Athens. But right-wing bands see to it that they are not distributed outside the capital. It is worth a man's life to be seen reading a liberal daily in most communities in the provinces.

Right-wing bands recently turned machine guns on the office of the Communist newspaper in Salonika, killing several employees, at least two of whom were anti-Communists. No one has been punished for this, nor has there been punitive action against the rightists who raided the jail in Laconia, killing more than 30 persons in cold blood.

Greece is beginning to take on some aspects of a police state, although that is not surprising in view of the circumstances. There is a security law that enables the police to deport without trial persons suspected of subversive action. Recently in Athens 560 persons were routed from bed by security police at night and whisked to the Aegean Islands in gestapo style.

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Maine will yield, let me say that I am sorry, but I did not hear the Senator say from what newspaper the clipping was taken.

Mr. TAYLOR. The New York Times.

Mr. BALDWIN. Was it a clipping in the New York Times from a Greek paper?

Mr. TAYLOR. No; it is an article by Raymond Daniel, one of the New York Times' correspondents in Greece.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. What does the Senator mean when he says he is in favor of this \$400,000,000 loan to buy time.

Mr. BREWSTER. I mean that I frankly am not ready to take the alternative responsibility of denying it. I do not know whether the Senator heard me when I began my remarks, but I stated that I very much regretted that this matter had been precipitated so suddenly. If it could have come some months later, after we had received a report, it would have helped very much. But we are faced with a condition and not a theory, and I personally do not feel justified in taking the responsibility, under our constitutional system, of denying this course. I am giving the President the benefit of the doubt, but serving notice upon him that if there is any diminution of bipartisan collaboration—I shall go further and say that if there is any failure to develop further a bipartisan attitude, which we know has not existed with respect to the United Nations in certain matters in Europe—unless we develop further along that line, it seems to me that it will be extremely unfortunate while we are buying time if we cannot find out more about it.

I have considerable confidence in Turkey. I saw many soldiers there who looked to me as if they were ready to fight. They were stocky, rugged men. Economically Turkey looked progressive and developing. I have high hope that Turkey will justify our confidence.

Greece has a terribly tragic problem. Many years ago when President Monroe declared the Monroe Doctrine he stated that he would consider a loan to Greece. Apparently the same problem has continued for a century.

Mr. HAWKES. Of course, conditions were different a hundred years ago. We now have a definite set of conditions. Does not the Senator think that we could buy the time he is talking about just as well by not accepting the military implications and becoming involved in a very serious situation the answer to which no one seems to be able to give at the present moment?

Mr. BREWSTER. I am not as much disturbed over that aspect as some others may be. Personally I am not burning any bridges on this matter; I am not

embarking on any world program of extending our culture or democracy to all the world. I do not think we can make democracies by outside force. I think they come from within and not from without.

Mr. HAWKES. That is what I said yesterday in my speech. I do not know whether the Senator was here or not. I said we could do a thousand times more by setting an example to show that democracy will work, and make the people of the world want it, than we could do with all the bullets, bayonets, and bombs in the world.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think there is no comparison. I think of the teaching of the Bible, that "I, if I be lifted up, shall draw all men unto me." I think that is the only way we can make democracy in the world, as we demonstrate the virility and power of our own democracy and our own system. We are doing a job, but we have a greater job ahead. I am not in favor of abandoning Greece to what would undoubtedly result in a Communist infiltration.

Mr. HAWKES. I would not abandon Greece at this point. I think the only difference between the Senator's position and mine is that I would not embark upon this world-wide situation without letting the people of the United States have a say about it. I want to say to the distinguished Senator, for whom I have a very high regard, that I have talked with thousands of American citizens, and I want to make this prediction: It will be found as we go along that hundreds and thousands and millions of American citizens do not want again to go into war. They want to make the United Nations work. That is their one and only hope.

Mr. BREWSTER. I appreciate the Senator's statement, and I hold the Senator in equally high regard, but it would certainly be begging the question, it seems to me, to say that those who advocate this measure are advocating leading the United States into war. I am sure the Senator did not mean to intimate that.

Mr. HAWKES. Oh, no.

Mr. BREWSTER. We are taking a method which we think is best calculated to keep us out of war. We are fallible and human. I am sure the Senator will admit that others are also.

Mr. HAWKES. The Senator realizes that everything which has been put before Congress in the last few years has had to be solved immediately before Congress had time fully to understand it, because of an emergency.

Mr. BREWSTER. Yes; and that is what I do not like.

Mr. HAWKES. And I say that the emergency method of reaching decisions without knowing the facts and the implications will ultimately destroy the United States. I do not mean that the distinguished Senator thinks that it is leading this Nation into war. I know he wants peace as much as I do, or as anyone else does, but the point I am making is that the whole history of the world shows that nation after nation has taken steps which it expected to retrace if they were found to be wrong. But the world is not built that way. Sometimes in a bad place there is many

a man who would not have gone to pieces if he had been able to get out of the place he had gotten into and had been able to protect and save himself.

Mr. BREWSTER. In 1921 I was very hopeful that this Nation would be a member of the League of Nations. I formed the League To Enforce Peace in the State of Maine, as a young man out of the last war. I think the Senator and others will agree that we took the other course. We picked up our marbles and came home and thought we had taught the world a lesson. It did not seem to work. We landed in a worse mess than we had been in before.

For the past 15 years, as a Member of the House and Senate, I have supported all measures calculated to strengthen our hand in our international dealings, over the bitter opposition of most of my friends, as well as those on the other side of the aisle. A few years ago very few of us felt the danger which inhered in our being inadequately prepared, and we took a course certainly calculated not to intervene or to be active in foreign affairs, and yet there occurred the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FULBRIGHT in the chair). Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from New Jersey?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I wish to say that what disturbs me is the very thing the Senator is discussing. I think we did contribute, perhaps indirectly, to the destruction of the League of Nations. I thought that this time we had determined to be a part of the United Nations and to try to make it work.

Of course, the Senator from Maine and I have a right to have a difference of opinion on this matter, just as all men have a right to have differences of opinion, so long as they keep faith with their consciences and believe they are all right. But I make the prediction that once we circumvent the United Nations, and play a lone hand in the world, we shall find that all the countries that are in distress will, one after another, come to our front door and ask for assistance. I have not yet seen any exchequer in the United Nations which can be used to solve their problems. When we refuse to help one nation, after we have done something for another nation, the result will be what I predicted yesterday, namely, that we shall incur the enmity and the hatred of nation after nation in the world; and after having been the greatest philanthropist and the greatest humanitarian nation on earth, we shall end up in disrepute and shall have lost our friends.

I make that prediction. The Senator from Maine can wait to see whether it comes true; he is young enough to do that, whereas I may not live to see it.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I do not know whether the Senator from New Jersey heard me say this, but I predicated my remarks today by stating my profound regret over the failure of the United Nations and I said that for many months I have felt that since it has seemed impossible for the other nations

to get along with Russia, the world must show whether it can get along without her; that if there is a party that seems to think it is indispensable, it is time for it to go. That was a principle which guided me when I was Governor of Maine—that if any man serving under me thought I could not get along without him, it was certainly time for me to do so. I take a similar position in regard to Russia namely, that she has been using the veto in a manner incompatible with the successful functioning of the United Nations, and that therefore we should move in the direction of getting along without her. I expressed my profound regret that this problem was precipitated on our doorstep by the sudden action of Britain in withdrawing aid, and I said I hoped we could have the aid of the report of the United Nations' commission to Greece before we took action.

As the Senator knows, I have just returned from abroad. In Cairo we saw the whole European group trying to obtain reparations. The fact that in the end the cost of the reparations would come out of the pocket of the United States did not trouble them at all. But they discovered that they had taken the wrong course, that they could not get reparations through the Secretary of State George Marshall, or through our Government, because our representatives said, "No; we will not do that."

However, I have sufficient respect for their intellectual processes to believe that they will quickly emulate the step that has been taken by Greece and Turkey, and will put themselves in a similar position.

I have no doubt that the pending proposal is not the only one we shall face, but that in the course of the next few years we shall face many similar ones; and I have no magic formula for answering all the problems we shall inevitably confront.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me once more, briefly?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I do not wish to interrupt the Senator further, because I am sure I know his attitude and his purposes, and they appeal to me strongly.

Let me say that the abandonment by the British of their Empire must have appealed to the Senator from Maine as presenting a very complicated problem. Now we find that it is proposed that we step into it. If we do take that step, I think we shall regret it as long as we live. Certainly the distinguished Senator from Maine knows that except for their sheer inability to carry on, the representatives of Britain would not be saying in meeting after meeting that their Empire is practically through. The other noon, 30 or 40 Senators heard a member of the House of Commons admit that the British cannot hold their Empire together, that Britain is through. That was an amazing statement. I think the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY] was present; and, in all, 30 or 40 Senators were there.

Now we are stepping into something about which we know nothing.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I am sure the Senator from New Jersey does not quite mean that. We know a little

something about it, but there is a great deal that we do not know.

Mr. HAWKES. Of course. I was in Greece in 1945, after the war; I spent several days there. We have sent Paul Porter over there, and he has found out all about Greece.

Mr. BREWSTER. The Greeks do not want him back.

Mr. HAWKES. The Greeks do not want him back?

Mr. BREWSTER. No.

Mr. HAWKES. Well, he has made a report that is having the result of carrying this Nation to a place where I do not think it should go.

I simply say to the Senator from Maine that the fact is that the British have let go in this situation, and we are about to step into it. I think we all have great respect for those in Britain who wish to preserve individual liberty and freedom; but the fact is that Britain is now stepping out of that situation, and we are stepping into it—stepping into something for which we are not trained in any way, and we do not know the implications at all. With all due regard to all the brilliant men in the Senate of the United States, I say that not one Member of the Senate has the slightest idea of what is going on in Europe. Our knowledge of European affairs is merely a little skim along the surface. I myself have some knowledge of European conditions; I have been in business in Europe, as perhaps the Senator from Maine knows. I have gone there twice every year for 19 years. But even so, I do not know much about Europe. I am sure the same thing is true of people who take a trip there and shake hands with several persons, and then return to the United States—like my dear friend Eric Johnston, who went to Russia for a week, and then returned to the United States and wrote a wonderful book about Russia. He did not understand a word of Russian. He had to use an interpreter, and he never knew whether the interpreter was correctly interpreting a word he said or a word that was said to him in response to the questions he asked.

Mr. President, I have said to the Senator from Maine about all I wish to. I have a very firm conviction that we are about to take a step which we shall regret the rest of our lives.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I appreciate the force of what the Senator from New Jersey has said, and I also appreciate the background for his remarks.

If one may be pardoned for learning a lesson from the ancient civilizations, which we have visited—the Acropolis and the Roman Forum—let me remind the Senator that Socrates once was asked by a young man whether he should get married. Socrates replied, "Whatever you do, you will regret it."

There, Mr. President, is some of the cynicism of the ages. I am sure that 1, 2, or 5 years from today it may easily be possible for anyone to stand up in the Senate and demonstrate conclusively how wrong almost everyone else was. No one knows what may happen in this situation. Twenty-five years ago we took one course which we thought was the

proper one, but we finally arrived at Pearl Harbor.

Since the war I have rather felt that the American people have been dedicated to a different course. The Senator from New Jersey says, and I agree with him, that by following the course now proposed we would seem to be bypassing the United Nations. I profoundly regret that, and I hope it is only a temporary matter.

Mr. President, why are we bypassing the United Nations? We do so partly, perhaps, because we were precipitated into the situation. I regret that that is so; I think the administration should have waited until the United Nations Commission's report on Greece was available. I believe that should have been done, and I have said so many times.

The other reason for bypassing the United Nations is that Russia has consistently refused to cooperate with the United Nations or to permit the United Nations to form any military security organization or group or to permit the United Nations to have any means of handling such situations. Certainly we know what the Russian attitude would be in the present situation; the Russians have indicated it already.

So, Mr. President, although I say it is unfortunate, and although we think that if we could have pursued the other course it would have been more fruitful, meanwhile the situation in Greece has certainly been deteriorating, and Greece is the last outpost.

I have said before that Europe is converting from coal to oil. Oil is in the Middle East, and we might as well be realistic about the situation and realize that that is a stake in this affair. That does not mean the establishment of an oil empire. It means that oil alone can enable Europe to get back on a self-sustaining basis. If it becomes possible for oil to be laid down in Europe at 75 cents or \$1 a barrel, perhaps we shall not have to support European countries for the next 25 years, and perhaps we shall not have to fight another war.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield at this point?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I am pleased to hear the Senator say what he has said, because I think he and I hold very similar views, even though we shall vote differently. I wish to say that I would not let a charter, something written on a piece of paper, keep 49 nations from having peace in the world, just because one nation wished to resist that effort and was determined to do things that the other 49 nations did not wish to do. In that event, I would change that charter, and would still keep faith with that great organization. If we do precisely that, we shall save time by losing time.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I have said earlier in my remarks; and, as I have already said, I predicated my remarks upon that.

Mr. HAWKES. Yes. As I have said, Mr. President, I am glad to know that the Senator from Maine agrees with me, even though I know that he and I will vote differently.

I might say to the Senator that I have lived long enough to know that the only

thing that makes it safe to make mistakes is that nobody can prove you make a mistake, because nobody can prove what would have happened if the other thing had been inaugurated instead of what was done.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is a comfortable position in which the Senator from New Jersey is going to find himself.

Mr. HAWKES. It is comfortable for the Senator and his associates, because we can never prove that if they had not done what they are about to do, the country would have been better off.

Mr. BREWSTER. The converse is true, that we who vote for the course that is taken must take the responsibility. We can never prove that those in the minority are wrong, because the course we advocate is adopted, for better or for worse.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to make a further statement to the distinguished Senator from Maine. The people of the United States are just beginning to understand what this is all about, and I wish to reemphasize what I said last night, that the first 2 weeks after the President made his address my mail was 4 or 5 to 1 in favor of the Greek-Turkish loan. Today my mail is running 4 or 5 to 1 just the other way. I have talked to audiences on this subject, and everyone who begins to understand the implications of the proposal says "No; we should not circumvent the United Nations, and we do not want to get into war."

The Senator has been away. I have been looking around the United States, while the Senator has been looking at Egypt and Greece, and I have stated what I have found in the United States. I can show the Senator some very interesting mail in my office asking, "Why do you not wait until we understand this?"

Mr. BREWSTER. I certainly entertain no ideas of omniscience, either from previous experience or from this latest exploration. I said also, in beginning my remarks, in order to show appropriate humility, that anyone who spends more than 24 hours in a country is no longer an expert on it.

I should like to conclude on this note, that we are in very troublous times, and I think we must move toward mobilizing world opinion within the forum of the United Nations. I think we are here setting a precedent of unilateral action which undoubtedly will rise up to plague us. I think we can justify it in the interim, but if it were to afford the pattern, if this were to furnish the precedent, for America going all over the world and mixing into the internal affairs of every country, I would agree with anyone here that it would be a catastrophe without precedent in our history, or that of any nation in the world.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maine yield to the Senator from Nebraska?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator says it would be a precedent?

Mr. BREWSTER. A precedent.

Mr. WHERRY. A precedent and a pattern?

Mr. BREWSTER. That is correct.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to ask the distinguished Senator what he would have us do when the next move was made, when we begin to unveil this pattern. Certainly the State Department must have a pattern of what they are going to do in Italy. Italy now wants \$100,000,000. I understand she needs it to make the first payment on the reparations to Russia.

What would the Senator have us do when France comes and asks for another loan? What would he have us do when England comes and asks for another loan? We are told we are going to give them a billion dollars by next July.

What would the Senator have us do when we try to reestablish the economy in Germany? I have been told the peace of Europe depends on what we do in Germany, and that it is going to take \$6,000,000,000.

When we get through with continental Europe, what are we to do when Korea comes in and asks for from six hundred million to a billion dollars? What are we going to do when China comes in and asks for from six hundred million to a billion dollars?

If we do in Greece and in Turkey what is proposed, under the theory that we want to preserve the independence of those countries, are we not establishing a precedent whereby we will have to grant the loans if these other countries come and ask for them?

Mr. BREWSTER. Not so far as I am concerned.

Mr. WHERRY. That is what troubles me. It seems to me we have just as much obligation in Germany, where we have permitted the Potsdam agreement to undermine absolutely the economy of that country, fastening a starvation living upon its people. The Senator knows as much about that as I do, or more. I ask him, What are we to do when they come forward and ask to be rehabilitated? Certainly, if we are ever to establish peace in Europe, we have to start in now and terminate or cancel every secret agreement that works in direct contradiction to the freedom of those people. They are asking for freedom, just as the people in Greece are asking for it.

Certainly, if there is a people on earth we have to take care of, it is the people of Korea, because we are occupying that country. I do not see how we can get away from that.

The distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania brought out the first suggestion that opened my eyes, that this is only the beginning. If we are to stop communistic aggression, directly or indirectly, in all these countries—and that is the statement in the President's message—then we must be prepared quickly to grant these loans; we must fit in not merely two pieces of this great jigsaw puzzle, but we must finish the complete puzzle, and we must give aid to those other countries, if we are to keep faith with their people, and insure their independence and peace.

How can we say we will give aid to Greece and then deny it to all the others?

If we do, how are we going to stop communism? How are we going to stop communism in Italy if we do not grant Italy a loan? How are we going to stop communism in France if we do not grant France a loan? How are we going to stop it anywhere, where there is aggression?

There is the same occasion to grant aid to France as to Greece. Of course, Greece is almost obliterated. I am sorry for the Greeks. They are devastated. Their transportation is gone. They are probably at an economic level as low as they could reach, and my heart goes out to them. But conditions in other countries are just as bad as in Greece.

I suggest to the able Senator from Maine, because I have the deepest respect for him, that if we start in with Greece and Turkey, we cannot say we will not do something similar when other countries come forward and ask for loans.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I appreciate the questions, and also the feeling of the Senator. I may remind him that my attitude regarding the British loan has not determined my view regarding the Greek loan. So far as I am concerned, I do not consider that our attitude in any of these matters is determined by our action on any one.

The Senator referred to obligations. I do not consider that we are entering into obligations to anyone at any time. If we make a loan to Greece and Turkey, we make a loan. I have a good many reservations and doubts, but I am giving the President and his advisers the benefit of the doubt for a time.

The Senator says the line is forming on the right. That may be true. We will have to determine our action as time goes on. We realize the Germans situation, the Korean situation, and all the others. It seems to me we have to live from hand to mouth, so to speak.

Whatever were the reasons why Britain suddenly abandoned Greece, I do not know. I wish they had carried on 2 or 3 months longer, say to July 1, so that we would have had time to think the matter over. I am not burning any bridges behind me in this affair. I think a great deal of what happens is going to be determined by the manner and the method of administration. I think the men who are selected to handle the thing, and their method of handling it, so far as I am concerned, will have much to do with its success.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President—

Mr. BREWSTER. One other statement before the Senator from New Jersey speaks. I think we all have lessons to learn in procedure, and I hope that this discussion will serve as a salutary warning to our executive departments to be perhaps more frank and more open and more mature, if I may use the word, in their approach to the Senate of the United States.

I now yield to the Senator from New Jersey.

Mr. HAWKES. My experience in life has taught me that whenever anyone makes an immature request and it is granted, it does not serve as a lesson. My whole life has taught me that when anyone comes to me with an immature, an ill-considered, or a not thoroughly con-

sidered request, and I say, "Yes, all right; I do not like it, but all right," the next time he comes right back with another.

I have always trained men to work with me in this way, that when they made a request for something which had not been considered, it was turned down or was delayed until we gave it consideration.

I want to ask the Senator from Maine a question. He may have known more than I did about it, but I never heard a word about England pulling out of Greece on March 31, until the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate [Mr. VANDENBERG] told us in caucus just the day before the message was delivered. Does the Senator from Maine think it fair to me, to himself, to the other Senators, and to the people of the United States, to have us lead them into this thing without time to know all the facts and reflect upon them? After all, it is they who fight the wars, not us; it is they who pay the bills, not us; and if we lead them into a situation from which they cannot extricate themselves, it is we who must take the blame and have it put squarely upon our own shoulders.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I trust that statement does not carry the implication that I have withheld information and suddenly given it to the Senate.

Mr. HAWKES. No, no. I am sure the distinguished Senator from Michigan simply emphasizes my point, and I think he will agree with me that so far as we know nobody on this side of the aisle, at least, knew one word about this thing until the day before, March 12, 1947.

Mr. BREWSTER. Two days before.

Mr. HAWKES. Very well, the day or two days before the President delivered his message. My point is this: We are not talking about our own lives. We are not talking about our own future and our own welfare. In the history of the United States since this great country was founded, there have been—I do not have the exact figures—approximately 10,000 men and women who have represented the people of the United States in the Congress. There have been only about 70 Justices of the Supreme Court and 12 Chief Justices, and 32 men who have served as President of the United States of America. The figures are astounding. There have only been about 8,500 Representatives in Congress and 1,400 or 1,500 Senators. Those figures should impress us with the responsibility that rests on our shoulders. I cannot wash it off. I know something about the war through which we have recently passed. I paid a price in that war that was half of everything I had in this world, and there are other Senators here who paid a similar price. I am saying to the Senator from Maine that it is incumbent upon him, and I am saying to all other Senators that it is incumbent upon them, to think well before taking this step which does not have to be taken, and to realize that this question does not have to be handled in the way it is being.

I would give Greece \$100,000,000—give it to her. I would give her \$200,000,000,

and I would leave out the military implications. I would have given England \$400,000,000 and would have let her remain in there, because she knows, back through all history, the habits and the sophistries and the intrigues of those people. And then I would like to have what the distinguished Senator from Maine says he would like to have—and I think the suggestion is very wise, but he is going to vote the other way—namely, time to consider this far-reaching proposal. I want to tell Senators that, if I know anything in this world, I know that the American people would like to have time to consider it themselves and let their representatives know what they want.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. Yes.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I have not wanted to interrupt the Senator. I assumed that he was entitled to make his own speech, but I cannot allow this persistent drumfire to go without at least a casual rejoinder. I fully understand how keenly the able Senator from New Jersey feels about this question, but I should like to have the Senator from Maine know that I feel just as keenly that, if at this strategic point we surrender to Communist aggression, we have set in motion a chain reaction which may make it impossible for us ever again peacefully to meet the Russian menace. So far as I am concerned, I am just as deeply and conscientiously wedded to the fact and the belief and the conviction that the step we are proposing to take is essential to the peace of the United States, as the able Senator from New Jersey feels otherwise. I have said 50 times on this floor that no man has the right to be dogmatic about it. The Senator may be right; I may be right; but our opinions differ in respect to a net result.

In my opinion, if the Senate of the United States should decline to uphold the hands of the President of the United States in this emergency, America would have sacrificed her moral and spiritual leadership for all time in the great conflict which sweeps this earth between two rival ideologies.

I insist that there is a chance for Moscow and Washington to live together—"live and let live" in the same world, providing we now make it perfectly plain to Moscow on the one hand that we intend nothing but scrupulous fair play to her, and on the other hand, that there are deadlines—I say it again—in our ideals, which we will not surrender; and, except as this latter fact is established in the Russian conscience, we shall never have a chance to settle this rivalry short of war. So my opinion is just as deeply attached to my conscience as is that of the able Senator from New Jersey, to his conscience, that the course I shall support is the peace course, and the course he supports is the course which makes peace almost impossible.

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The occupants of the galleries are admonished that any manifestation of approval or disapproval by the occupants of the gal-

series is contrary to the rules of the Senate.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I do not want to prolong this argument, but I should like to say that I have never implied that the Senator from Michigan was not hewing to his conscience. All that he has said in that grand speech does not change the fact one iota that the people of the United States have not had a chance to consider this thing. If the Senator does not believe what I am saying, let him go through the country and hear what I am hearing. Let him see what I am receiving in my office.

Mr. BREWSTER. I want to say to the Senator from New Jersey that I certainly appreciate how he feels about the subject of war and peace. I also have such respect and admiration for the success of the Senator from New Jersey in private as well as public life that I have a great deal more respect for his opinion than for that of any plebiscite which can be conducted through the medium of the mail.

I have seen the Senator from New Jersey reject the conclusions of his mail on many an occasion, because he did not believe that it accurately reflected the interests of the country that he was sworn to protect. A Senator takes an oath to uphold the Constitution and do his duty, here. He has a little duty, himself. It is not a matter of a mail referendum, which, as Senators know, may be stimulated in a variety of ways. I have had several hundred letters of one kind and another that were mere propaganda pieces.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. BREWSTER. Yes.

Mr. HAWKES. I do not want the Senator to misunderstand that I am talking about a mail referendum. I have gone out and talked with hundreds of people, and I have talked to them very earnestly and sincerely. It is not the mail referendum. It has been an exchange of viewpoints in which a person could say one thing and get an answer in return. So I do not want the Senator to think I am talking simply about a mail referendum. I am talking about the over-all picture.

Mr. BREWSTER. I think our responsibility here is greater than that of any other people in this country, because we are paid to serve here and are sworn to do a job, and we ought to know more about this question than almost anyone else, because this is primarily our responsibility, and we presumably have sources of information, and so on. We recognize our limitations; we try to carry on; and I am sure that the Senator has not, in any words he used, meant to imply any doubt as to the sincerity with which others of us were pursuing the cause of peace. His language constantly is that we are following a war part.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, I must ask the Senator to yield to me, there, because under no circumstances do I wish to imply the lack of sincerity on the part of any Senator. But I do want to repeat

something which I think is worth while remembering by every representative of the people. Abraham Lincoln said, when he ran for Congress, "If I am elected and go to Washington, I shall try to represent fairly all those who opposed me, as well as those who supported me. I shall make it my business to try to ascertain what my constituents believe is right and should be done. I shall use every effort to ascertain this, but if I find I am unable to do it, or if I find I cannot keep faith with the Constitution in doing it, then I shall have to use my own judgment."

I am not sure that there is anything in the Constitution which gives us the right to loan to countries all over the world, hundreds of billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money, and lead them into a situation of this kind. I have talked with some very able lawyers, who think that the question of constitutionality should be raised as to the authority of this Nation, not under attack, to grant away the money of the people, obtained by the power of taxation, without knowing the will of the people.

Mr. BREWSTER. The question is to me not free from doubt. Irrespective of the constitutionality of the proposal, I think we are embarking upon a new course taken under very distressing circumstances. The Senator says there has not been an expression of the people. The last campaign, so far as I know, was conducted so far as this side of the aisle was concerned, against communism.

Mr. HAWKES. Yes; and in favor of economy, too.

Mr. BREWSTER. That is correct. The thought was "get tough with communism." It embarrasses me a little when the President takes us at our word and suggests that he is going to get tough with communism, to note how quickly some would seem to want us to pull out from under and say, "You should not have believed what we said."

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator again yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. Does not the Senator think that the people of the United States meant "get tough with communism" inside the borders of the United States, and not outside?

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not think the American people are so simple as to think that communism is simply confined to the United States.

Mr. HAWKES. I am not saying that.

Mr. BREWSTER. The whole concept of communism has been a world ideology.

Mr. HAWKES. Yes.

Mr. BREWSTER. Whether or not communism is on the march to take over the world is the question we are considering. If it is that, then the sooner we stop it the better.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one moment, and then I shall not ask him to yield again?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I should like to say that I understand the people of the United States are not so simple as to think that communism is confined to the United States. I never suggested that. I have spoken with hundreds of people

on this subject. If the Senator will go over the country and talk with them he will find that they say, "Why do you not get your own house in order before you go out to clear up the whole world?" They want to see us clean the communistic elements out of our government. The President of the United States, himself, has brought that out lately. That is all I mean.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield for a question?

Mr. BREWSTER. Yes.

Mr. WHERRY. I should like to state to the distinguished Senator that the reason for the observation I am about to make and the question I shall finally ask him is that I am one who is trying to make up his mind about this question. I have tried to keep my mind open. I have listened to the debate which has taken place. I wish to ask a question, and I should like to have the Senator from Michigan hear my question. I think the statement made by the Senator from Michigan a little while ago that the choice he was making was the choice for peace, and that the choice which the Senator from New Jersey had already made might not be for peace, is not justified by the facts.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is not what I said.

Mr. WHERRY. If I misunderstood the Senator, I shall be glad to be corrected.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Will the Senator permit me to repeat what I said?

Mr. WHERRY. Yes. I would not for anything in the world want to misquote the distinguished Senator from Michigan, and I should like to be corrected if I did not understand him correctly.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I said the course I was pursuing I thought led to peace, precisely as the Senator from New Jersey thought the course he was pursuing led to peace.

Mr. WHERRY. I will restate the question then.

Mr. VANDENBERG. That is no criticism of the Senator from New Jersey or the Senator from Nebraska, or anybody else.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, as yet I have not said what I was going to say. I do not wish the Senator to get the impression that I am saying anything in criticism of him. What I have been trying to do is to understand what the Senator from Michigan said. There was no criticism intended. The Senator from Michigan seems, for some reason, when questions are propounded to him, not only to resent them sometimes, but he has been a little impatient with those who try to seek light upon the subject. I certainly do not mean to misquote the Senator. I have the highest regard for the distinguished Senator from Michigan, and he knows it. But I want to tell him that this is the most important vote I shall have cast since I have been a Member of the United States Senate, and I shall ask questions and secure as

much light as possible before I cast my vote, and I am not going to be intimidated or stampeded by anyone in my endeavor to secure all the light and information possible, so as to be able to make up my mind on the subject.

If the distinguished Senator from Michigan means that it is his opinion that the following course he advocates leads to peace, of course he has the right to his opinion, and to follow that course. But I want to receive all the information I can, so as to enable me, before I vote, to decide whether the pathway to peace is the one proposed by the Senator from New Jersey or whether the pathway to peace is the one proposed by the Senator from Michigan, and which he now follows.

The other day I asked the distinguished Senator from Michigan, "What if we were to take the other course from that advocated by the Senator from Michigan?" The Senator calls it a matter of compliance or noncompliance. I can easily understand what the result will be if we do not comply, because I can visualize that communism will overrun Greece and Turkey. I think there is no doubt about that. But on the other hand I should like to ask the distinguished Senator a question.

Mr. BREWSTER. At that point let me say I think there is a clear distinction between Greece and Turkey.

Mr. WHERRY. Yes; that is true. Let us speak, then, of Greece. The Senator from Maine has just come from Greece. Yesterday I asked the Senator from Michigan the question: "What will be the price we pay if we do comply and go into Greece, and Russia comes down and overruns Greece just the same, and bloodshed results. What will the price be then?" I would not want to misquote him for the world, not after the remarks he has just made, but I think the Senator said, "Your guess is as good as mine," or words to that effect. I ask the Senator from Maine, What does he think the price will be?

Mr. BREWSTER. This is what I think it will be. I do not think the Soviet is ready to fight us.

Mr. WHERRY. I said if they did.

Mr. BREWSTER. Let me answer.

Mr. WHERRY. I said if they did.

Mr. BREWSTER. I will come to that.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. BREWSTER. I do not think the Soviet Government is ready to start a war. That is why I asked the Senator from Nebraska to eliminate the Turkish situation, because there is every indication that the Turks are lined up on the border and that they mean business. Even if they all die in their tracks, they look perfectly capable of doing it. Britain and the other 54 United Nations are pledged, if there is an act of aggression against the Turks, to come to their aid individually or collectively. That is why I want the Senator to leave the Turkish situation out of the question because I think they will fight if they are attacked, and if they are attacked the rest of the world will come to their aid. The result will be a world-wide war.

So as far as Greece is concerned the Russians will certainly pursue the policy of infiltration through Bulgaria, Mace-

donia, and other countries just so long as they can by the various methods through which they have taken over other Balkan countries. I think the prospect of an open Soviet attack upon Greece is so remote at this time that we do not need to take it into our calculation.

As I said, I am buying time. I am buying 15 months. I favor the idea, as the Senator from New Jersey suggested, of \$100,000,000 grant. Even if we have to give \$100,000,000 to Britain, I say, go ahead there and take care of them for the next 3 or 4 months and let us study this problem. I would have preferred that solution. But that did not seem to me to meet with effective response. I believe the minority leader, the Senator from Kentucky, at one time suggested that idea. I thought it was a good idea. But there seemed to be reasons why that was not more seriously considered and proposed.

So we came back to the original proposal. I am ready to vote for \$400,000,000 for 15 months. I am going to observe very carefully what is done with that money, how it is administered, how it is handled, what the Greek Government does, what the Soviet Government does, what happens in Greece, and what happens in Turkey. We know now that we have a job on our hands, and I hope that 6 or 8 or 10 months from today everyone in the Senate and in the United States will know a great deal more about these problems, in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, than we can possibly know today.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for one more question?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I certainly do not want to detain the Senator. I am sorry to break into his remarks. We are all interested in his report.

Mr. BREWSTER. I am practically through.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator knows that already Greece has had from the United States in the neighborhood of, I think, \$300,000,000, either through UNRRA or through other contributions or loans or grants or whatever they may be called. I understand that England has placed in Greece since the war nearly \$350,000,000. As I understand, the Greek economic situation is even worse today than it has been. Is that not correct?

Mr. BREWSTER. I am not in a position to say. The whole area impressed me as being in a state of cultivation. The thought which constantly recurs is, Why cannot the Greeks feed themselves, as they have done for 5,000 years? It is felt that it should not take very much to get them back on a producing basis if the program were properly administered. This money can do a great deal of good. I hold no brief for what has been done heretofore.

Mr. WHERRY. Would the Senator favor an amendment to this bill deleting military aid to Greece, and giving Greece \$250,000,000 for economic and agricultural relief exclusively?

Mr. BREWSTER. No. I believe that military aid is very essential, to get them back on a going basis. Raids are obvi-

ously being made over the border, and supplies are being transported. If Soviet Russia can surreptitiously extend aid to the rebels, I do not see why we cannot extend aid to the established government.

Mr. WHERRY. In the event we should give military aid and there should be a conflict in which our military personnel were involved, resulting in bloodshed, would we be at war with Russia?

Mr. BREWSTER. Not under the present circumstances, because Russia is not showing her hand. She is operating behind the scenes.

Mr. WHERRY. If we should extend military aid and send our military personnel over there to bolster up the established government, as the Senator says, and Russia should come down from the north to aid the Communists, and there should be an engagement resulting in bloodshed, would we be at war?

Mr. BREWSTER. Not with Russia.

Mr. WHERRY. With whom would we be at war if that should happen?

Mr. BREWSTER. At the present time all that exists is what seems to be a Communist-inspired rebellion in Greece. We are extending aid to the established Greek Government, as we have done in many other instances. If any difficulty occurs, it is simply an internal problem so far as the record is concerned. We are open about it. Russia is secret. If Russia decides to move in and really start operations, we must then decide what to do. We must decide whether to back down. We must decide whether we are going to say, "If you want to attack Greece, go ahead. We are obligated under the United Nations to protect her. We are obligated in various ways, but you go ahead and take all the world you want, and when you get through we shall thank God if you leave us alone." We tried that theory 25 years ago. The Senator and I were both partners in this thing. The first thing we knew we landed in Pearl Harbor. I have conducted many investigations. One might make out more or less of a case on the ground that the President might have done things he should not have done; but by and large, without primary provocation on our part, we landed in a second first-class world war. I am as anxious as is the Senator to prevent the repetition of such a thing, and I am trying to find a course better calculated than our last one to prevent us from again landing in such a situation. I do not challenge the Senator's conclusions. I am not omniscient, and I do not claim to be. I think we shall all learn a great deal more in the next few years.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I think the Senator has just said a very remarkable thing, and I hope he will stand by it. He has stated that he is not in favor of going further and further with such loans.

Mr. BREWSTER. I go along with this one with very great reluctance. I believe that democracy can spread itself only by example.

Mr. HAWKES. The Senator from Nebraska inquired as to what the situa-

tion would be under certain circumstances and with whom we might be at war. I can tell the Senator with whom we may be at war. We may be at war with ourselves. We would be at war trying to find out where to get the money to pay our own bills and keep our own economy in shape if we were to become nationally bankrupt because of foolish, extended, and continuous loans to irresponsible nations and people who have no collateral and no security and little intention to pay.

Mr. WHERRY. I thank the Senator from New Jersey for his observations.

If the Senator from Maine will further yield, I stated that I would ask only one question. I distinctly recall that the distinguished Senator stated that he felt that inasmuch as the President had declared an all-out war on communism, we should all uphold his hands. I think we all want to uphold his hands.

Mr. BREWSTER. I did not quite say that. I said that I would be a little embarrassed immediately to pull the rug out from under his feet. I am in favor of giving him a little latitude. We were pretty rough on him in the last campaign.

Mr. WHERRY. I suggest to the distinguished Senator that I think the place to clean up communism is not only abroad, but here at home, as the Senator from New Jersey has said. I know that the Senator feels exactly as I feel on that subject. Why do we go to Greece and spend \$400,000,000 to whip communism when we continue a communistic policy in South America? If this administration is sincere in its desire to eradicate communism, why does it not change its foreign policy in Argentina and the rest of the South American countries?

Mr. BREWSTER. The Senator from Nebraska has struck gold so far as I am concerned. I spent a month in South America during November and December, and I came to certain very strong conclusions. I was very much gratified when the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], in his pronouncement at Cleveland on foreign policy, stated that our current policy so far as Argentina was concerned was not a matter on which he had been consulted or with which he was in sympathy. He felt that it was time for us to reconsider our policy regarding Argentina, and he indicated that similarly, in China, the time had come for a change of front.

I welcomed that attitude. I appreciate the fact that he had been preoccupied with the European settlement problem, and problems with respect to other areas, as to which he clearly indicated he had not been consulted except in a most casual manner. I assume that in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, as soon as we can get a Secretary of State who will be in Washington for a couple of weeks, he would like to have an opportunity to sit down and talk things over, and that that subject would invite most earnest attention. I hope we shall move in that direction. I think it is high time.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for an observation?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I agree in toto with what the distinguished Senator has said. I trust that the condition which he hopes for will come to pass. I suggest to the able Senator that we still have in the State Department Mr. Braden, who is responsible for communistic activities in Argentina. Nothing has been done about it. The administration asks us to spend \$400,000,000 in Greece to stop communism. The first place where we should start a clean-up is in our own backyard. Some of the top-flight men in the Department of State are the ones who should be eradicated.

Mr. BREWSTER. The problem is not simple, because in Brazil in the recent election the province of Sao Paulo, with the aid of the Communists, elected a governor. In Chile the President has three Communists in his Cabinet. That is the difficulty with implementing the so-called Presidential program. I was very much interested in the observations of the senior Senator from Michigan yesterday as to whether this was a program, a policy, or a doctrine. I think we shall have some difficulty in formulating a policy and a doctrine to deal with this problem. I think it is much better to recognize that in Greece we confront a condition, and we are taking certain action. Under the circumstances as they exist the President's proposal is a part of the problem. I am giving him the benefit of the doubt. In Turkey we have a somewhat different situation.

In those two situations we are at this time under the circumstances taking certain action with the hope, under high heaven, that we shall be enabled as the weeks and months go by to know more about this problem as we come into the struggle with this ideology. Whether Stalin, the men in Moscow, and the Politburo contemplate a world-wide sweep, such as the Nazis planned, can be determined only by events. There are certainly disquieting aspects in the situation. The most disquieting is that so long as there remains a dictatorship we always find situations involving the fomenting of disagreements. We saw in our recent journey to Egypt and the Near East remnants of civilizations of 5,000 years, and we can apply the same formula to them all. That is why, irrespective of the benevolent intentions of Mr. Stalin or anyone else, so long as their governments are dictatorships—and that is what they are, practically—we always find that peril. I think we must recognize it and must take such measures as seem justified to try to serve warning, as the Senator from Michigan has said, that "thus far and no farther shalt thou come. Thou shalt not pass."

That is the basis upon which I go forward with all the reservations I have indicated and with no disparagement or criticism of anyone who may disagree. Here I stand at this time. I can take no other.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BREWSTER. I yield.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, there has been considerable discussion of figures regarding lend-lease shipments

to the Soviet Union since VJ-day, and related mathematics. I asked the State Department to prepare a factual statement on the subject for the information of the Senate, and for whatever it is worth I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LEND-LEASE TO THE U. S. S. R.

I. LEND-LEASE ASSISTANCE TO THE SOVIET UNION DURING THE PERIOD OF HOSTILITIES

Lend-lease aid to the Soviet Union during the period of hostilities amounting to about \$11,100,000,000 was rendered under the terms of a master lend-lease agreement with the Soviet Government signed on June 11, 1942. Aid on this basis was ordered halted on VJ-day, September 2, 1945, and no further shipments were made except for goods then in process of loading or in transit to ship-side. Aid rendered from VE-day, May 12, 1945, to VJ-day, September 2, 1945, was solely for support of the Soviet Far Eastern Army and the strengthening of this area for operations against Japan. Ninety-five merchant ships now remain in Soviet possession out of the 126 which were transferred under the terms of the master agreement of June 11, 1942. The Soviet Government has now agreed to commence discussions for settlement of its obligations for lend-lease aid rendered under this agreement. These discussions will include the disposition of the 95 merchant ships.

II. LEND-LEASE SHIPMENTS TO THE SOVIET UNION SINCE VJ-DAY

On VJ-day, September 2, 1945, there remained in warehouses and in production quantities of lend-lease articles which had been ordered for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics during the period of hostilities. These articles were the residue of a larger quantity of orders, many of which were canceled shortly after the cessation of hostilities in Europe on VE-day, May 12, 1945. On October 15, 1945, an agreement was concluded with the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act which reads in part as follows:

"Until July 1, 1949, any of such powers may be exercised to the extent necessary to carry out a contract or agreement with such a foreign government made before July 1, 1946."

The agreement of October 15, 1945, was concluded independently of the master lend-lease agreement of June 11, 1942.

Under its terms the Government of the United States agreed to deliver and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics agreed to accept under terms of payment stated below a specific quantity of these residual supplies. The supplies included in the schedules of this agreement consist primarily of industrial and transportation equipment fabricated to Soviet specifications. (No arms, ammunition, or implements of war were included for shipment under the agreement of October 15, 1945. It will also be noted from the tables below that no cargo trucks were included in the "pipe-line" schedule.) As a whole this equipment would have brought a limited return if disposed of in the United States as surplus. In many instances contract cancellation charges for material still in production on VJ-day would have been excessive. Up to December 31, 1946, materials valued at \$233,000,000 had been transferred to the Soviet Government under this agreement and only about \$17,000,000 of equipment still remained untransferred either located at warehouses or in production. All transfers are now suspended pending consideration by the Congress.

The articles shipped after VJ-day and up to December 31, 1946, were as follows:

Machine tools-----	\$40,850,000
Steam locomotives (Russian gage)-----	30,634,000
Generator sets-----	22,800,000
Cranes, derricks, hoists, etc.-----	8,129,000
Electric rotating equipment-----	8,633,000
Marine engines-----	6,824,000
Canned tushonka-----	4,054,000
Pumps-----	4,620,000
Crushing equipment-----	4,135,000
Valves and fittings-----	5,114,000
Gas-producing equipment-----	4,177,000
Secondary metal-forming machinery-----	4,956,000
Diesel electric locomotives (Russian gage)-----	3,001,000
Industrial trucks and tractors-----	3,768,000
Fan and blower equipment-----	3,182,000
Power transmission equipment-----	3,162,000
Power conversion equipment-----	3,117,000
Rolling mills and equipment-----	3,372,000
Mine and quarry machinery-----	3,690,000
Insulated wire and cable-----	3,765,000
Bearings-----	2,893,000
Metal melting and heating furnaces-----	2,079,000
Welding machinery-----	2,965,000
Metal cutting tools-----	2,289,000
Mine-type locomotives-----	2,085,000
Leather-----	2,117,000
Various industrial equipment and materials-----	46,589,000
Total-----	233,000,000

The equipment remaining to be transferred to the Soviet Government under the agreement is made up as follows:

Oil-refinery equipment to expand refineries shipped to the U. S. S. R. before the cessation of hostilities Sept. 2, 1945-----	\$6,972,000
Mine hoists-----	3,058,000
Locomotive-storage batteries-----	1,777,000
Power equipment-----	1,272,000
Electrical equipment-----	945,000
Mining equipment-----	674,000
Electric motors and controllers-----	350,000
Miscellaneous machinery and equipment-----	1,648,000
Total-----	16,696,000

Payment for articles covered by the "pipe-line" agreement as set forth above is to be made over a period of 30 years ending in 1975, with interest at 2½ percent per annum. The first payment of interest will be due July 1, 1947. The first payment of principal will be due July 1, 1954.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I quite agree with my friends who state that the world must have a consistent policy in connection with these matters. So far as I can discover from the State Department's letter, three facts stand out: First, that no shipments of civilian lend-lease materials have been made to Russia since VJ-day, except for payment by Russia under the civilian pipe-line agreement concluded under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act.

Second, no lend-lease war materials have been shipped to Russia since VJ-day except those in transit on that date.

Third, no new procurement contracts for civilian or war lend-lease materials for shipment to Russia have been let since VJ-day.

At any rate, the full story is in the document which I presented for the information of the Senate.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I yield.

Mr. WHERRY. I think I have the same document which the Senator has offered. It is a fact, is it not, as indicated on page 3 of the letter, that the equipment, which has been sold under lend-lease contracts extending over a period of 30 or 40 years, ending in 1975, with interest at the rate of 2½ percent, includes \$16,000,000 of which \$6,972,000 is for oil refinery equipment which has not yet been sent to Russia, but is under agreement to be sold to Russia?

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Senator's figures are correct. I am simply referring back to the fact that it is my understanding that this all occurred under an agreement made on October 15, 1945, which was approximately 5 weeks after VJ-day.

Mr. WHERRY. I agree with the distinguished Senator; but the point which the distinguished Senator from West Virginia [Mr. REVERCOMB] was making yesterday and today was that this material has not yet been sent to Russia. It has been held up because the General Accounting Office would not O. K. authority for a credit of \$35,000,000 worth of merchandise, and included in that merchandise is the machinery for refining 100-octane gas. That is a very serviceable piece of equipment for Russia to have, especially if there should be any difficulty in a military way.

Mr. VANDENBERG. I think the Senator's statement is substantially correct. I do not understand that it is an oil refinery, but equipment to expand refineries. It is a distinction without a difference, so far as I am concerned.

Mr. WHERRY. If the distinguished Senator will yield a moment further, I should like to say that I happen to be a member of the Committee on Appropriations and heard the matter discussed when it came up. The members of that committee were surprised, inasmuch as lend-lease had terminated on December 31, 1946, that we were still sending to Russia under 30- and 40-year contracts, at 2½ percent interest, equipment which from a military standpoint would certainly meet the needs of that country if there should be military eventualities.

Mr. VANDENBERG. The Senator's statement is correct, and it is being done, as the record will show, under an agreement made approximately 5 weeks after VJ-day. So far as my viewpoint is concerned, it is a very simple and clear one. I very deeply regret that those shipments are being made, but I shall more deeply regret it if we do not scrupulously keep our word with the Soviet Union with respect to these last lingering contracts, lest we should not be in a totally clear, clean, and positive position to challenge the Soviet Union for its failure to keep its promises and its contracts.

Mr. WHERRY. I would not want the Senator from Michigan to think that I intended to imply that I want the United States to break its word. I should be the last man to give authority to the Comptroller General to send this merchandise over there under the terms on which Russia bought it.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, it is one of the major contentions of those proposing this bill for military intervention

in Greece that the action is necessary to fight communism.

I do not believe there are many people in the United States or many Members of this Senate who believe that it is possible to curb an idea by military methods. I think that has been demonstrated in China; and in that connection I cite a report by Mr. William Newton, a correspondent for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, in a dispatch from Yen-an which appeared in the Washington Daily News as recently as March 11.

Of course, Mr. President, since Mr. Newton sent the dispatch, the Central Chinese Government has overrun and captured Yen-an. But on March 11, here is what Mr. Newton wrote from Yen-an:

YENAN, March 11.—Here in the capital city of Red China the wind is biting cold and the people live in caves in the sides of the mountains.

They have none of the creature comforts of the big cities in the government areas. There is no electricity or water supply system and the only way to go any place is to walk or ride a donkey.

DIFFERENT SPIRIT

Their principal food is millet, a small-grained cereal which the peasants somehow manage to cultivate in the rough mountain country which makes the North Dakota Badlands look like a garden spot.

But there is a spirit here among the people which is too real to put down as Communist window-dressing, or studied propaganda. There's a friendliness among the peasants and the soldier and officials. There's a consideration for the rights and the needs of others which is not seen in many of the Nationalist government areas.

Mr. President, that is a spirit which I believe would accrue to any party or organization which would oppose the unbearable oppression of the reactionary Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek. That is the kind of spirit which I believe was in the hearts of the American colonists when they fought for and won freedom from tyranny in 1776.

That is the kind of spirit, Mr. President, which exists in Greece today. And it is not born of communism unless communism is the only force opposing oppression and suffering.

If we align ourselves with the present Greek Government or the present Chinese Government, we must automatically try to kill that spirit, and I think that is an impossible job.

How much easier would be our task if we aided these oppressed peoples to throw off the yoke of reaction and tyranny, and if we generated for democracy that kind of spirit. How much better it would be, how much more in keeping with our own traditions, if instead of sending arms to the dictators, we would honor the memory of Lafayette by actively aiding other peoples to attain the freedom which Lafayette so nobly helped us achieve.

Mr. Newton's dispatch elaborates on that theme, as follows:

In most of China the people fear the Government. Here in Yen-an they feel they are a part of it. The difference is noticeable in a thousand ways as you walk through the dusty streets or call on the officials in their caves or humble offices. You can see it when a soldier helps a peasant find his way, when a farmer calls at a Government office, or when a merchant pays his tax bill.

This feeling on the part of the peasant toward his Government is new in China and it may be that it is the greatest accomplishment of the Chinese Communist leadership.

That is plain, Mr. President. They have not brought material prosperity to those people, but they have given them a feeling of belonging to their government, of having something to say about their government, of being a part of the scheme of things, and not just being kicked around like dogs, as Chiang Kai-shek does.

I read further from the article:

EVACUATION BEGINS

Today the women and children are being evacuated from Yen-an. They pile their possessions on a covered stretcherlike contraption tied between two horses or swaying precariously on a camel. The Nationalist armies are 70 miles away and may try to capture the city at any time. Stores are being boarded up and everything moved back into the mountains.

There is no confusion and no disorder and, surprisingly enough, morale is high. These people really believe they are going to win. It may take 10 years or it may take 100, but they believe it to the depths of their being.

From the standpoint of material possessions it is probable the people of Yen-an have no more and perhaps no less than they would have if the city was in Nationalist hands. In the shops and stores the goods are about the same as elsewhere in rural China and the prices are comparable.

There are men here who ride horseback and men in fine fur-lined coats. There are men in tattered animal skins and rags. But rightly or wrongly the peasants here believe in the men who lead them and believe they have a voice and a part in their government.

NO BEGGARS, NO LOAFERS

"We have no rickshaw coolies, no beggars, and no loafers in Yen-an," said our interpreter, Ma Moo-ming, a former professor of English at Peking who is now a Communist press officer.

Twenty or thirty peasants were dogging our footsteps as we walked through the town, grinning at us and trying to understand our text-book Chinese.

"Why aren't these men working?" we asked Mr. Ma.

"They just came to town to do their marketing," he explained.

The fanciest building in Communist Yen-an is a new bank. New currency has been issued by the Communist government, but the basic medium of exchange still is grain.

Mr. President, I have thought it worth while to read that article into the RECORD, just to show that people crave a measure of freedom. We have contended that communism is dictatorial. I am not arguing the point at all; but it seems, at least, that the people of China feel that they have more freedom under the Communists than they do under Chiang Kai-shek. People love freedom, even if they have only a small degree of it. At least what the people in Communist China have today is more than what they had before under Chiang Kai-shek. We have been trying to kill that Chinese spirit. I do not believe it can be done.

On the other hand, we captured Formosa, which had been under Japan for many years, and we turned it over to Chiang Kai-shek. His government robbed the people; it took their crops away from them, and sold the crops back to them at exorbitant prices. The people rebelled. Then Chiang Kai-shek

sent his troops there, and they massacred 5,000 of those people and committed terrible atrocities. That simply cannot be continued. Even another government, if set up under those circumstances, might be just as bad; and if we tried to support any government of that type, we would find ourselves in an impossible situation.

Mr. President, I should like to have an article about Formosa printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of March 31 1947]

FIVE THOUSAND FORMOSANS SLAIN, EDITOR SAYS—YOUTH EMASCULATION, CUTTING OFF OF EARS, MURDER OF HOUSEHOLDERS BLAMED ON CHINESE

Shanghai, March 30.—John W. Powell declared today in an article in his magazine, China Weekly Review, that Chinese troops sent to Formosa to quell riots which started there February 28 had perpetrated "some of the most unimaginable atrocities."

Powell, son of the late famed editor, J. B. Powell, wrote that a conservative estimate placed the number of Formosans killed at 5,000, with thousands more imprisoned. He has newly returned from a visit to Formosa.

So far as is known, Powell is the only American correspondent who has succeeded in going to and returning from the big island province off China's east coast since rioting began.

GOVERNMENT SILENT

No immediate comment was forthcoming from Chinese Government sources. On March 14 Peng Hsueh-pei, Chinese Minister of Information, told foreign newsmen in Nanking that the Formosan "incident will soon be closed." He declined to assist reporters in going there, saying that the Government was too busy to look after them.

Powell said the disorders culminated a year and a half of flagrant Chinese misrule far worse than the Japanese.

China lost Formosa in 1895; it was restored to her in 1945 after the Japanese surrender.

Powell wrote that the riots were preceded by extremely severe searches of shops and peddler stands by police who, he said, were trying to enforce new economic regulations which virtually abolished private trade. On February 27, he declared, police killed a 40-year-old woman in Taipei (Taihoku), the capital, when she protested seizure of her cigarette tray.

MOB PETITIONS REDRESS

Next day the riots began, he continued, and a mob marched toward Gov. Chen Yi's office to petition for compensation. He said police fired into this crowd and killed four Formosans, wounding several others. He said mobs roamed the streets, grabbing and beating all mainland Chinese they could find and sacking many Chinese homes.

By March 1, he related, rioting had spread to most of the cities. Powell said the Government tried a counter-move with flying squads which fired into all crowds with machine guns, and that examination of wounded showed dum dum bullets were used. He said such action killed 25 and wounded 125 Formosans outside the railway station.

He said a truce was arranged with a committee of prominent Formosans who drew up 32 demands which he said would have assured near independence. Powell reported that the Governor, who was expecting troops from the mainland, gave the impression he was making concessions, but when troops arrived March 8 the committee was arrested.

PEOPLE SHOT ON SIGHT

From then on through March 13, he wrote, there was a blood bath, in which troops shot Formosans on sight.

He quoted foreign eyewitnesses as saying in one instance 20 youths in a village between Taipei and Keelung were emasculated and their ears were cut off and noses slit before they were bayoneted and thrown into a creek.

He said one foreign observer watched troops searching houses wantonly shoot down whoever opened the door.

Powell concluded that "with the situation what it is in China today, there is little hope that anything constructive can be done in time to save the island economically or politically for China."

The pro-Government press in Nanking reported on March 26 that more than 70 Formosans had been executed. The official Central News Agency said 100 had been arrested and 3 executed.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the RECORD a telegram from Hon. Aubrey Williams, editor of the Southern Farmer, giving, I believe, a very vital and very excellent program for democracy in Greece.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MONTGOMERY, ALA., April 15, 1947.

Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER,
Washington, D. C.:

Our Nation's leadership is confused. The natural leaders of the people are divided, and appear to be in a frenzy of fear and disillusionment because of the inexplicable course of Russia and the Communists.

Many liberals are rushing into a position which can lead only to a new version of the anti-Comintern pact. The implications of their position grow ominous. They are now allied with those who are demanding that Wallace be prosecuted for stating a position which reflects the sentiments of two-thirds of the American people—as shown by the latest Gallup polls.

The time calls for a simple, clear program which decent, peace-loving Americans can accept. It also calls for a program to which President Truman and his advisers can accede.

If Franklin D. Roosevelt were here, this is the kind of dramatic program he would probably announce:

First. The United States cannot undertake to establish democracy in a nation where a king rules surrounded by monarchists and plutocrats. Help must be conditioned on withdrawal or collapse of these forces.

Second. Order and peace must be restored within Greece. As matters now stand, our Army officers will know nothing except to arm the monarchists and assorted reactionaries. This will inevitably enrage and frustrate the Greek people who have been revolting for 20 years against these forces, despite hunger, privation, and war. We must arm only Greek republicans and democrats. This requires that Americans or UN representatives know something about political philosophy.

Third. We must rebuild the Greek economy. We must do this in a way which the American people will understand, and which is within the framework of our own system. We must not make a lot of Greek plutocrats into tyrannical millionaires in the process. Franklin D. Roosevelt would rebuild the Greek economy in the same way he rebuilt our own:

(A) Provide for electric power, which is basic, by a Greek TVA owned by the Greek people.

(B) Reestablish transportation by first paying off any private individuals who claim ownership of the dilapidated Greek railways. Rebuild these railways in the name of the

Greek people to be owned as our own post-office system is owned.

(C) Establish a Greek national bank, similar to our own Federal Reserve System, or the present Bank of England.

(D) Provide for rehabilitation of private productive enterprises through an RFC. Provide for the farm economy through a farm credit administration based on co-operative loan associations, together with a farm security administration.

This program will make sense to the American people. It will make sense and give tremendous encouragement to democrats everywhere. It will win the support of all middle-of-the-road nations, such as Britain, the Dominions, the Scandinavians, France, Central and South America.

This program can be undertaken by American leadership acting under the sponsorship of the United Nations. If the world is in great danger, we should act to win spontaneous support of all democratic nations.

If this makes sense to you, talk it over with others who may be potentially interested. America's great need today is for a positive program to strengthen democracy, rather than a negative program aimed solely at a futile attempt to stop communism without offering anything better than the strengthening of autocracy and dictatorship.

NOTE.—The above material is the basis of article to be printed in Southern Farmer 2 weeks hence. It may be used with or without credit.

SOUTHERN FARMER,
AUBREY WILLIAMS.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be absent from the Senate Monday of next week.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the leave is granted.

IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE WEST

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I should like to call to the attention of the Senate a letter I have received from Mr. Lynn Crandall, watermaster of district No. 38 at Idaho Falls, Idaho. Mr. Crandall's letter, addressed to all of the members of the Idaho delegation, points out

a very serious threat to continued irrigation development in Idaho, and throughout the West, in S. 972.

In Idaho, and in most other areas of the West, it is possible to use that portion of the reservoir space of a multiple-purpose project which is allotted to flood control both for flood control and for the storage of the irrigation water. That dual use of the storage space, in fact, is the difference between feasibility and nonfeasibility of many projects.

Mr. Crandall points out that section 4 of S. 972 would prohibit such dual use and, therefore, greatly impair the usefulness of our western multiple-purpose dams. I ask unanimous consent that this letter be incorporated in my remarks in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF IDAHO,
DEPARTMENT OF RECLAMATION,
Idaho Falls, Idaho, April 4, 1947.

Hon. GLEN TAYLOR,
Hon. HENRY DWORSHAK,
Hon. JOHN SANBORN,
Hon. ABE MCG. GOFF,
Members, Idaho Congressional Delegation.

DEAR SIR: Beginning on page 2457 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of March 21, 1947, there is printed a copy of S. 972, declaration of public power policy, and comments thereon by the author of the bill.

Section 4 of the proposed bill implies that the flood-control space in a multipurpose project shall be dedicated exclusively to flood control. Such a requirement may be advisable in regions where floods may occur unexpectedly at any time from heavy rainfall. In such regions it might be necessary that the flood space should always be available to store floodwaters when they come.

In the Rocky and other western mountains, however, the floods come from the melting snows during May and June and can be foretold quite accurately from the snow surveys made from January to April. Based on such snow surveys sufficient flood-control space can be vacated in time to adequately control these snow-water floods.

At the same time considerable water can usually be retained in the flood space by the time the peak flow has gone and provide a valuable addition to the reservoir supply for use during the subsequent summer months. In the arid regions the entire development of the country is dependent on the conservation and fullest use of the available water supply. In multipurpose projects such as Palisades Reservoir the irrigators expect to buy the entire active reservoir capacity, the irrigation and flood-control space to be used jointly for flood control based on study of snow-survey results by a committee representing the Bureau of Reclamation, United States engineers, and the water users.

When this bill (S. 972) is being considered the proposed section 4 should be amended to provide for a more flexible procedure in mountain regions where the floodwaters come from melting snow.

The usefulness of Palisades and other western reservoirs would be greatly impaired if it was made impossible by statute to retain any water in the flood-control space, when that could safely be done, for later beneficial use.

Very truly yours,
LYNN CRANDALL,
Watermaster, District No. 36.

ADJOURNMENT TO MONDAY

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I move that the Senate adjourn until Monday next at noon.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the Senate adjourned until Monday, April 21, 1947, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate April 18 (legislative day of March 24), 1947:

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

Thomas M. Robinson, of Montana, to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Montana, in place of Lewis Penwell.

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL

T. Vincent Quinn, of New York, to be an Assistant Attorney General, to fill an existing vacancy.

PAGES 1 OF

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports.
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 21, 1947
For actions of April 18, 1947
80th-1st, No. 72

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....7	Government cafeterias....12	Marketing.....3
C.C.C.....1	Insect control.....10	Personnel.....9,12
Flood control.....8	Insecticide Act.....10	Postal rates.....11
Food, inspection.....3	Lands, reclamation.....6	Quarantine, animal.....4
Foreign affairs.....5	Livestock and meat.....4	Rehabilitation, rural....2

HIGHLIGHTS. Senate received proposed CCC charter.

SENATE

1. COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION. Received the proposed CCC charter from this Department. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 3790.)
2. RURAL REHABILITATION. Received this Department's report on progress in liquidating the rural-rehabilitation projects. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 3790.)
3. FOOD AND DRUGS. Received from the Federal Security Agency proposed legislation to provide for seizure of foods, etc., that become adulterated or misbranded while held for sale after interstate shipment. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce. (p. 3790.)
4. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received a Kans. Legislature memorial favoring control of this disease in Mexico (p. 3790).
5. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 3793-818).
6. RECLAMATION. Sen. Taylor, Idaho, inserted and discussed a letter from Lynn Crandall objecting to a provision in S. 972 prohibiting dual use of irrigation water (p. 3818).
7. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 21 (p. 3818).

BILLS INTRODUCED

8. FLOOD CONTROL. S. 1128 and S. 1129, by Sen. Connally, Tex., to authorize a flood-control survey on certain areas in Tex. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3790.)
9. EFFICIENCY RATINGS. S. Res. 105, by Sen. Baldwin, Conn., authorizing the Civil Service Committee to investigate efficiency-rating systems. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 3791.)

(over)

NOT IN SESSION. Next meeting Mon., Apr. 21.

10. INSECTICIDE AMENDMENTS. A subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee ordered reported to the full committee H. R. 1237, regulating the marketing of economic poisons and devices (p. D136).

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COMMITTEE HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR APR. 21: H. Agriculture, general farm program (Anderson to testify); H. Appropriations, Interior appropriation bill (ex.); H. District of Columbia, daylight saving; H. Judiciary, unlawful monopolies; H. Public Lands, statehood for Alaska; H. Ways and Means, reciprocal trade agreements; S. Appropriations, First Deficiency Appropriation bill (ex.); S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; S. Labor and Public Welfare, Federal aid to education; S. Banking and Currency, housing bill.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

11. POSTAL RATES. To investigate increases in postal rates, pursuant to S. Res. 43. S. Post Office and Civil Service Committee.
12. GOVERNMENT CAFETERIAS. Investigation of Government cafeteria system, pursuant to S. Res. 42. S. Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 22, 1947
For actions of April 21, 1947
80th-1st, No. 74

CONTENTS

Appropriations.....1,14	Housing..... 8	Prices.....28
Banking and currency..... 7	Labor, farm.....3,18	Quarantine, animal...13,27
Budgeting..... 6	Lands, farm.....26	Quarantine, plant..... 4
C.C.C.....24	Lands, reclamation....9,11	Reports.....17
Farm program.....25,26	Livestock and meat...13,27	Roads.....21
Fisheries.....27	Loans..... 5	Social security..... 3
Flood control.....11	Loans, farm..... 2	Soil conservation...12,16
Food inspection.....23	Minerals.....19	Trade, foreign..... 5
Forests and forestry..... 8	Personnel.....14,20	Transportation.....22
Foreign affairs.....10,29		Wool.....15

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported deficiency appropriation bill and restored part of tree-insect cut. Senate passed bill to authorize FEMC to purchase GI loans. Senate passed bill to authorize limitation on importation of nursery stock and requirement that such stock be grown in post-entry quarantine; includes bulbs. Senate committee reported bill to make \$10,000,000 additional available for access roads in connection with housing program. Sen. Lucas inserted Secretary Anderson's Jefferson Day speech. House committee reported Interior appropriation bill.

SENATE

1. APPROPRIATIONS. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments H. R. 2849, the first deficiency appropriation bill, 1947 (S. Rept. 107)(p. 3822). As it pertains to this Department, the only change in the bill as passed by the House restores \$65,000 of the \$130,000 reduction made by the House in the supplemental request of \$380,000 for control of tree-insect epidemics.

The bill includes the following items:

FCIC capital stock, \$20,000,000.

Tussock moth control, \$395,000.

Transfer of \$410,000 in Forest Service from "acquisition of lands" to "protection and management"

Control of tree-insect epidemics on national forests, \$315,000.

Fighting forest fires, \$3,944,000.

Increased Pay Act costs, various amounts. The bill authorizes the Secretary to transfer from available funds the specific amounts which were proposed in H. Doc. 117.

Provision that available funds may be used for payment of tort claims unless otherwise specifically provided for.

School lunch program, \$6,000,000 additional.

Foreign relief, \$300,000,000 additional (War Department).

Care of public buildings and grounds in D. C., PBA, \$2,700,000 additional.

Judgments and claims, various amounts.

2. FARM CREDIT. Passed without amendment S. 245, to permit the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation to purchase loans under the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (p. 3825).

3. FARM LABOR. Passed without amendment S. 1072, to extend until July 1, 1949, the

period during which income from agricultural labor may be disregarded in making old-age assistance payments (p. 3825).

4. PLANT QUARANTINE. Passed as reported S. 338, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to limit the entry of nursery stock from foreign countries to that needed for propagation purposes in order to protect American interests from insects and plant diseases, and authorize the Secretary to require such stock to be grown in post-entry quarantine. Agreed to committee amendments to include bulbs. (p. 3825.)
5. EXPORT-IMPORT BANK. Passed without amendment S. 993, to provide for reincorporation of this Bank (p. 3826).
6. LEGISLATIVE BUDGET. Various Senators discussed the status of this item (pp. 3826-7).
7. BANKING. Passed without amendment H. R. 2413, amending the Federal Reserve Act to permit member banks, until July 1, 1950, to buy or sell Government-guaranteed securities in the open market or from the U. S. in an amount not to exceed \$5 billion at any one time (pp. 3828-9). This bill will now be sent to the President.
8. FORESTRY; HOUSING. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment S. 800, to amend the Veterans' Housing Act of 1946 to increase the amount available for construction of access roads to standing timber on Federal lands, through the Housing Expediter, from \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 (S. Rept. 111) (p. 3822).
9. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment H. R. 804, authorizing reduction of certain interest payable by the farmers' irrigation district, North Platte project (S. Rept. 115) (p. 3822).
10. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 3839-62, 3864-9).
11. RECLAMATION; FLOOD CONTROL. Sen. Morse, Oreg., spoke against cuts in appropriations for irrigation, reclamation, and flood control projects in the Western States (pp. 3863-4).
12. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. Received a Vt. Legislature resolution urging continuation of appropriations for this program (p. 3820).
13. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received an Oreg. Legislature memorial urging cooperation with Mexico in eradicating and controlling the foot-and-mouth disease (p. 3820).

HOUSE

14. INTERIOR APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948. The Appropriations Committee reported this bill, H.R. 3123, which carries \$156,538,513, which is a reduction of 47% below the budget (H.Rept. 279) (p. 3871).

The committee report includes the following statements:

Construction. "It is not wise management for the Government to plan and go forward with millions of dollars in construction at a time when private business is anxiously seeking in the market place the same commodities for

which government will be the priority buyer, if construction projects requested by the Department of Interior are allowed in full."

Personnel reductions. "Wherever reductions in appropriations require reductions in personnel it should be stated that such reductions in personnel must be undertaken at the earliest possible date. If it is necessary to dismiss any such persons after June 30, 1947, the Departments must understand that terminal leave costs will be borne by 1948 appropriation. Dismissals prior to June 30, 1947, will require expenditure of 1947 appropriations for terminal leave. No deficiency estimate for such purpose for either 1947 or 1948 will be entertained."

Fees and charges. "Every branch which earns income with Government property should be prepared to furnish a detailed profit and loss statement... This committee is interested in results and the cost of results and has expressed the desire for relieving Government of furnishing special free services for those who would make a profit from using the services."

5. WOOL. Received a Minn. Legislature memorial urging the continuation of the Government wool-purchase program (p. 3872).
6. SOIL CONSERVATION. Received a Vt. Legislature memorial urging Congress to support the agricultural conservation program (p. 3872).
7. REPORTS. Received the RFC report for Dec. 1946 (p. 3871).
8. FARM LABOR. The conference report on H.R. 2102, to continue the farm-labor supply program until Dec. 31, 1947, is tentatively scheduled to come up for consideration Tues., Apr. 22 (p. D143).

BILLS INTRODUCED

19. MINERALS. S. 1136, by Sen. McCarran, Nev., to establish a National Minerals Resources Division in Interior Dept. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3822.)
20. PERSONNEL. S. 1138, by Sen. Langer, N.Dak., to prevent nepotism in appointments to governmental offices and positions. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 3822.)
S. 1139, by Sen. Langer, N.Dak., to amend the Classification Act so as to create a Mechanical Service. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 3822.)
21. ROADS. S. 1140, by Sen. Langer, N.Dak., to amend the Federal Highway Act so as to provide that funds appropriated for secondary and feeder roads may be expended by the States on projects without securing approval of the Public Roads Commissioner. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3822.)
22. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. S.J.Res. 103, by Sen. Langer, N.Dak., approving the agreement between the U.S. and Canada relating to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin. To Foreign Relations Committee. (p. 3822.)
23. FOOD AND DRUGS. H.R. 3128, by Rep. Miller, Conn., to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act by providing for seizure of foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics that become adulterated or misbranded while held for sale after interstate shipment. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 3872.)
24. C.C.C. H.Res. 184, by Rep. Hope, Kans., on Apr. 16, amending the House rules so as to include Commodity Credit Corporation within the jurisdiction of the House Agriculture Committee. To Rules Committee.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

25. FARM PROGRAM. Sen. Lucas, Ill., inserted Secretary Anderson's address made at the Jefferson Day meeting in Indianapolis, Ind. (pp. A1883-5).
26. FAMILY-TYPE FARMS. Sen. Murray, Mont., inserted an America editorial, "Central Valley Project and United States Land Policy" (pp. A1888-9), and an America article, "Family Farm Versus Factory Farm" (pp. A1893-4).
27. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE; FISHERIES. Rep. Angell, Oreg., inserted Oreg. Legislature memorials favoring U.S. cooperation with Mexico in checking livestock diseases, and opposing importation of crab meat (pp. A1894-5).
28. PRICES. Sen. Murray, Mont., inserted a New York Times article, "The Price Problem: An Analysis by Bowles" (pp. A1896-8).
29. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. A1889-90, A1895-6, A1898-9, A1900, A1900-2).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 22: H. Appropriations, USDA appropriation bill (ex.); H. Agriculture, long-range farm program; H. Public Lands, Alaska statehood; S. Labor and Public Welfare, Federal aid to education; S. Public Works, water pollution control; S. Civil Service, general business (ex.); H. Ways and Means, reciprocal trade agreements; H. Appropriations, independent offices (ex.). For Apr. 24: H. Armed Services, export-control continuation (Dodd to testify). For Apr. 28: H. Agriculture, punishment for illegal entry on national forests (Brown of FS to testify); H. Agriculture, forest protection from insects and diseases (Rohwer and Marsh to testify).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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around the names "Boulder Canyon" and "Boulder Dam," and those names have been publicized the world over. Now, after 15 or 20 years, to say that we are going to set aside those names and thus destroy the business of those people, whose lives have been established in the shadow of Boulder Dam, simply to do honor to a man who publicly said he did not favor public investments for projects of this kind, seems to me to be most undesirable.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, under the rule Senate Joint Resolution 45 will be returned to the calendar, and the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. FERGUSON obtained the floor.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. President, will the Senator yield that I may suggest the absence of a quorum?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Michigan yield for that purpose?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield for that purpose, if I do not lose the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Gurney	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hatch	O'Daniel
Bali	Hawkes	O'Mahoney
Brewster	Hayden	Overton
Bricker	Hill	Pepper
Bridges	Hoey	Reed
Brooks	Holland	Robertson, Va.
Buck	Ives	Robertson, Wyo.
Bushfield	Jenner	Saltonstall
Butler	Johnson, Colo.	Smith
Byrd	Johnston, S. C.	Sparkman
Calhoun	Kern	Stewart
Capehart	Knowland	Taft
Capper	Langer	Thomas, Utah
Chavez	Lodge	Thye
Connally	Lucas	Tobey
Cooper	McCarran	Tydings
Cordon	McCarthy	Umstead
Donnell	McClellan	Vandenberg
Downey	McFarland	Watkins
Dworshak	McGrath	Wherry
Eastland	McKellar	White
Eaton	McMahon	Wiley
Ellender	Malone	Williams
Ferguson	Millikin	Willson
Flanders	Moore	Young
Fulbright	Morse	
George	Murray	

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The junior Senator from Michigan has the floor. Will he yield to the Presiding Officer to lay down a very brief message from the Secretary of State?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. By way of explanation, the Chair may say that on April 18 the senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], as appears as page 3805 of the RECORD, made the suggestion that Secretary of State Marshall, in Moscow, advise the Senate and the House, by cable, of his personal position with regard to the proposed Greek and Turkish loan program, based upon his latest experiences in the Foreign Ministers Conference. There is no single citizen in the United States of America who possesses a greater and more up-to-the-

minute insight of United States-Russian relations than our distinguished Secretary of State. If my suggestion that he advise us at this time on the Greek and Turkish loan meets with favor here, and with the State Department, and the President, then I believe that General Marshall could, with that keen mind and great brain of his, within a few hours or less cable word to the Senate and to the House of Representatives on this matter. In so doing he could help resolve many of the questions and doubts in the minds of my colleagues here and in the minds of all Americans.

Pursuant to that suggestion, the President pro tempore of the Senate requested that the State Department communicate with the Secretary of State, and the Secretary has replied in a message which is addressed to the President pro tempore of the Senate, which the clerk will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

DEAR SENATOR VANDENBERG: I understand some question has arisen as to my participation in the Greek-Turkish aid program.

As you know, prior to my departure for Moscow, I participated in the formulation of this program and in the decision to go forward with it. When I reached Paris on March 6, the President telegraphed the proposed text of his message of March 12 and I informed the Department that I fully concurred.

I, personally, and, for the State Department, attach the highest order of urgency to immediate passage of the Greek-Turkish aid legislation. In my opinion, the program proposed is indispensable and I am in complete accord with the actions taken by Mr. Acheson for the Department and by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, in urging the Congress to pass this legislation.

Faithfully yours,

GEORGE C. MARSHALL.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, the foreign policy of America should be based upon reason and sound judgment. If a great calamity overtakes a country, we in America, have been the first to aid the peoples of that country so her suffering may be alleviated. In such a case the grant is to the people and does not involve our continued foreign policy.

No one will dispute the fact that the people of Greece need aid because of a great calamity. In the past we have granted such aid and in the future we will do so, not as a foreign policy, but as an act of humanitarianism.

Today we are confronted with a different question. Are we to make our aid to Greece a part of our foreign policy and back it up with diplomatic and military commitments. This is a vital and important step.

As we are about to embark on an uncharted course in the seething Balkan Sea of historic frictions and conflicting interests, let us not be unmindful of recent experiences in which our Government has not been distinguished for the foresight and sagacity of its decisions. Let us now take steps to insure that in this new program we will do better than we have in the past so that we may merit the confidence of the freedom-seeking peoples of the world who can turn to no one but us for leadership.

The main responsibility for this program must obviously rest upon the Presi-

dent, in whom the Constitution vests the authority to conduct foreign relations. But Congress is not without its share of responsibility as well. The Senate must advise and consent to treaties and appointments of officials, and the Congress must appropriate funds to implement our foreign policy. Under our system of checks and balances, these responsibilities of the Congress must be independently exercised.

We need but look at the map and travel over and around the Mediterranean to reach the conclusion that from the air and naval point of view Greece is a strategic point.

Greece and her people have had a hard battle to survive. She has all but perished at the hands of Italy, Germany, and even some of her own people.

We remember in the early days when little Greece defied Mussolini and Hitler, held them at bay, and by her gallant stand gave Britain and her allies an opportunity to prepare and consolidate, and today Greece asks for our assistance.

When the Germans left she had to have a government, and she had the unhappy choice between a King and communism. She chose the King.

Greece is not a democracy as we in America understand it. She has a Parliament building, but I say a Parliament building and House of Deputies does not make a democracy. It is a starting point. The Parliament must have the authority and capacity to make laws and then there must be a system of courts to see that there is government under law and not under men. With our aid she stands a much better chance of developing democratic institutions and establishing freedom as we know it here in America.

The present Prime Minister, Maximos, is not a member of their Parliament. Under their constitution he should be. He is not of the party holding the majority in Parliament. Tsaldaris, who is the leader of the majority, is Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. From reliable information, this policy was dictated from the outside, and was followed for the sake of getting a so-called working government.

Greece is a small nation. She has only about 7,000,000 population—less than the population of New York City, and about a half million of her people are now ill with tuberculosis, caused by the suffering they underwent during the great war. Her people are undernourished and many are homeless and under the pressure to which they were subjected a large percentage has succumbed to Communism. The Communists have their leaders in Greece who are so powerful that the day following President Truman's address to the Congress on the subject of the Greek loan, these Communist leaders called on the Prime Minister and urged him not to accept the loan, stating that America was interested in imperialism, and would take over Greece.

The present Greek Government knows we are not making the loan for imperialistic reasons nor do we want to take over Greece. Little has been done, however, to check communism in Greece. There is in Greece a free press that is, it is free so far as the Communists are concerned,

and so far as criticism of the United States and of the proposed loan is concerned.

The Communists, being powerful and well organized, have formed into armed bands and are permitted to cross the northern border into Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Many Grecian youth have been forced to join these armies and are now fearful of returning to Greece.

England has maintained an army in Greece to keep order and thus keep the present Government in Greece. She has now, I am reliably informed, some 7,500 troops there and both a military mission and a naval mission helping to train the Greek military forces. It is apparent a country the size of Greece cannot maintain an army sufficiently strong to do anything except to serve as an internal police force.

Greece, as I have said before, while not a democratic Nation as we understand democratic institutions, is not, however, a dictatorship. Our example and aid in her hour of need should help her on the road toward democracy.

Our people and the world should understand that this loan is only a stopgap. Communism cannot be stopped by cash alone, and so means must be found whereby the integrity of small countries will be guaranteed and their boundaries must be protected from aggression. This can be done only by a United Nations organization, with or without Russia in it. Unless this is done before the loan provided by the pending bill is expended, similar loans will have to be repeated over and over again in order to save Greece. If, however, we do not take a firm stand after being presented with this problem by our Chief Executive, it appears to me it would be a clear green light to the communistic elements in Greece and other countries, and there would be grave doubt that Greece could survive except as another satellite of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and an open path for Russia to the Near East.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. The Senator has said there is grave doubt. Is there any doubt in the Senator's mind?

Mr. FERGUSON. I used the expression "grave doubt." I wish to say that almost no doubt was left in my mind. Miracles can happen, but it appears to me that if we did not now grant this aid, it would be a miracle if Greece could survive other than as a satellite of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. Does not the Senator mean that if this aid is not granted the situation in Greece will be absolutely hopeless?

Mr. FERGUSON. That is the way it appears to me at the present time, and that is the way I feel. If Greece becomes a satellite of Russia—and we might as well speak frankly here today, for the people of this country should know these things—the path would be open to Russia to the Near East and even to the Far East. The vital natural resources of the

Near and Far East would then be closed to the United States and other democracies.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is waging a war of nerves on the Turkish Government and its people. Turkey is convinced that her two western provinces are in danger of invasion, if not her whole country. This has caused the present Government to strengthen her army to about 820,000. The Secretary of State in answer to one of the questions submitted to him said that between 500,000 and 600,000 were under arms, but from the best information I could obtain, it being somewhat of a military secret there, they have under arms as many as 820,000 men.

Mr. President, Turkey has outlawed communism, and one sees very little evidence of communism in that country. The situation in Greece is different. The fear which exists in Turkey comes from the war of nerves, from a feeling of what Russia will do from the outside. This war of nerves by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics aims to burden Turkey with a defense expense so great that the people will demand an appeasement of Russia and break down the present attitude and resistance.

Naturally—and we all know it—Union of Soviet Socialist Republics demands joint control of the Dardanelles with Turkey. The Bosphorus is equally important and as one drives along the Bosphorus he realizes that just on the other side is Asia's and Russia's great expanse. At the Bosphorus entrance to the Black Sea, one sees the nets laden with bombs guarding this vital entrance. This is Turkey's way of saying to Russia—"this far and no farther without our consent."

The present Turkish Army of 820,000, out of a population of from eighteen to nineteen million, though paid poorly and poorly equipped, is a drain on the Turkish economy. The private in the army receives 8 cents a month, measured in the terms of money value here in the United States. A colonel receives \$130 a month. The question of army pay is small. The greatest drain on the economy of Turkey at the present time is that her young manpower is taken away from her production for a period of 3 years.

Turkey has only single-track railroads, and when it is necessary for the Government to move troops they must shut down all other transportation. This affects the economy, and, as I said, the war of nerves on the Turkish people will, unless they can receive help, cause grave, serious trouble.

Turkey, of course, is interested in aid to Greece because she knows that Greece may become politically and economically weak and be taken over as a satellite, and unless Greece can remain politically and economically strong—or become so, I had better say—Greece and her islands in Russian hands or under her influence would place a greater strain upon Turkey.

What is this burden in dollars, so far as the budget of Turkey is concerned? Reliable information indicates that the direct percentage of the budget for military purposes is 19 percent. But when the indirect costs involved are considered the percentage of the budget for military purposes rises up to 60 percent. Therefore, I must say to the Members of the

Senate that, in my humble judgment, this is but a stopgap unless we insist on an agreement with Russia that the border of Turkey be secured and the war of nerves as to the Dardanelles be permanently settled. We have the other alternative that the United Nations be made sufficiently strong to insist that all borders be made secure from aggression. This appears impossible since we read the headlines of April 20, 1947:

United Nations' police role limited to small nations' strife. Military staff committee's decision based on veto of any action against Big Five.

I was much disappointed when I read that in yesterday's newspapers. In other words, it appears to me that Greece and Turkey and other small countries, no matter where they may be, are left in such a position that they cannot look to the United Nations at this time for the protection of their borders.

This is a serious question not only to America but to the world. I am satisfied that the people of Greece and Turkey felt that if they could be carried along for a short period they would find themselves in a position where the United Nations could take over this problem and protect their borders. However, we must insist upon the integrity of those borders, for we cannot survive in this world unless small countries are protected and allowed to travel along the democratic road, rather than the totalitarian road as satellites of Russia. The U. S. S. R. being one of the Big Five, Turkey's border and the road to the Dardanelles will not be protected from aggression unless something can be done in a short time through the United Nations and the police power which it was thought the United Nations would be able to exercise.

As I have previously stated, what has happened has been a blow to small nations. They will be in constant fear of aggression by the large powers, and even by small powers which may be protected by one or more of the big powers. Therefore at the present time we are left in this position: Only an agreement between Russia and Turkey and the western powers will permit Turkey to recover politically and economically.

I find no evidence that we in the United States have attempted to obtain a guarantee of Turkey's borders or the borders of Greece. This is another case of our foreign policy trying to put the cart before the horse, and then we wonder why it does not work.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. I have been listening to what the Senator from Michigan has been saying, as I have listened to many other speeches on the subject. I have not been in the Chamber during all the debate. Perhaps the question I am about to ask has been previously asked and answered. I am wondering if anyone in authority in our Government—the Secretary of State or any other high official—has had a conference with representatives of Russia and has said, "We do not like what you are doing. Are you going to stop it?" Have we made any

effort, through conference with Russia, to say: "We do not like this. What are you going to do about it?" Has there been such a conference?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of no such conference. If the Senator and I had been dealing with each other, that is the way we would have started. We would have started by realizing what was essential, what was necessary to be done. But the difficulty with diplomacy is that it consists of double-talk, which not only deceives other nations, but deceives the American people.

Mr. CAPEHART. Then, so far as the Senator knows, no high official of our Government has sat down at a table with representatives of Russia and said, "we do not like what you are doing in Turkey. We do not like what you are doing in Greece. What are you going to do about it?" Have we given Russia an opportunity to withdraw from Greece and Turkey?

Mr. FERGUSON. I have gone carefully over the answers to the questions submitted to the State Department. I have read the information contained in the report, and I find no such evidence. In my opinion this situation takes us back to the year 1938, when Hitler in Germany was doing certain things, and was on the move. While no one can say with assurance what would have happened, personally I feel that if we had taken a firm stand, if we had said exactly what we meant, as we did in September of 1941, Hitler would have taken a different attitude. In going through the Pearl Harbor hearings I gained some insight into our foreign relations and our diplomacy.

If we had said to the American people that certain things were essential if we were to avoid trouble in the future, the American people would have come to the aid of anyone who had taken such a stand, and would have said, "We will support you."

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair must advise occupants of the galleries that any demonstrations are against the rules of the Senate.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. Does the able Senator know whether our Government has sent a letter or communication to the Russian Government pointing out the things to which we are opposed, things which the Russians are doing that we do not like, and saying to them in no uncertain terms that if they do not discontinue them we shall have to take appropriate action? Does the Senator know whether or not that has been done?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of no such action. The difficulty is that diplomacy does not work that way. It places a veneer over everything and speaks in language which can be understood one way or the other. I am speaking frankly because I believe that not only should Members of the Senate know, but the people of America should know, and Russia should know, where we stand on this question.

Mr. CAPEHART. Does the Senator believe that if we were to say to Russia in no uncertain terms that we are opposed to certain things which she is doing, she would discontinue doing those things?

Mr. FERGUSON. My judgment is that if we were now to present this question to Russia and tell her exactly where America and the American people stand, that we have certain principles from which we cannot vary, principles involving the integrity of boundaries and the rights of people, Russia would go along on that basis. I am satisfied that the choice we are about to take now is the lesser of two evils. Perhaps the alternative to that choice is war with Russia. God forbid that such a war should ever come; but if there are two choices, I am convinced that the choice we are about to make is the lesser of two evils. If I did not feel that way I could not vote as I intend to vote, and I would not speak as I am speaking here today.

We must be frank. We must say exactly what we mean; and our actions must be supported by commitments which show that we mean exactly what we say.

Mr. CAPEHART. Then, so far as the Senator knows, we have not told Russia, either in writing or through conferences, the things we will stand for and those we will not. So far as the Senator knows, our Government has not objected to the attitude of Russia and her actions in Turkey and Greece.

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of nothing of that nature except the President's address to the Congress.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield to me?

Mr. CAPEHART. Is there any Senator present who can inform us whether or not we have sat down at the table with Russia's representatives, or written a communication, or in any other way officially objected?

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I should like to answer the question of the Senator from Indiana, and then I shall be glad to yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Except for the address which the President delivered to the Congress, I know of no communication which has been sent to the Russian Government along the lines suggested.

Mr. CAPEHART. Prior to the President's address to the Congress, does the Senator know of any message which was sent to Russia?

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of none.

Mr. CAPEHART. The Senator knows of no conference. He knows of no meeting in which Russia participated on one side of the table and our Government on the other, in which we said to them, "We do not like your actions. You had better desist or we will go into Greece and Turkey and lend them money."

Mr. FERGUSON. I know of no such thing.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. HATCH. I have been intrigued by the questions asked by the Senator from Indiana, because so much stress seems to

be placed upon the argument that our country has failed, that we have not done what we should have done.

Mr. President, the present Presiding Officer of this body [Mr. VANDENBERG] could step down on the floor of the Senate and tell us of the long and bitter hours during which our representatives in the United Nations have contended for the sovereignty of small nations and for their right to select their own governments. We have not failed.

I will go back further than that. I will go back to the foundation of this country, when we asserted our right to decide for ourselves and accorded to every nation in the world the same right which we demanded for ourselves.

I go back to the Fourteen Points laid down by Woodrow Wilson in the last World War, and to every ambition, every motive, and every purpose this country had in going into either of the world wars. It simply was that every nation had the right to live in peace according to the dictates of the desire of its own people and without outside influence of any kind.

Mr. President, the question has been asked as to what this country has done. It has given billions of its dollars; it has given the lives of many of its sons; it has laid down principles by which the whole world could live in peace.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I yield.

Mr. CAPEHART. If I remember correctly, we gave our billions of dollars and our boys gave their lives to protect Russia—the very same people whom we are told we must go into Greece and Turkey to fight. Where is that liberty-loving communism we have heard so much about for so many years? What has happened to it? I asked a simple and direct question, and the Senator from New Mexico launches into a speech and deals in generalities. I asked as a matter of practicality whether or not, in trying to come to a decision in this matter, we have actually sat down and discussed the questions involved with that great liberty-loving ally of ours, our partner and ally. Only a few months ago the Russians were our great partners and allies. They were liberty loving, but now we are told they are no longer liberty loving; they are no longer our allies; but are trying to gobble up little Turkey and Greece, and we must appropriate \$400,000,000 to keep them from accomplishing that objective. I say that there is nothing but confusion and inconsistency in our State Department with reference to our foreign policy. One can talk about it as lightly as he cares to and deal with it in generalities, but I say that the American people are confused, and it is easy to understand why they are confused.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Michigan further yield?

Mr. FERGUSON. I will yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

Mr. HATCH. I am very sorry if I displeased the Senator from Indiana. I did not mean to deal with him in generalities. The Senator said I was dealing in generalities. I do feel rather deep-

Another major obstacle to evaluating future returns is the fact that, under the lend-lease settlement, the British Army is allowed to continue military use of lend-lease items for as long as they are required. As a result of the political factors described above, it has not been possible for the British to project definite military building plans for the area. This has been a particular problem as related to lend-lease interest in fixed installations in Egypt and in the clearing of stores from the vast dump at Shaiba, Iraq. The lend-lease interest in stores at Shaiba has been variously estimated as having a cost value of between forty and eighty million dollars, although the smaller figure is considered more probable. To date we have approved sales for United States account from which we will realize some \$1,000,000. We have also accepted several offers to return, but have experienced considerable difficulty in developing a market due to the Iraq Government's reluctance to grant export licenses. We have recently overcome this problem and are now in a position to make or approve sales as fast as the British declare surpluses. However, the British are continuing to backload lend-lease items from Shaiba to the Canal Zone, Palestine, and East Africa for continued military use. Until the British position in Palestine is clarified by UNO, and until the status of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (and consequently Britain's position on the canal) has been settled, it will be impossible to determine the exact extent of the British military program and their consequent long-term requirement for the lend-lease supplies which they now hold.

The lend-lease interest in installations which will be disposed of intact within the present calendar year, if present plans are followed, is primarily concentrated in two pipe lines—the Cairo-Suez line and the pipe line in southern Iraq. The return to the United States from sale of these lines may be estimated at \$1,000,000.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, the objective of the American people, perpetual peace, with all nations raised to our standard of living, is clear and well defined.

The road to take in reaching this objective is not so clear and well defined, and should be subject to the most serious study and consideration before this Nation is committed to a policy from which there is no turning back.

The distinguished senior Senator from Michigan is fond of the phrase "the chips are down," and has used it in connection with the Greek-Turkey loan. Mr. President, I have heard that phrase used since I could walk, but in my section of the country there is one further right the players have—they are entitled to look at the "pot."

Warren Austin, a former member of this body, and now our representative in the United Nations, said before the American Society of Newspaper Editors day before yesterday that "the United Nations can be represented by an arch, with one end resting on political cooperation and the other end resting upon economic cooperation."

We have never had Russia's political cooperation, and few will say that we have ever had the economic cooperation of England, France, or the Netherlands.

The United Nations organization is presently the hope, the only hope, of our people for world peace. In 1919 the League of Nations was the hope, and the only hope, of world peace.

Mr. President, 30 years ago, on April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson addressed a joint session of Congress advocating a "war to end all wars," and to make the "world safe for democracy."

Four days later, on April 6—Good Friday—the Congress of the United States declared war. We plunged into the European conflict with all the power and all the material resources of America, and won the first real all-out world war.

On November 11, 1918, President Wilson spoke to the Nation saying, "My fellow countrymen: The armistice was signed this morning. Everything for which America fought has been accomplished."

World War II has ended so recently that it is not necessary to review the start of that conflict or the help furnished the Allies against the Central Powers in equipment and material prior to Pearl Harbor—or the shipments of scrap iron and oil made to Japan by this Nation almost up to that fatal day.

This time it was the "four freedoms," and again, furnishing all the power and all our material resources necessary to defeat the enemy, America won.

It is not necessary at this early date following world war II to refer to the \$300,000,000,000 debt left in its wake, or to the unpaid billions of lend-lease funds furnished to our allies during that greatest of all conflicts, or yet to the many billions to these nations following world war I that we naively thought at the time we were lending our neighbors to rehabilitate themselves, including approximately \$6,000,000,000 to England upon which the interest has never been paid.

Mr. President, is it not about time that we looked at our "hole card." For a man to plunge with his money when he does not hold the cards is not considered good judgment. As a matter of fact, in my section of the country we have a name for that, too.

Now, Mr. President, I will say at the beginning that I object on principle to a policy which seeks to stampede us into further huge loans and gifts and actions which all agree will in all probability result in establishing a definite policy trend for this Nation, about which no adequate reliable information is available and with no opportunity for the thorough investigation which is certainly justified before a great country embarks upon a definite policy which could well lead it into a third devastating world war in one generation.

As the matter now stands, we have no world-wide pattern of action which has been clearly considered and accepted after sober deliberation by those authorities charged with the direction of our policy. We suddenly find ourselves in detailed situations which we are with equal suddenness told are of such critical importance that no opportunity for due deliberation and investigation can be sensibly allowed. No provision is made to cover those further steps to which this pattern of action must inevitably lead us.

In short, we not only do not have a long-range goal covered by a definitive pattern of action in which we have

carefully weighed both our own needs and the dangers to which our Nation will be thereby exposed, but we have not even gaged the capacity of the American people to support such a program in all its implications.

It is both useless and childish to assume that by giving money to Greece alone we can stay the hand of Soviet aggression and power. Any first-class military man will testify that the little Greek Peninsula, even if it were united in our behalf, could not stay the hand of the gigantic Soviet military machine for three full days in the event of war. I shall again refer to the whole subject of the physical realities of the military position in the entire Near and Middle East.

At this moment, I should call attention only to the fact that in any considered program of resistance to Russian expansion, if such a program is to be required, the \$400,000,000 we are being asked to give to Greece this year is not the end, but the beginning. It is the entering wedge in a program whose full implications must be properly considered before any portion of it can be voted upon. It is like the opening engagement in a war between gigantic nations. It is not the cost of the first skirmish which must be considered, but the total preparations which must inevitably be involved, as well as the cost of a total struggle all along the line.

At this point I should like to have inserted in the RECORD a list of the appropriations and gifts already made to the Greek Nation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. THYE in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNRRA and other U. S. Government aid given to the Greeks

UNRRA aid through Sept. 30, 1946.....	\$309,656,000.00
Lend-lease aid through Dec. 31, 1946.....	81,562,821.63
Credit through Export-Import Bank.....	25,000,000.00
Credit through the U. S. Maritime Commission for purchase of ships.....	45,000,000.00
Credit through the Office of Foreign Liquidation Commission.....	45,000,000.00
Total.....	506,218,821.63

In 1940 Great Britain had made a loan of \$184,000,000 to Greece. In January of 1946 this loan was canceled and an additional credit for \$40,000,000 extended.

Sources: President's Ninth Report to Congress on Operation of UNRRA, pages 28 and 29; Cumulative Report on Lend-Lease Fiscal Operations, cumulative through December 31, 1946, page 7; The World Almanac and Book of Facts, 1946; Christian Science Monitor, January 29, 1946, page 2; Washington Post, October 9, 1946, page 1.

Also, information from Department of State, by telephone.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, these payments amount to approximately \$506,000,000, beginning in 1946 and coming down to the present time, not including the \$400,000,000 we are now discussing.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the Senator from Nevada asked permission to

insert a list in the RECORD, and I did not wish to object, but if I understood him correctly, he said we had given the Greeks \$506,000,000 since 1946. I should like to have him elaborate on that subject.

Mr. MALONE. I did not understand the Senator's question.

Mr. HATCH. I understood the Senator to say that he was placing in the RECORD a statement showing that we had given to the Greeks \$506,000,000 since 1946. Will he please explain just how those gifts were made?

Mr. MALONE. I should be delighted. UNRRA aid, through September 30, 1946, \$309,656,000—

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I beg the Senator's pardon. I thought the Senator said it had been a direct gift from our Government to Greece, but he is including UNRRA. I understand, now.

Mr. MALONE. That is what it will amount to. I would say further to the distinguished Senator from New Mexico there is little doubt that it is a real gift to the Greek people, if the history of our loans and so-called lend-lease is any criterion.

If our action is, indeed, dictated by the danger of communism, then we must consider that any state which will shout this danger is in a position effectively to blackmail the United States into supplying money and arms, even if such a state were Fascist in character and devoted to objectives contrary to the entire spirit of freedom, for whose sake we recently fought a great war.

In short, I point out to the Senate that after Greece comes Turkey. We are shortly to be asked to give \$600,000,000 to Korea, another \$1,000,000,000 to China, and \$6,000,000,000 more to France and Britain. Italy, which is even more strategic than Greece will urge stupendous loans based on the same premises. I am informed on good authority that Great Britain is already preparing to ask for loans for her Arab satellites, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and that Iran will come to us with the same purpose.

Even this stupendous outlay will only be the beginning. The first loans will demand ensuing and even larger loans, and in the end we will find ourselves committed to a program of gigantic proportions which will represent a gigantic drain upon the American economy comparable to a long-drawn-out wartime operation.

We must, therefore, ask ourselves now: Are we prepared for this result or is it only our intention to go into isolated places and risk the loss of face which must result from our subsequent withdrawal?

A policy of loans and gifts alone is insufficient to accomplish any of the results we ask. This was more than evident in reference to our mistaken policy in Latin America. Here we expended many billion dollars with more than questionable result. I need only to point out that Rio de Janeiro this year elected a majority of Communists to the city council—certainly an ominous fact. The Argentine, no matter how we may seek to placate her, is openly the enemy to our system of government, and in the event of a war with Russia could as easily be on the side of the Russians as was Nazi Ger-

many for that period of time which followed the attack on Poland.

We are warned that even in the Caribbean, at our very back door, little Cuba is so strongly under Communist influence that its economy could be paralyzed upon a moment's notice by a general strike of the Communist-dominated federation of labor there. Chile, I am informed, has a tremendous Communist section within the actual Government, with the Communists possessing more power than they do even in France.

All of this followed after a policy of loans and gifts and subventions, and not before.

The basis of our failure in South America was that our policy was one of subsidizing dictators. It possessed very little real relation to the ultimate welfare of the South American people themselves and bore no sensible relation to the powerful motivations which are now arising and which are leading all men to seek the blessings of personal freedom and security.

This failure of our policy, and it must be recognized as such, should lead us to be very suspicious of being stampeded into any action based solely on the opinion of the so-called experts.

The experts insisted with the full force of Government behind them that the United Nations would prevent war, would create international law and would, in fact, prevent the very circumstances which have brought about the present debate. Now, despite the lip service still given to the United Nations, we are told that we must ignore them and make a unilateral decision in relation to the Greek situation.

I believe, Mr. President, that now is the time—with the United Nations nearly 3 years old—to put this problem squarely up to that Organization with an offer to furnish the preliminary funds to initiate the program recommended by their own Food and Agriculture Organization Mission to Greece.

Put this sane and reasonable program before the United Nations now and let us find out who our friends in that Organization really are.

The experts told us that if we voted huge sums for UNRRA we would succeed in buying the good will of suffering peoples everywhere. Now we know that UNRRA was a great failure not only in reaching the objective of peace, but much of its funds were misdirected. In fact, we are told today by Tito, the Yugoslavian dictator, that it was only through UNRRA that Yugoslavia succeeded in stabilizing its economy. In fact, we are told that we have participated at huge cost to ourselves, in an action hostile to our own political future.

When the Bretton Woods agreement was written, we were told that this would solve the economic difficulties of the world so that unilateral actions in the way of loans by the United States would be unnecessary. We were told that this would bail the world out of its impending economic chaos. Now we know that this, too, has to date been a failure. As a result we were asked to give a gigantic loan to Great Britain. Here, again, we were assured by the highest authorities of the administration that this unilateral

action on the part of the United States was absolutely necessary in our own interests.

It was painstakingly explained by Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. White that the loan was necessary for the purpose of revitalizing British industries in order to buy the necessary machinery, and so forth, for their rehabilitation.

We were promised that the British currency bloc which now acts to exclude American business in large sections of the world would be dissolved. Mr. White told the Committee on Banking and Currency that if we committed ourselves to the loan, England would be "willing to assume the risk of selling her products in fair competition with the exporters of other countries." He told us that "she is willing to commit herself to our program of fair currency and trade practices in order to encourage an expansion in world trade."

What is the result? British discrimination against American trade has continued in full force just as before. Her actions constitute a conspiracy of restraint against the American exporters just as surely as did those of Nazi Germany. The rigid system of licensing which is operated by the British Government is directed specifically against our trade in view of the fact that we are the great exporting nation of the world.

The sterling-bloc system is one by which the British pound is artificially overvalued by more than twice and by which American goods can be successfully kept out of great world markets, which the British seek to dominate and control.

Mr. President, at this point I wish to comment upon the use of the sterling exchange to further British exports at the expense of the United States exports.

In a telephone conversation with an official of the Export-Import Bank, I was informed that in Iran last week the Iranian officials quote lower rates on sterling than on dollars so that Iranian importers will tend to buy goods in London rather than New York. Iran is theoretically an independent Nation, but British influence is strong there and may be responsible for the practice of selling sterling cheaper than dollars.

Many nations before and during the war sold goods to Britain and took the proceeds in the form of a sterling deposit in London banks as Britain did not have the cash to pay for the goods bought. Then Britain blocked the payment of all these debts to foreign countries. This is what is meant by blocked sterling exchange. These blocked sterling balances in London total billions of dollars and can be used by the British as a lever to control the trade of the countries to whom Britain owes the money.

Last year Britain borrowed \$3,750,000,000 from the United States. So far we have paid her one and one-tenth billions of it.

It was understood at the time of the loan that Britain needed the money to buy machinery and to modernize and re-equip her industries so that she could successfully compete once more for foreign markets and regain her lost export trade.

Considerable criticism has developed over the way the proceeds of the loan have been spent to date. It appears very little has been spent on machinery and industrial equipment. The bulk of the money has been spent for petrol, film, and food.

The expenditure of the money to date is reported in the January 11, 1947, issue of the *Economist*, page 77, to be as follows:

	Percent
Foodstuffs.....	47
Raw materials.....	15
Manufactured goods.....	9
All other.....	29

The purpose of the loan again was to prevent any bilateral agreements in restraint of trade. Instead of this, we find that great Britain has entered into more of the agreements by which our individual manufacturers are finding themselves faced with the full force of totalitarian competition.

Favored agreements have been made in reference to the sterling balances with France, the Argentine and other countries. These involve not only the usual restrictions, but even bulk purchasing of a nature such as that employed by the Russian Government.

At the very moment when we were in contest with the Argentine, Great Britain made a bulk purchasing arrangement under a favored trade agreement with the Argentine, which effectively weakened any policy we possibly could have employed there, as well as placing the American businessman, who must operate as an individual, under the most serious disadvantages.

Already we discover that the American air lines, insurance, and other businesses are demanding protection against this kind of unfair activity which, I shall point out to the Senate, was financed by American loans.

We discover today that the British are using up the American loan in only a fraction of the time that it was to have been used by them, and that they have not employed it for the purposes of reorganizing their manufacturing economy, but have used it for still other purposes: For financing social reform and other radical experimental undertakings at home, which may or may not be successful.

Their satellite, Burma, has an annual income of 400,000,000 rupees and an expense of 1,000,000,000 rupees. The difference is made up by the British Government.

Another satellite, Saudi Arabia, has shown a deficit of ten to twenty million dollars a year, also made up by the British Government. Hungary, a satellite of the Soviet Union, was given as an outright gift this year more than a million dollars' worth of machine tools by Great Britain.

Today we understand that serious discussions are taking place between the Soviet Union and Great Britain for another bilateral arrangement involving raw materials and trade—all of this at a time when the tensions between the United States and Russia seem to be increasing. These and innumerable other costs which are part of a British worldwide scheme of support and exploitation

have come directly out of the American loan.

Is it not time, Mr. President, that we study the effect of the manipulation of the currency systems of the world upon the economic structures of the countries making up the membership of the United Nations, including our own?

Is it not time that we formulated basic policies and principles that would prevent such manipulation, instead of always trying to cure its effects by pouring money in from the top?

In fact, Mr. President, is it not about time for us to have a conference in our own country and formulate a truly American foreign policy coordinated with a sound domestic policy—one that will keep us solvent and strong—a policy that will enable us to help our weaker neighbors over the years; help them to reach our standard of living?

At this point, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the *RECORD* a statement by Mr. Arthur Krock, commenting upon a round-table discussion by Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy, appearing in the *New York Times*, March 12, 1947.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

An informal round table the other evening, the subject being our future economic foreign policy, is in point. Persons were present whom committees of Congress have asked for counsel in these matters before and doubtless will again.

The most emphatic view offered was that of Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to Great Britain. Because it seemed to make an impression, and also because Mr. Kennedy has an influential following in finance and politics, a summary may be of value. * * * Before any other foreign grants or loans were considered by the Government, we should take stock to find out (a) what we have, (b) what we need to maintain our own way of life, (c) what is sought of us abroad, and (d) what good purpose it will serve.

This was also the general position of Mr. B. M. Baruch, who was the first to urge on Congress a national economic stock taking and who now, fearful of the current proposals for new foreign commitments, is repeating his earlier counsels. Since Mr. Baruch cannot be classified either as a political or economic isolationist, this can hardly be applied as a term to demolish Mr. Kennedy's round-table thesis, proceeding from the above base, as follows:

1. The purpose of our foreign policy, economic and political, presumably is to secure and maintain peace, preserve and expand our own system, and prevent the establishment of any other, including a police state, in areas and on a scale that would threaten our system, which is founded on the principle of the superiority of the individual over the state.

2. If this is so, then a prodigal foreign economic policy is directly hostile to our objective. The survey of our resources, which should be made before any further commitment is considered, will clearly show that, with approximately \$100,000,000,000 in short-term internal obligations, the United States cannot possibly finance resistance to other systems of government, to the extent and for the period proposed or required, without impoverishing this Nation; and even then the effort would fall in enough places to make the general attempt a failure. Thus impoverished, the United States would itself be in extreme danger of a forced importation of the very political philosophy it was trying to check elsewhere.

3. No one knows what communism can do for a people because the only exhibits are behind the Iron curtain of Soviet Russia. Therefore the Soviet, if its system is confined there, remains in a position to promise everything without having to put its promises to a test, while western capitalism with all its defects operates in the world limelight for the discontented to make their target. Assuming (which Mr. Kennedy disputes) that American loans to certain countries could so confine communism, it would remain the promise to the discontented while our own system was being starved to a point of fatal weakness.

4. Therefore, the wise policy is to keep the American way of life as strong as our resources can make it, and permit communism to have its trial outside the Soviet Union if that shall be the fate or will of certain peoples. In most of these countries a few years will demonstrate the inability of communism to achieve its promises, while throughout this period the disillusioned experimenters will be observing the benefits of the American way of life, and most of them will then seek to emulate it.

5. With communism once a demonstrated failure, its appeal to the unfortunate and the discontented will disappear, and the United States can then proceed to make sound investments in the rehabilitation and economic future of those nations which will form an effective bulwark against the threat some statesmen are now seeking to avert by resistance loans in useless dribbles. These loans at this time, since the United States could not possibly supply enough—and maintain its system—to be effective, would accomplish their stated objective as little as if one sought to make everyone prosperous in a community of 100,000 persons by distributing pro rata the \$1,000,000 possessed by one citizen alone.

6. In the meantime, however, while allowing those nations in the Eastern Hemisphere which want to try communism to try it, or even have it imposed on them, the United States should permit no people to starve: It should make loans, grants, and consignments to assure that. The United States also should make it possible for all nations that need farm machinery to obtain it so as to restore themselves to the position of being able to feed their own and neighboring populations. This is the outline of what Mr. Kennedy said at the informal round table which seemed to win the approval of listeners who wield great power and influence in the financial and economic community of the United States and who, like the former Ambassador, are not without their disciples in Congress and in the administration. And there is considerable reason to assume that the viewpoint will find reflection in the debate that is beginning in the country and in Washington over the implications of the proposed loan to Greece.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, the crux of Mr. Kennedy's statement is that this country should remain strong and keep the American way of life as strong as our resources can make it and demonstrate its superiority to any other form of government, including communism, and contrasts this method to that advocated by some statesmen who would seek to avert it by resistance loans in useless dribbles.

Now Great Britain is exactly where she stood before, or if anything in an even worse economic situation, and as I have pointed out, is prepared to come again asking for an even larger loan than before.

What does all this mean? It means only this: That on the basis of the Russian specter we are asked to finance every

evil and self-serving operation, and even the most brutal and reactionary Nazi-like regime such as I shall point out is present in Greece. We are asked blindly to write a blank check seeking to keep bankrupt outsiders in continued power even when such regimes themselves have been rejected by their own people.

The fault I find with all of this is not the fact that we have been helping someone else or even the fact that we have done so to our own immediate disadvantage. I think I speak the true mind of the American people when I say that we are generous but that we also are sensible to our own larger interests.

In the end, we will make the sacrifices necessary for either purpose. But it must not be forgotten that the American people are working to produce this wealth which is now so lavishly being spent over the world. They will want to know and will be entitled to know what is to be gained by these actions. If my mail and the mail received by the other Members of this august assembly are any indication, the American people are becoming fed up. They are overwhelmingly against any more loans without a clear picture of the result to be achieved.

Even in the face of the massive Government propaganda in favor of the present Greek loan, the mail received by all of us indicates that the average American is strongly against it. If we are to have a depression such as that forecast by the group of experts who met with Mr. Truman, then the temper of the American people against this sort of thing will certainly rise.

Here, Mr. President, I should again remind the Senate that we are all the servants of the American people, and not their masters, and in the last analysis the decision will be made by the people themselves; if necessary, by the election of a totally new group of men to represent them in the conduct of the national affairs.

The evidence all seems to indicate that the judgment of the experts has been faulty to the point of absurdity, and that many measures similar to the present bill which this body is asked by the administration to pass, have in the past been presented to us in the light of half-truths which made the subsequent results grotesque. Before examining the Greek situation in the light of such information as we possess, it seems to me that if we are to back certain governments, we cannot hand them these subventions and subsidies without taking responsibility for their policies throughout the world.

In short, if we are to give any more money to Britain, we must realize that what we are actually doing is supporting all British policy everywhere—their policy in Ireland, Palestine, Greece, and Italy, their trade policy as well as their Marxist experiment at home. There is no escape from that simple fact.

We are supporting British policy in Ethiopia, where the British have replaced the Italians as the masters; in Siam which Britain recently has made a new colony, and in North Africa which Britain appears to be seeking to add indirectly to its already swollen Empire.

We cannot make a loan to Greece without estimating the character of the gov-

ernment which we are supporting and without considering what its own objectives might be. If Greece has become a British colony, as much evidence seems to indicate, then we will have to consider our loan based on this fact.

If Greece is ruled by a government which is looked upon as the minion of a hated invader by its own people and which is so weak and detested that it would fall instantly if foreign troops were withdrawn, we cannot blind ourselves to this fact, nor blind ourselves to the shocking and dangerous implications which are involved.

At this point I should say that I agree heartily with two statements in the President's message covering this problem. The first is that "the foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved," and the second is: "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

It is in the light of both of these statements that we must examine the Greek situation.

Whenever a government is purported to be so weak that it would fall instantly if foreign support were withdrawn as is alleged to be the case in reference to the present Greek Government, grave suspicions must arise as to its character. As I have mentioned before, there is very little in the way of absolute information at hand as to what is taking place behind this facade of claims being made in reference to the present loan. The facts of the matter seem to be that Greece entered the war as a republic, bravely striving to resist a foreign aggressor. She has ended up as a monarchy reigned over by a Hohenzollern prince without a drop of Greek blood in his veins, and occupied by foreign troops, with its administration controlled by foreign sources.

This is precisely the definition of armed conquest, no matter how it is covered up or presented. If such a condition were true in America today there would be continuous turmoil and determined revolt against it by people who would not consider themselves as Communists, but as patriots.

According to a long series of dispatches by Robert Conway, the foreign correspondent for the New York Daily News, the present royalist regime in Greece is one of the most repressive in history. It is fascist and nazi in character and is cordially detested by the Greek people. It rules not with the support of the people, but by force of arms and outside intervention. I quote Mr. Conway not only because he is a distinguished journalist, but because no one could accuse the New York Daily News of being a pro-Communist newspaper. The stories of butcheries and suppression as well as the most extreme corruption which Mr. Conway gives in his vivid descriptions of the present Greek Government indicate why the people of Greece, or any other free people, would hate such a government and would do their best to overthrow it.

I think it is ridiculous to assume that a brave and gallant people like the

Greeks would suddenly go Communist. It is fairer to assume that they will become Communist or turn to some other radical expedient in order to rid themselves of a vicious and unwanted Government which is suppressing all human liberties, reducing Greek economic life to chaos, and allowing a corrupt and venal class of royalists to fatten themselves upon the people's miseries.

I understand that there are fewer than 18,000 valid Communists in Greece. This may be compared to more than 100,000 in Britain itself.

This does not mean that there are not huge forces in Greece which resent the policies of the present Government and do their best to overthrow it. For example, among the opposition, according to George Weller, the Chicago Daily News foreign correspondent, are such highly conservative individuals as the leading financier Emmanuel Tsouderos and the venerable statesman Themistocles Sophoneis, both ex-Premiers and both bitter anti-Communists.

It is reliably reported that when the British moved into Greece they not only sent an armed force to suppress the Republican elements, but lavishly expended huge amounts in gold to seat the present decadent royalty and their retinue. Mr. Churchill cabled Gen. Roland M. Scobie, the British commander in Greece, as follows:

Do not hesitate to act as if you were in a conquered city. * * * You should not hesitate to open fire on any armed male in the Greek Capital who assails the authority of the British or of Greeks who are collaborating with the British. Keep and dominate Athens.

In this tragic story of the destruction of Republican and free institutions the British, and the Greek minions they support, went the whole way. Liberties were as ruthlessly suppressed as in Nazi Europe. Men were shot out of hand. Even the low scale of wages paid by the Germans were arbitrarily diminished. To understand the caliber of the present administration it is necessary to understand that in addition to the guerrillas operating in the north, some 30,000 Greeks are in jail under the new thought-control law which is very similar to the Japanese law by which men were jailed for thinking dangerous thoughts.

The present Greek Minister of National Defense, Napoleon Zervas, was pro-Nazi during the war. Fredericka, the present Greek Queen, a Hohenzollern, was notorious for her openly expressed pro-Nazi views.

The condition of the Greek people by and large is miserably bad, with a Romanofflike aristocracy subsisting on graft, rigid suppression of human rights, and an almost total indifference to the economic welfare of their country.

These are facts which should be brought out into the open. They involve not only a collapse of the Greek economy, but a cynical indifference to the ordinary rights of humanity. They seem to involve, further, the total exploitation of the brave little country of Greece by a foreign government for its own purposes with a complete indifference to the needs of the Greek people. If, for exam-

its and conduct a massive public-relations campaign which has been influential in creating a totally false picture of the Near and Middle Eastern situation.

The entire Turko-Greek situation is tied up directly with the business of oil. It becomes not a quest for the welfare of humanity or even of the security of the United States, but the same old international quest for profits and for the power which this type of economic buccaneering gives.

I point out, for example, that this is the reason why the British, with our consent and support, are keeping alive in Arabia one of the most ridiculously despotic regimes ever seen on this planet. It is the reason for the difficulties now experienced in Palestine where patriots are being hanged as gangsters. It is the reason why we are forced to pay out of our national exchequer the heavy expense of maintaining the many hundred thousand Jewish displaced persons in the concentration camps of Europe since Britain will not allow them to be evacuated to the country of their choice to which legally they have the right to go.

There are in Palestine 120,000 highly mechanized British troops whose major purpose is to keep the Jews out. The British are maintaining there the best organized anti-Semitic regime which has existed in modern times outside of the Hitler regime.

Why would it not be in the interests of the United States to have removed these troops and the vast expenditures involved and allow the Jews of Palestine to defend that country themselves as they desire to do, and, incidentally, to solve one of the most serious problems now confronting Europe?

The British maintain a heavy military establishment in North Ireland, which the Irish claim is entirely for the purpose of keeping the island from its appointed destiny of unity and freedom. Other British troops are elsewhere in the world and at a great cost to the starving British people in addition to the 10,000 who, according to the last figure I received, are in Greece.

Why cannot these troops be moved to Greece if the Greek people desire foreign intervention? They are not wanted in the present places where they are stationed any more than the Soviet troops are wanted in Poland or Bulgaria.

Here I come to the most important point which I shall make today. It is more serious even than the huge sums of money which must be involved in the kind of policy which we are formulating. If this policy is in reality an oil policy, we must investigate with a view of what is good for America and not for a limited group of individuals. Certainly we are not interested in the support of some dying empire whose whole purpose is deindustrialization in other countries in order to exploit them for its own profit.

If the oil of the Near and Middle East has any value to us at all as a nation, it is solely because in time of war we will require it for our Army and Navy. In times of peace we can purchase it, anyway, on the open market.

This brings us squarely to the military realities which it appears to me run con-

trary to our present blind backing of British policy.

These realities are simple, and any sound military man can tell how far we could go in defending this area.

British policy throughout the world wherever it exists is that of deindustrialization. Britain depends on its exports, particularly of low-level commodities. She requires assured sources of raw materials and assured markets. Wherever the Empire reaches, except in the case of the Dominions, who can look out for themselves, and who would not submit to such a process, the first element of consideration is always the welfare of Great Britain, and no other. Regardless of whether Britain rules directly or through military and civil commissions, as in Ethiopia, Iraq, and Greece, the policy is one of privilege for British exports and deindustrialization as far as local manufacture is concerned. This is the principal reason, which I believe to be behind the present British policy in Palestine, where the economic competition of the Jews is feared.

The factor which results is that of absolute vulnerability throughout the Near East and Middle East. In none of the Arab countries is there either industry or modern organization of any kind. If a rebellion takes place in Iraq, it is put down by British troops, not by the Iraqi Army. When Egypt was invaded by the German-Italian forces not an Egyptian soldier fired a shot in defense of the country.

Modern wars are fought on industry and require some 86 tons per month, I am told, to keep every fighting man in the field for every month that he is there. Either these materials, which include not only weapons but pharmaceuticals and all the other materials needed in war, must be provided locally or they must be shipped great distances from America and from Britain.

That the Greek Army could stop the Russians for even half a week is an amusing joke. As far as the present Arab armies of the Near East and Middle East are concerned, they could not withstand the Russian war machine for 12 hours. They have neither organization, discipline, training, nor industry of any kind. Moreover, their rulers are despots who were sympathetic with the Germans during the last war, and will make common purpose with other dictators rather than lose their preferred position.

The strength of these forces may be indicated by the following sample facts: When Iraq rebelled and went into World War II on the German side, the entire country was retaken by one company of mixed Hebrew troops from Palestine and British colonials. When Ibn Saud attempted to invade Trans-Jordan in 1924, his entire army was routed and put into ignominious flight by half a dozen British airplanes.

On the Russian side of the Middle East is being erected the largest industry in Asia, specifically in Turkestan. If a war were to occur, no power under heaven could prevent them from going through that territory like a knife cutting through butter, taking the oil territories at their convenience.

If, then, our military were to depend upon the oil we would be in the same dangerous position that we were in when the Japanese took away from the British, under similar circumstances, the rubber and tin of the East Indies.

The military situation would mean that we would have to ship all the way from America, over some four or five thousand miles of tortuous supply lines, the main bulk of our supplies, everything required to maintain our armies in the field, even including the packaged food supplies. It is this element of distance alone which would force us into the most difficult of situations.

If, in the alleged name of freedom, the United States is to directly associate itself with such destructive processes as those to which I am calling attention, we shall earn, not the love and fealty of these people, but their hatred. We shall then be in the unenviable position of attempting to force the allegiance of these peoples to our common cause at the point of guns. The British are discovering how ineffective that is in India, Egypt, Palestine, and elsewhere. We shall undergo an identical experience.

I have no objection to going into Greece or anywhere else if we do so with the consent of the peoples involved, and not as a matter of backing repressive and antihumanist regimes against which every American would rebel if they were forced upon him. If there is to be a free election of the Greek people along standards such as those we can envisage, and free of intimidation from foreign troops and local quisling collaborators, then we can go into Greece as friends dealing with a truly democratic and representative Greek Government which, by its very existence, will put the present resistance to an end. Then we shall be creating a sound and reasoned situation conducive to the best welfare of both the Greek and American people. But that is not what we are being asked to do at the present time.

Under the circumstances, and in the form in which they are offered, I am compelled to argue against the commitments to which the administration is asking our consent. I regard them as dangerous in the extreme to the future of free men, and a mistaken policy of the first magnitude. I regard them not only as a step toward war, but as playing directly into the hands of our chosen opponents.

Nothing could illustrate with such clarity our complete lack of an international policy as the recent revelation of our recent shipments of goods and equipment to Russia, the nation that we are now asked to stop at the Greek border.

On Friday, April 18, the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a very interesting and revealing list of articles shipped to the Soviet Government following VJ-day and prior to December 31, 1946, and a list of equipment yet to be shipped to the U. S. S. R.

We find that we shipped \$233,000,000 worth of equipment to the U. S. S. R. following VJ-day, which included power transmission and conversion and generating equipment, pumps, mine and

quarry machinery, cranes, machine tools, locomotives, and many things that we were unable to purchase in this country.

We also find that \$16,696,000 worth of such equipment, including oil-refinery equipment suitable for manufacturing high-octane gas, is on the schedule, and is yet to be shipped to the U. S. S. R. All of this is being done while the President is making a plea to this body for money and material to train an army to stop Russia.

It savors of the old pre-World War II policy of furnishing scrap iron and oil to Japan prior to her entry into that conflict.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD at this point the list of such equipment and materials from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of April 18, page 3816.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The articles shipped after VJ-day and up to December 31, 1946, were as follows:

Machine tools.....	\$40,850,000
Steam locomotives (Russian gage).....	30,634,000
Generator sets.....	22,800,000
Cranes, derricks, hoists, etc....	8,129,000
Electric rotating equipment.....	8,633,000
Marine engines.....	6,824,000
Canned tushonka.....	4,054,000
Pumps.....	4,620,000
Crushing equipment.....	4,135,000
Valves and fittings.....	5,114,000
Gas-producing equipment.....	4,177,000
Secondary metal-forming machinery.....	4,956,000
Diesel electric locomotives (Russian gage).....	3,001,000
Industrial trucks and tractors....	3,768,000
Fan and blower equipment.....	3,182,000
Power transmission equipment....	3,162,000
Power conversion equipment.....	3,117,000
Rolling mills and equipment.....	3,372,000
Mine and quarry machinery.....	3,690,000
Insulated wire and cable.....	3,765,000
Bearings.....	2,893,000
Metal melting and heating furnaces.....	2,079,000
Welding machinery.....	2,965,000
Metal cutting tools.....	2,289,000
Mine-type locomotives.....	2,085,000
Leather.....	2,117,000
Various industrial equipment and materials.....	46,589,000

Total..... 233,000,000

The equipment remaining to be transferred to the Soviet Government under the agreement is made up as follows:

Oil-refinery equipment to expand refineries shipped to the U. S. S. R. before the cessation of hostilities Sept. 2, 1945.....	\$6,972,000
Mine hoists.....	3,058,000
Locomotive storage batters.....	1,777,000
Power equipment.....	1,272,000
Electrical equipment.....	945,000
Mining equipment.....	674,000
Electric motors and controllers....	350,000
Miscellaneous machinery and equipment.....	1,648,000

Total 16,696,000

Payment for articles covered by the "pipe line" agreement as set forth above is to be made over a period of 30 years ending in 1975, with interest at 2½ percent per annum. The first payment of interest will be due July 1, 1947. The first payment of principal will be due July 1, 1954.

Mr. MALONE. Mr. President, at the moment the Russians are economically weak. They are having their own troubles at home. Those are hidden behind the iron curtain of which so much has been spoken, but there can be no question as to the existence of those troubles.

Our present action, if we are to support this unwholesome crew of Greek reactionaries, will only serve to harden the Russians against us and to prevent any moderate elements which may exist among the Russian hierarchy from being heard. Perhaps the greatest single service done for the Russian Red Revolution was the invasion of Russia by British troops and British support of such royalist reactionary gangs as those of Denkin, Baron Wraveell, and Semenoff. The net effect was to consolidate all of Russia behind the Red banner at that time.

I do not claim for a moment that we should sit inert in a world beset with difficulty and danger. I only claim that what we are doing is either too little or too much; that we have no right to back Fascist dynasties against the wishes of peoples involved; and that if it is our intention to operate independent of the sound moral principles upon which our Nation was founded, we shall lose the support of the peoples of the world who now are looking to us for leadership out of this great morass.

I claim that it will be necessary to make a general master plan in support of our security, in which our objectives will be made really clear, the total expenditures estimated, and the pathway down which the American people are to travel completely shown.

Anything else than this is inept, and will leave us floundering. The result will be war—not a short war, but a long war. If it is necessary, we will not flinch from the necessity; but if we can avoid it, it is the goal of common sense to do so. Above all, we should not drift into it or be pushed into it by the selfish interest of those whose attitude toward common humanity is as much to be criticized as that of the masters of the Kremlin. Mr. President, the possibility of threatened war must not be surveyed lightly. If this possibility truly exists, all our actions must be carefully blueprinted as being the most pressing obligation of the United States Republic. It cannot be approached piecemeal. To do so would be to invite disaster.

Mr. President, I submit to you that the time has now come for us to take our time and to formulate an American policy which must be a coordinated national and international procedure predicated upon remaining a strong nation and assisting and encouraging the other 54 members of the United Nations Organization to improve their condition and way of life and, for those who care to reach our standard of living, to furnish them the know-how necessary to improve their industrial status.

But I also submit to you, Mr. President, that this is not the time to rush blindly into foreign countries without the necessary information upon which to

predicate a sound policy, and it is not the time to make random commitments throughout the world until such a policy, geared to our domestic economy, has been formed and agreed upon.

We have been forced into two World Wars without any clear idea of where we were going. Now is the time to stop, look, and listen; and if we are going into a third World War, let our action be taken after full consideration and understanding that it is in furtherance of an American policy formulated by Americans and for Americans.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, it is my understanding that the Senate will recess today until 11 o'clock tomorrow. The Committee on Foreign Relations is to have a hearing tomorrow, which was previously scheduled, which will run to 12 o'clock. I ask unanimous consent that the committee may be permitted to stay in session tomorrow during the Senate session if the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the order is entered.

MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, in view of the fact that it is proposed that the Senate shall recess until 11 o'clock tomorrow, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare be permitted to sit until 12 o'clock, if necessary, to complete the hearings and testimony of witnesses who have come to Washington for this hearing.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to offer an amendment, to be included in the RECORD at the proper place, the same being an amendment to the pending legislation. I ask that it be printed and lie on the table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be printed and lie on the table.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, never in the history of our Nation have the American people and the United States Senate faced an issue more grave and far-reaching than confronts us here today in the proposed Greek and Turkish so-called loan. In making this statement I am not unmindful of the decisions leading up to the Civil War.

This is no mere financial arrangement or relief project. It is a military adventure. This is a commitment of the United States to an entirely new foreign policy of such magnitude and potentialities that every honest American man and woman is compelled to the deepest soul-searching in its consideration. It is a question which causes us—and I include

myself—to lie awake nights striving and praying for the ability to foresee the ultimate consequences should the Congress accept or reject this proposal.

Mr. President, there is much to be said in favor of both sides of this problem—and there is much to be said against both sides of the problem. Who here has any clear conception of what course we should take based on any knowledge of what the results will be?

Even the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee [Mr. VANDENBERG], who, of all Members of Congress, has the most intimate knowledge of this problem, has frankly stated on the Senate floor that no one can be dogmatic in determining which is the wiser course to pursue. He says, further, "It is only a guess, and your guess is as good as mine."

The Senate has a profound respect for the integrity and the ability of the Foreign Relations Committee chairman, but this is a question upon which honest men—even bosom friends—may divide and divide completely.

It is proposed that we turn our backs upon all of the warning, upon all of the advice, upon all the policies of such architects of American statesmanship as Washington, Jefferson, and their contemporaries. They found it to America's advantage to remain free from foreign entanglements. That policy has brought us to greatness in 160 years. We are searching here for some glimmer of the results that will flow from the action the Senate is about to take on the pending measure.

If we intend to force the iron curtain of Soviet concealment back to the borders of Russia, how will it be accomplished?

If it is our intention to prevent the iron curtain from extending over all of Europe and the Orient, what are we going to do about Poland, honest little Finland, Rumania, Estonia, and all those countries which have already been encircled by that iron curtain? Are we going to attempt to free them in order that they, too, may know the blessings of the four freedoms? The American people and the Senate are justified in asking what is to be our action in that connection.

We all recognize that this \$400,000,000 grant to Greece and Turkey is the first of what will be many demands upon the United States Treasury from more than a score of other nations including Italy, France, England, and China.

How much, eventually, is such a policy to cost the American taxpayers? One estimate is found in the Kiplinger letter on national affairs dated Saturday, April 12, in which it was stated:

The State Department is working feverishly on a big-scale plan for an economic-diplomatic offensive going right up to Russia's borders, even to Hungary and Rumania. * * * The object is to prevent them from cracking up; keep Russia from moving in. Amount, ten to fifteen billions, preliminary estimate next 2 years.

The American people will have to sweat and toil to produce the goods and services which will be sent abroad under such a policy, just as the American people will do the fighting if war eventuates as a result of the action of the Senate. These so-called loans will never be re-

paid, and I think the American people are entitled to some knowledge of how many billions of dollars we will finally distribute abroad.

If we undertake the proposed course, it will have a tremendous impact upon our domestic economy. Such spending will drain the United States of goods, services, and rapidly dwindling raw materials, which, once exported, will never return again. The \$400,000,000 is but the first cost. The results will be scarcity of products, sustained high prices, inflation, higher taxes, and the poor will be the hardest hit.

I would feel easier if I could be sure any enduring good would come from these sacrifices, but I have heard no Member of the Senate go on record to say the sacrifices will bring such desired results. The best we hear is that "one guess is as good as another." I am apprehensive, because even the supporters of the pending measure condemn it as filled with uncertainties, unforeseeable possibilities for disaster, and then almost with an attitude of futility say they will have to support it.

If we embark upon this program, we will have to employ imperialistic methods; we will have to send swarms of American commissions abroad to supervise the expenditure of such money, to prevent its waste, and to keep it out of the hands of those who would use it for communistic ends.

For myself, I should want that done. If the measure is passed, it should be made crystal clear that there will be an accounting so that we will be informed exactly where and for what purposes the money is spent. The utmost care should be exercised to see that the money and materials do not finally fall into the hands of those against whom the loan is directed.

If we intend by this method to stop the march of communism, let us first say so frankly to the American people. Let us tell them that the \$400,000,000 is the first installment of appropriations that will run into billions of dollars in the next 2 years; and let us tell them further that we should prepare for whatever future military eventualities may flow from such a course.

If we are going to organize and finance the world for American ideals and freedom, let us face frankly and realistically what the cost will be; what the potential dangers are; how we may become involved; and what may happen to us in the process. Let us not do it blindly or by subterfuge. We know now the results of having drifted, without clear purpose, into World War II. We now know we were in that war 18 months before the White House admitted that a state of war existed.

It is a tragic situation that after our sacrifices in two world wars to uphold freedom that we are now confronted by what proponents admit is a choice of the lesser of two evils.

Mr. President, I now desire to discuss these problems in detail, to analyze this proposal and to clarify, if possible, some of its dangerous obscurities.

In the last election, the American people issued a clear-cut mandate to their elected representatives in both Houses

of Congress to repudiate the New Deal bureaucracy; to put an end to the dictation of governmental controls; to root out communism at home; and to put an end to appeasement policies in our dealings with Russia. There were others, but certainly those were included in the mandate.

The record clearly shows that on five specific occasions, I have sought to crystallize attention on the long-existent confusion in our domestic and foreign policies. I hoped, thereby, to stimulate efforts to find an answer to the question of whether or not America was being deliberately sabotaged and betrayed by Communist fifth columnists at home and abroad, or whether our policies simply were suicidal in themselves.

On September 24, 1945, I read into the RECORD the reasons I opposed the confirmation and nomination of Dean Acheson as Under Secretary of State. I did so because I could not find out from Mr. Acheson how American interests were to be protected in the implementation of the commitments which were being made, and the policies being carried out.

On October 22, 1945, I sought similar information concerning the policies Mr. Braden had been carrying out in South America. Again I could not get any light on how American interests were being protected by those who were administering our policies in the Western Hemisphere.

On November 28, 1945, I submitted Senate Resolution 197, to investigate the State Department. That was after Ambassador Hurley openly charged that—

The professional Foreign Service men in the State Department sided with the Communist armed party and the imperialist bloc of nations whose policy it was to keep China divided against itself.

On January 29, 1946, for myself and on behalf of several other Senators, I submitted Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 5. It provided for a joint congressional committee to investigate claims that our policies in occupied Germany were forcing starvation and the steady deterioration of already subhuman living standards; that our policies were creating such chaos and despair as to drive Germany directly into the hands of Russia. The administration did not consider that request.

On February 15, 1946, the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. BRIDGES], on behalf of himself, the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. GURNEY], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. REED], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. WILLIS], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON], and myself offered a resolution (S. Res. 231) calling upon the President to give us detailed information on our economic commitments in foreign countries. This resolution was again renewed in an up-to-date manner by the senior Senator from Nebraska [Mr. BUTLER], by Senate Resolution 103, on April 9, 1947. Up to this moment, we have not had any response from those responsible for our relations abroad.

Again, on July 31, 1946, I asked unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD Senate Resolution 197, calling for

an investigation of the State Department. I substantiated my charge that this investigation was more desperately needed than ever with a documentation of the facts and the consequences of the policies this administration had been pursuing all over the world. This documentation stands unchallenged to this very day.

I have taken the time of the Senate for this brief review of my position for these reasons:

A bipartisan moratorium on any Russian talk in both Houses had been urged upon us. A United Nations Board of Commissioners, which had been set up on December 19, 1946, was trying desperately to arrive at a judicious and impartial determination of the causes and cures of the Greek crisis. We were currently engaged in peace negotiations with our alleged peace-loving allies, yet—out of the clear sky, on March 12, 1947—President Truman charged Russia with being a world aggressor. He demanded the revival and extension of lend-lease powers to carry out a policy which I call armed intervention, on a global basis, in an all-out war on communism.

Here are the President's own words:

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

The President said further:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

No less a person than the distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee says this belated action by the President is a long overdue answer to the people's mandate of the last election; he declares the President's stated objective of combating communism at home and abroad receives the wholehearted support of all real Americans, but he laments the methods by which the President has maneuvered Congress into its present position as methods which merely continue the "government by crisis technique."

When he reported from the committee Senate bill 938, to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey, the senior Senator from Michigan in his speech at that time said:

It is regrettable that policies of such magnitude could not have more time for consideration. I knew nothing of the matter until we were called to the White House on February 27. It is unfortunate when such important decisions have to be made, on a crisis basis. * * * The truth of the matter is that even though we had months of study at our command, Congress does not have an unprejudiced chance to exercise truly independent and objective judgments in such circumstances as we here confront. * * * Congress does not enjoy original jurisdiction in foreign relations. That is the

prerogative of the Chief Executive. We come in, usually, only at the eleventh hour, when our choice is the lesser of two evils.

Mr. President, the American people want to halt the spread around the world of the evil Communist totalitarian tyranny. But there is no enthusiasm, apparently, no confidence, in the methods by which it is proposed to implement this so-called Truman doctrine.

As my distinguished colleague the junior Senator from Massachusetts, himself a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, said on the Senate floor the other day, this is "an unhappy and sickening moment."

Mr. President, it serves no good purpose to becloud the issue by continuing to assert that the implications of the Truman doctrine merely extend precedents of American foreign policy in the past. We have heard that said many times in recent days.

On March 25, 1947, David Lawrence wrote under the title "Truman's Greek Policy Is Based on Precedents":

What President Truman said a fortnight ago to Congress may be compared with what the late President Wilson told Congress when America entered World War I:

"The world must be made safe for democracy * * * and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

What President Truman has so courageously done is to reaffirm in peacetime the basis for which America fought two wars.

Mr. President, such assertions as these are staggering in their implications. The basic implication of the Truman doctrine is that it will compel the return to and the perpetuation of wartime conditions and controls.

In both instances, in 1917 and in 1941, we abandoned our democratic processes; we set up the Presidency as a virtual dictatorship. At this very moment we are struggling desperately to repair the damage that has been done to our own form of government, and our own way of life.

To use our military intervention in 1917 and in 1941 as precedents for the continuation of a perpetual state of war emergency and government by control and crisis, which is implicit in the Truman doctrine, to me would be suicidal.

That the Truman doctrine would reestablish these controls is implied in the statement from the senior Senator from Michigan. The Senator said:

I am not one of those, Mr. President, who conceives that we are launching what has been called by some a new doctrine in any such unique sense as did James Monroe a century and a quarter ago. Rather, in my opinion, we are launching a plan which has numerous precedents—although we must frankly and honestly assess the fact that it has new and broad implications as President Truman himself declared in his message of March 12.

The pending plan unquestionably broadens our precedents when it enters the Mediterranean—although the Marines were there in the earliest days of the Republic and in the finest American tradition. The plan broad-

ens geographically—although we long since pronounced the open door for China. It broadens when peacetime military missions, heretofore largely confined to pan-America, enter the Near East.

Mr. President, again I say these broad implications of the Truman doctrine involve decisions which we are now called to make in which the fate of civilization hangs in the balance.

These broad implications and decisions are likened to requests for declarations of war. The senior Senator from Michigan said:

As when we have been asked, upon other occasions, to declare war, the fact is that by the time these issues reach us for ultimate conclusions, we are heavily precommitted by the fact of the Presidential request.

That statement applies now. Commitments have already been made, and we are asked to uphold the hands of the President after the commitments have been made.

The senior Senator from Michigan recognizes the seriousness of the decisions which we are being called upon to make. Even while he himself supports the President's proposals, he recognizes that this is a time for men to search their hearts and minds and to obey the dictates of their own conscience, when he said:

I do not for an instant mean to say we cannot act on our own independent judgments. I do not mean to say that it is not still our solemn duty to act in keeping with our own estimate of the national welfare and security.

Mr. President, in just such a time of crisis as this President Monroe stated in his message to Congress on December 2, 1823:

The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects, to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark—

I want to repeat those words:

If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it * * *. To the people every department of the Government and every individual in each are responsible, and the more full their information the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued and of the conduct of each in regard to it. * * *

Their interests in all vital questions are the same, and the bond by sentiment as well as by interest will be proportionately strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the grand interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to. A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary.

Yet, the distinguished Senator from Michigan said he did not know anything about this loan until February 27. What do we know about it now?

THE BROAD IMPLICATIONS OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

The Truman doctrine constitutes, of course, a complete break with traditional American foreign policy.

Mr. President, America is something new, something unique in history. America was carved out of the remnants of five ancient empires—the British, the French, the Dutch, the Russian, and the Spanish.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WHERRY. At the beginning of my remarks I said I would decline to yield because I wanted to complete the statement. When I conclude these remarks I shall be glad to yield to any Senator who desires to ask any questions. The statement is a long one, and I should like to get it into the RECORD this evening.

From its very beginning, America was dedicated as a sanctuary of freedom for all the politically and spiritually oppressed who came to our shores that mankind might have a new birth of freedom under God.

America was founded on the belief that this sanctuary of freedom could only be maintained so long as the external relations and commitments of this Nation grew out of and reflected the pattern and the needs of the internal economic, social, and political structure.

It was this belief that moved George Washington to state in his Farewell Address:

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.

It was this conviction, Mr. President, that compelled Thomas Jefferson to admonish the American people ever to follow the course of—

Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious, or political * * * peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations * * * entangling alliances with none * * * the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies * * * the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home, and safety abroad.

The founding fathers of the American Nation believed that no democracy could exist which placed entangling alliances in external conflict, above the need for progressive internal development.

Our earliest American statesmen were determined to build a representative society by remaining free from the constant curse and threat of external dangers and by assuring the security which would permit debate and experimentation with the development of a full and free economic, social, and political system. It was for this reason that there was

written into the Articles of Confederation of 1777, article 9, which states:

The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war.

Abraham Lincoln declared, in a letter of February 15, 1848, to William H. Herndon:

Allow the President to invade a neighboring nation whenever he shall deem it necessary to repel an invasion, and you allow him to do so whenever he may choose to say he deems it necessary for such a purpose, and you allow him to make war at pleasure. Study to see if you can fix any limit to his power in this respect, after having given him so much as your purpose. If today he should choose to say he thinks it necessary to invade Canada to prevent the British from invading us, how could you stop him? You may say to him, "I see no probability of the British invading us;" but he will say to you, "Be silent; I see it, if you don't." The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us.

There are those who continue to insist that the President has always had authority to send American troops anywhere he wanted to. The record so conclusively proves otherwise that I take this opportunity to again remind my colleagues that every single departure from this traditional American foreign policy by the abuse of Presidential power has met an inglorious end, with only one or two exceptions in our entire history.

I want to cite the major instances in the past which are being used to justify President Truman's request for a complete break with America's traditional domestic and foreign policies.

Mr. President, three important military interventions and occupations in our history have been initiated under Presidential authority in Caribbean countries. These are the cases of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua. All were the result of disorder and bloodshed. All were forced by the fear of intervention of European powers. Not one of them constitutes anything for which the American people have reason to be either proud or grateful.

So far as I can determine, there are four major instances in which the President has used American troops to implement a treaty without the specific and prior consent of Congress.

First, there was the treaty with Colombia, ratified in 1846—100 years ago. To implement that treaty American troops were sent to Colombia in 1856, 1860, 1868, 1873, 1885, 1895, 1901, 1902, and 1903. But I submit, Mr. President, that the nature of the treaty itself is very enlightening. The treaty merely provided that the United States could send troops into Colombia, not for armed intervention, but for protective purposes only. In other words, the treaty itself provided that we could send troops to Colombia for the purpose of protecting American

property and American citizens. I submit further that the last incident, in 1903, resulted in the Panama Revolution, and in the payment of \$25,000,000 in reparations by the United States Government. Would anyone cite this as a precedent he desires to see repeated?

The second instance is a treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed in 1862, which purported to suppress the slave traffic at sea by setting up courts and authorizing seizure and search of slave-bearing traffic. But Mr. President, there are no recorded instances in which American troops were used to implement this treaty.

The third treaty was signed between Mexico and the United States in 1882 as a reciprocal agreement that permitted the pursuit of cattle thieves by either party into the territory of the other.

The fourth treaty is really a series of treaties with China, dating all the way from 1858 to 1901, which were purely protective in character, and which provided only for the protection of American lives and property on the pirate- and bandit-infested Chinese seaboard.

I believe there is one instance, namely, the Boxer uprising, of the President using American troops for the political purpose of preventing the domination of China by any other power, although so far as I know such an admission has never been forthcoming from this Government.

In the December issue of Reader's Digest, 1943, Mr. William Hard graphically portrays the disastrous consequences of the three alliances America has joined in her history.

In the course of our history we have given three outstanding permanent commitments to foreign countries. The outcome of all three has been extremely embarrassing and distressing.

(A) In 1788 we signed with France a treaty of alliance. It was the only alliance treaty that we ever signed. We promised to guarantee forever against all other powers the French possessions in America. In 1788, by a simple act of Congress, without French consent, we repealed and repudiated it.

(B) In 1882 we signed a treaty with Korea whereby we undertook to take diplomatic steps if any third country should deal "oppressively" with Korea. In 1905 Japan dealt with Korea certainly "oppressively" by conquering it; and in 1910 it further dealt with Korea certainly "oppressively" by annexing it. Did we take any diplomatic steps against Japan? Absolutely none. On the contrary, we were the very first government to recognize the Japanese conquest of Korea by withdrawing our diplomatic legation from Korean soil and by this proclaiming to the world that Korea, our ally, had ceased to exist as an independent country.

(C) In 1846 we signed a treaty with Colombia whereby we undertook to guarantee the sovereignty of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama. This commitment was in full force and vigor in 1903. In that year there was an artificially concocted revolution on the Isthmus. Did we then help Colombia to restore its sovereignty over the Isthmus? We did the reverse. We used our armed forces over the Isthmus. For doing so we ultimately paid Colombia an apologetic indemnity of \$25,000,000. We acknowledged that in changed circumstances we had violated a commitment given in circumstances long gone by.

Mr. President, four conflicts at arms which amounted to undeclared war have taken place in our history.

The first was the naval war with France from 1798 to 1800.

The second and third instances were the first and second Barbary wars.

The fourth was the Mexican hostilities from 1914 to 1917.

All of these were carried on by the President—without the authorization of the Congress.

But I challenge any interpretation of these armed conflicts to prove that they constituted a use of American troops by the President of the United States without the prior authorization of Congress, for any other purpose than that of protecting American lives and property or providing for the defense of our national security.

Our traditional American foreign policy has been reiterated time and again as the only basis upon which a free and republican America could cooperate with the rest of the world.

In 1933, on December 28, the late President Roosevelt states, in speaking of his attitude toward the League of Nations:

I believe that I express the views of my countrymen when I state that the old policies, alliances, combinations, and balances of power have proved themselves inadequate for the preservation of world peace * * * We are not members and we do not contemplate membership. We are giving co-operation to the League in every matter which is not primarily political and in every matter which obviously represents the views and the good of the peoples of the world as distinguished from the views and the good of political leaders, of privileged classes, or of imperialistic aims.

Again on September 15, 1936, Secretary of State Cordell Hull reaffirmed this traditional policy when he said:

At times there has been criticism because we would not depart from our traditional policy and join with other governments in collective arrangements carrying the obligation of employing force, if necessary, in case disputes between other countries brought them into war. That responsibility, carrying direct participation in the political relations of the whole of the world outside, we cannot accept, eager as we are to support means for the prevention of war. For current experience indicates how uncertain is the possibility that we, by our action, could vitally influence the policies or activities of other countries from which war might come.

Mr. President, while for the past few years our statesmen have let our traditional foreign policy fall into disuse, both in spirit and in practice, on June 13, 1946, Walter Lippmann warned our statesmen that they could not count on the continued support of the American people if the basic policies of this Government were not firmly rooted in traditional American principles.

Mr. Lippmann said:

The American people will never deeply accept a foreign policy which seems to them a mere entanglement in the rivalries of the old world. For while American foreign policy can and must change, the tradition and instinct of our people will continue to be in essence what Washington meant when he said that "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation." Whoever forgets this en-

during truth in conducting our affairs, will in the end be reminded of it sharply. This is not isolationism, though isolationists like to quote it, and Washington and his contemporaries were not in our sense of the word isolationists at all. But Washington's statement is a recognition of the fact that America's relation to the old world is different from that of any of the powers in the old world. And whenever this difference is lost sight of by American statesmen, they risk offending the instinct of the people and so they lose their support.

The broad implications of the Truman doctrine constitute a sharp break with American tradition. They constitute a sharp break even with the powers which the implementing treaty to the United Nations vested in the President. This act, entitled the "United Nations Participation Act of 1945," constituted such a radical departure from America's traditional foreign policy that the Committee on Foreign Relations stated in its report:

The committee realizes that the powers proposed to be granted to the President under this section (sec. 5) are very great. However, the basic decision in this regard was made when the Charter was ratified and this provision is a necessary corollary to our membership in this Organization.

The report of the Foreign Relations Committee reveals that in the minds of its members these findings and recommendations did not rest on any constitutional basis whatever, for the report concludes:

In order that there may be no doubt about the availability of our armed forces, the committee believed it wise that the Congress should in this legislation confirm its view that the President has the power and obligation, in compliance with our undertaking under the Charter, to make the forces provided in the agreements available to the Security Council.

The Truman doctrine, with all its broad implications, not only bypasses but actually repudiates the United Nations.

President Truman, in urging prompt ratification of the United Nations Charter, in his speech before the Senate on July 2, 1945, stated:

The choice before the Senate is clear. The choice is not between this Charter and something else. It is between this Charter and no charter at all. * * * This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace. There is no other road.

Yet in President Truman's speech on last March 12, without consulting the United Nations, without consulting the American people, and with no intention of submitting this proposal to the United Nations, he admitted:

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson who was a foremost promoter of the United Nations Charter, firmly insisted before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on March 20, 1947, that this administration had determined to by-pass the United Nations in this Greek crisis when he said:

There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on

some other nation or upon the United Nations. Even if the project were not blocked by the objections of certain members of the United Nations, much time would have been lost and time is of the essence.

They never intended to give it to them.

On March 19, the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee introduced in the United States Senate a bill to aid Greece and Turkey, but that is not the bill with which we are now dealing. That bill provided for a direct by-pass of the United Nations, and was withdrawn after public pressure impelled the Senator from Michigan to submit a preamble to this Greek-Turkey loan bill in the form of an amendment which would attempt to bring it into line with our publicly declared policy of adherence to the United Nations.

I cannot help thinking that. I have tried to bring myself to some other way of thinking.

On March 12, 1946, in a speech before the Senate, the former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] said:

The United States must meet each (international question) in the Security Council or the assembly or in diplomatic conduct as it arises and take a stand firmly under rights under the charter under treaties, and under international law and hold to that position with firmness and persistence.

The distinguished Senator from Texas went on to say:

I would set before the peoples and the nations two placards, two pointing fingers indicating directions and the fate of the traveler.

One would say, "We have set up the United Nations—here is the road to peace." The other would read, "There is the road to misery and ruin and death—war."

Yet, Mr. President, the senior Senator from Texas, who stood on the Senate floor and helped to sell the United Nations to the American people as the only hope of peace, only last week made the following statement on the Greek-Turkish loan proposal at page 2610 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Mr. President, if it were a problem that the United Nations was authorized to handle under its charter, I would say yes. If the situation were not emergent and did not demand quick action, yes, perhaps. But, Mr. President, one cannot go to a well and draw water when there is no water in it.

A few minutes later—and I refer again to the report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on page 2610—the distinguished Senator from Texas further stated:

Mr. President, we face a reality. Shall we face it with courage, with patience, with determination, or shall we face it by beginning to trim and hedge and say, "Oh, no; wait a minute; this is not our obligation. This is the obligation of the UNO." The UNO what?

The response to that witticism as I call it, says the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, was, "Laughter."

It is not a wise course for us uncritically to follow recommendations of the very men who, having been the foremost champions of the United Nations, as our only hope of peace, now turn out to be the first ones to declare its impotence.

There is a deep misgiving in the highest and most informed circles of

American public opinion that the Truman doctrine, with all its broad implications, goes away beyond any utterance of any other American President in time of peace.

Ann O'Hare McCormick, one of President Roosevelt's closest confidants, recently stated in the New York Times of March 15, 1947:

Not even Roosevelt's lend-lease policy, though it practically put us into war, marked as revolutionary a departure from traditional foreign policy as the course Mr. Truman sponsors. * * * The Truman message contemplates a bigger role for America in world affairs than was envisioned by Roosevelt when he thought of himself as the symbol and leader of democracy.

If the United States intends to intervene effectively to save democracy in Europe, there must be a much broader, more carefully thought-out and more positive plan than a relief program for any one country.

Walter Lippmann has gone even further in his criticism of the Truman doctrine. I quote from the New York Herald Tribune of March 15, 1947:

The implications are stated so vaguely, so broadly, that no workable policy can be deduced from them. They can mean anything, everything, or very little, and words of that sort, when pronounced by the head of a great state in a time of intense crisis and of passionate confusion, are imprudent. * * * The big hot generalities which we have loved so well when the primary responsibility in the world was not ours are no longer for us.

THE WHOLE STORY OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE IS NOT BEING TOLD

Mr. President, in such a critical hour as this, we look to the administration to be honest and frank to the fullest degree with the elected representatives of the American people. We cannot intelligently and courageously decide upon our future course by making a global leap in the dark. Yet, we are being asked to do this, in spite of the fact that on February 7, 1947, the United States News revealed that Under Secretary Dean Acheson has developed an over-all American foreign policy embodying our particular relations with every nation, in a document which is marked "top secret," only two copies of which are in existence.

I quote from the United States News:

During Mr. Byrnes' tenure Mr. Acheson's principal contribution was a codification of American foreign policy, the first in many years. This was largely written by the Under Secretary, outlining in detail the United States policy toward every nation and area. In preparing the document, Mr. Acheson acquired what some had complained that he lacked: a knowledge of the minutiae of international dealings.

The brochure is, of course, top secret. Only two copies of it exist. One is kept in a State Department vault; the other by the Army's Chief of Staff, so that military and diplomatic policy may be integrated. As former Chief of Staff, General Marshall, of course, was kept up to the minute on foreign policy everywhere. He now is familiarizing himself with developments during his year in China, mostly by a study of Mr. Acheson's book.

While the Secretary digs into his job and prepares to attend the meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers at Moscow in March, Mr. Acheson is largely running the Department on the basis of his own guidebook.

So far as I know, Mr. President, that statement still remains unchallenged. I

have heard no satisfactory explanation of it. Time and time again I have challenged the members of the Foreign Relations Committee to state whether they had a foreign policy for this country, and, if so, to bring it out in the open so that the Congress and the country might see it. Why should we not see it? Why should not we know what commitments have been made? Why should we not know what the implications are?

Mr. President, it seems incredible that such a condition as is described in that United States News item could exist in a representative government.

I have tried for years now to find out where we were being taken by the executive branch of this Government. I have done my best to bring into the open the basic policies of this administration so the people might have some faint knowledge of what they were being committed to. The consistent refusal on the part of this administration to take either the United States Congress or the American people into its confidence can be interpreted only as a fear that if their remedies for the disastrous consequences of their blundering policies in the past were presented to the light of day, brought in all at once, their proposals would die under the withering contempt of the American people.

Mr. President, we are told this administration wants Congress to provide \$400,000,000 for assistance to Greece and Turkey over a period of 15 months.

There are many different reservations attached to this proposal by its supporters. Some are not sure the job can be done in 15 months. They do not know. Some were not sure whether the job can be done in 15 years. Some want to make this aid available until after the peace treaties have been signed. Some call it a stopgap between the present time and the time when the peace treaties are signed, a proposal to do what the Foreign Relations Committee says it is impotent to do. Some want to continue this aid until the United Nations either stops it or takes over the burden itself. Others feel this aid ought to be continued until the countries themselves are able to go it alone.

Certainly we ought not to permit ourselves to be deluded into thinking the objectives of the Truman doctrine can be accomplished in any such period of time as 15 months. The report of the FAO Commission for Greece has recommended a 25-year over-all program of economic rehabilitation to put Greece back on its feet. It is obvious that our support of an all-out offensive against communism around the world makes all the time reservations on the extent of these proposed loans now ridiculous.

We are told that of the \$400,000,000, \$150,000,000 would be for military support to the Greek Government. The sum of \$130,000,000 would be for basic economic reconstruction; \$20,000,000 would be for agricultural rehabilitation, plus \$50,000,000 for relief, as provided in the general relief bill now pending in the House.

There is no one who has a greater respect and admiration for the heroic Greek people than I. If this were merely a relief measure, I would vote today to

provide these sums to relieve the suffering of these tragic people, if the contribution now proposed for that purpose were to be the end of the contributions. But what assurance do we have that the Truman doctrine, implemented through this present bill, will solve the problems of the Greek people or stem the threatening advance of Communist aggression? Suppose we embark on this adventure; suppose Stalin moves into Greece; then what do we do? What action would we then take? I have asked that question time and time again. I repeat, Mr. President, what action would we take then? What would be the result? What are the implications under those circumstances? Those questions have to be answered.

The truth is that during the past 2 years, either directly or indirectly, we have poured nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars into Greece, and Greece is worse off today than she was when the war ended, even though she has received the contributions I have just mentioned.

A moment ago, in connection with the remarks of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH] asked for an explanation as to how the various gifts made by the United States to Greece were made, and the Senator from Nevada said they included our share of UNRRA aid. Mr. President, why cannot any further aid which we extend to Greece be made a part of the UNRRA aid, because 70 percent of the UNRRA funds are a direct contribution upon the part of the people of the United States?

Greece has perhaps a dozen small locomotives. She has no transportation to speak of. Her light and power plants are practically at a standstill. Her system of communications remains in disrepair. Her harbor, the Port of Piraeus, is still a shambles. Even after all the aid that has already gone to Greece, today the Greek people need to import \$15,000,000 of food a month just to keep alive. That is their condition.

Mr. President, the point I make is that if we are now going to turn Greece into an outpost in a series of military bases around the rim of the present Russian sphere of influence, it becomes perfectly obvious we are going to take over Greece as a permanent colonial responsibility. We do not have to call it an imperialistic possession; it will be a colonial responsibility, to say the least. This means that once we start, we shall be forced to continue to underwrite an increasing deficit economy by pouring funds into military installations, which are so desperately needed in Greece, as elsewhere, to halt the steady deterioration of economic standards which is turning the whole world into a chamber of horrors.

I am convinced that this point is not debatable. It has taken me a long time to reach it, but I am now convinced. It is impossible for even the miserable pre-war standards of the Greek people to support a military machine that would constitute anything remotely resembling an adequate defense against the offensive action of Russia, or any of her satellite powers which we have helped to equip and rearm.

At this very moment the Greek Government is bankrupt. It is unable to implement even a minimum tax program to support itself. It cannot control the ruinous inflation which has set in. It cannot provide even a minimum standard of living for its people. It cannot even maintain order within its own borders. Yet, according to a special dispatch to the Washington Post of March 14, 1947, from Lake Success, N. Y., we are going in "to provide American military training and equipment for 100,000 Greek soldiers."

Now, what of Turkey?

On March 15, 1947, Barnet Nover writing in the Washington Post said:

The Turks have been compelled to maintain a very large standing army. According to reliable estimates, the maintenance of this force plus the police apparatus absorbs about 65 percent of the Turkish Government's revenue. The country is being bled white in order to be prepared. Yet should Russia go on the warpath, it is questionable whether Turkey would be able to offer more than a token resistance.

The distinguished junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. FERGUSON] and the other distinguished Senators who have recently returned from a trip abroad did not make exactly the statement I have just repeated, but they have said about the same thing as does this writer from Washington, that the taxation required to keep the 500,000 men in readiness is almost prohibitive. So far as their economy is concerned, they need nothing, but to arm these men in order to keep off the Russian threat is going to be hard on the economy of Turkey.

Again, on March 26, Ann O'Hare McCormick wrote in the New York Times:

Turkish economy, not very solid at best, is being wrecked to maintain the army—another example of the ruinous cost of fear.

If these estimates are correct, Mr. President, the whole question of further support to other nations seeking to maintain a military establishment able to cope with threats of aggression from Russia, or Russian-dominated countries, lines up one-half of the world at the front door of the United States Treasury.

Is there any doubt that the State Department knows this, and that they have a foreign policy for all of these countries? Certainly they must have. Each and every Member of the United States Senate is entitled to know what the program and policy are. We should have the blueprint before we are asked to commit ourselves on this first installment. We should know what the total program is and what the total cost is going to be.

If for no other reason than that, one should withhold his vote on this measure until the State Department gives us the full information.

The State Department should not only give it to the Members of the Senate, but to the American people as well.

If the State Department insists that it has no plan—that there is no blueprint—then no Member of this Senate could be justified in voting for any such a blind course as would be proposed, because if we do this for Greece and Turkey, certainly we are obligated to do it for other peoples under like circumstances.

THE PATTERN OF COMMITMENTS WE WILL ESTABLISH

If we accept the President's own statement of why these funds for Greece and Turkey are needed, we can trace the pattern which they will set for the future, a pattern from which we cannot possibly escape.

On March 12, in speaking of the need for maintaining the independence of Greece and Turkey, the President said:

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] goes even further by saying:

If the Middle East falls within the orbit of aggressive Communist expansion, the repercussions will echo from the Dardanelles to the China Sea and westward to the rims of the Atlantic.

Then, at least, let us be honest about the nature and extent of the commitments for which these Greek and Turkish gifts will set a precedent. We will, by taking this step, serve notice on all the nations of the world which are still left outside the Russian sphere of influence, that they have become our first line of defense. Naturally these nations will be only too glad to unload their burdens on us if by that means they can get us to use our own resources and our own finances and manpower to supplant theirs.

The President, in declaring an all-out offensive against the spread of communism, must realize that the economies of these nations which lie in the path of Russian expansion cannot support adequate military defense against such threats.

It is admitted by the Senators who have returned from abroad that Turkey has an economy which excels even our own, yet they cannot continue to arm themselves to meet the advances of Russia. There is the story. They cannot support adequate military defense against Russia.

Thus we will be undertaking to rehabilitate the peacetime economies, raise standards of living, encourage economic reconstruction, and at the same time superimpose on all of these requirements military establishments which cannot be maintained except through endless drains on American resources and raw materials.

For instance, if we underwrite Greece and Turkey, what about Syria? Syria will need perhaps \$150,000,000 next year. Then there is Palestine where the British kept 100,000 troops last year at the cost of \$340,000,000. Conditions in Palestine are steadily deteriorating into civil war and anarchy. Surely we will have to underwrite the British commitments here. Then there is Egypt which guards the entrance to the Suez Canal. The Egyptian economy will certainly call for a financial shot-in-the-arm from Uncle Sam in the very near future.

And, oh yes, Mr. President, let us not forget Iran, where already we are told arrangements are being made for us to provide a loan of a quarter of a billion dollars.

Then, what of Italy? The British are now reneging on their commitments there. Italy is bankrupt, and seething

with conflict and Communist agitation. Will we have to grant the Italian Government great sums of money to prevent its collapse? As a matter of fact, negotiations are already under way, I understand, to grant Italy \$100,000,000, so she can make her first payment on reparations to Russia when the peace treaties are signed. That information came to me. I for one shall never consent by my vote to compel the American people to make grants to any other nations to enable them to pay reparations to Russia. That is one thing I will not agree to.

Then there is France. France has already borrowed \$1,200,000,000 and will be coming back very shortly for more, especially if the international crisis continues to intensify as a result of President Truman's call for an all-out offensive against communism.

I have been in France, and I know to what extent communism flourishes in France, and if we are to stop it, according to the words of the President, directly or indirectly, France will be entitled to a loan, because stopping communism in France will be a difficult task.

Then, there is England. On April 5, Walter Lippmann wrote:

The British had about \$6,000,000,000 hard money at the beginning of this year. They are using it up at the rate of \$2,000,000,000 a year. There is no prospect as things stand now even if their plans work perfectly that they can do any more than postpone the day when their funds are exhausted.

On March 19, James Reston wrote in the New York Times:

Britain's economic situation is declining rapidly and in many ways the seriousness of her situation threatens the whole world trade program of the Truman administration.

The full import of this situation is fully pictured in an article by Jay Reid in the Washington Star of March 25, 1947, in which he says:

The shaky financial condition of the British Empire threatens a serious weakening of British economic and military positions all along the lines that separate eastern and western ideological controls in Europe.

This leaves Austria and Germany in the heart of Europe for the United States to underwrite. These economies have been permitted so to deteriorate that the State Department is admitting privately we cannot even make a dent in the problem of recovery for less than \$6,000,000,000 just for Germany alone.

I spent nearly 2 weeks in Germany, and I can say without hesitation that it is going to take a vast investment in the zone which we occupy jointly, if the German people are to be brought back where they can even become self-supporting. I am unable to estimate the amount, but I doubt that \$6,000,000,000 will be sufficient.

When we turn to the Far East, we find ourselves with Japan on our hands.

Then Korea will need a billion dollars next year. It must not be forgotten that we occupy Korea, and that we must do something for her.

China is in such tragic circumstances that no matter how much we pour in, civil war, starvation, corruption, and despair will make economic recovery a long laborious task at best, with the end nowhere in sight. Certainly in the solution

of the peace of the world one of the big question marks is China. I think the peace of the world depends on what is done in China. We must change our policy in China if we are to get anywhere in the fight against communism that we are told we are making, as we pay the first installment of \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey.

Then there is the problem of India. India is to receive its independence in 1948, yet where are the funds coming from to enable the new Indian Government to maintain itself in power? With civil war threatened, with England unable to redeem the \$5,000,000,000 loan which the Indian Government had made to England during the war, and with terrible food shortages inevitable, unless the United States pours out tremendous amounts of money into India she may well collapse. I do not say she will. I say she well may.

Mr. President, the extent of these needs staggers the imagination. It certainly staggers mine. The United States cannot possibly rearm and rebuild the world.

Most of the emphasis in the President's message has been placed on the economic aspects of these grants. But these economic aspects cannot be divorced from the total offensive against communism, which is the essence of the Truman doctrine.

The President has asked that we first use financial and political force to implement his policy. But if that fails, what does he say? He has said he will not hesitate to ask for further authority.

At the outset \$300,000,000 of the \$400,000,000 being asked is being made available for military purposes. That is admitted. This leaves no doubt that the President is going to attempt to revive economic standards of nations that stand in the path of communistic aggression, and yet superimpose on these economies military establishments which neither they nor we can possibly continue to maintain.

On November 17, 1946, the New York Times reported the official Government policy toward foreign trade which was revealed at the thirty-third foreign trade convention at the Waldorf-Astoria.

The conference report approved by all the foreign traders present and concurred in by our State Department officials, is as follows, and I quote:

Our foreign economic policy is seen to embrace the responsibility for promoting and safeguarding the interests of American foreign traders—this responsibility lies in the area of assuring the safety and security of American investments abroad, and of providing conditions which will make possible receipt of an adequate volume of useful goods and services in return for our exports of goods and capital.

Mr. President, such a revival of dollar diplomacy of necessity requires that American armed forces shall follow the American dollar all over the world.

That such a dependence on military force is uppermost in the mind of this administration is nowhere better revealed than in the memorandum submitted by Secretary of State Marshall accompanying the detail of military mis-

sions bill in which Secretary Marshall states:

The United States Government has received requests from several foreign governments for the detail of military and/or naval missions with which, in the opinion of the interested departments, it would be in the advancement of the public interest to comply, but with which it cannot comply for the lack of the legislative authority which is being requested herewith. There are also a number of other missions now serving with foreign governments which, in the absence of such legislation, may have to be terminated before they have accomplished their task—

Iran is one of them—

should the present state of war or of national emergency be officially declared terminated. It is also anticipated that additional requests will be received from other countries with which it would be in the national interest to comply.

Mr. President, there is no good purpose to be served by ignoring the military implications of the Truman doctrine. On March 2, 1947, Mr. Hanson Baldwin, military analyst for the New York Times, wrote:

Today the United States and Russia are face to face in a struggle for the world, a conflict short of war, but a struggle nevertheless that will alter world history. * * * The United States alone is capable of sustaining western civilization.

On March 25, 1947, General Eisenhower, for whom I have the highest regard, issued a grave warning to the Nation to prepare for troubled times ahead. And in his plea for more adequate military power, he said:

Weakness cannot cooperate in the world today. All it can do is beg.

Mr. President, this raises the whole question of the advisability of endorsing the Truman doctrine just from the point of military preparedness alone. It would be suicidal for the United States in such a critical hour to undertake the impossible task of adding the unbearable weight of military establishments to the national economies which it seeks to revive. We would spread ourselves so thin across the world, even while we are bleeding ourselves of our finances and resources, that we would become vulnerable on every front. We would set up conditions where Pearl Harbors and Corregidores could be repeated simultaneously in a score of places.

It was this danger—I am certain—that led Hanson Baldwin to write on March 2, 1947, in the New York Times:

Today we have in real truth no finished over-all military policy. Our fighting forces are handicapped not only by demands for economy but by lack of legislation and by piecemeal legislation. There is no rounded and complete policy to guide them in organization or development of our postwar forces. The formulation of a sound and well-founded military policy, which will provide effective support for our foreign policy and promote efficiency and reasonable economy is probably the most important job the Nation confronts.

Mr. President, in spite of all that we have done and continue to do to help the other nations of the world get back on their feet, the economic conditions around the world, the miserable plight of hundreds of millions of people, are going

to be worse next winter than the last. It is, indeed, little wonder that the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] declared:

In a sense we are a tragic generation, despite our blessings and our place in the sun. We have been drawn into two world wars. Something has been wrong.

What has been wrong, Mr. President; what has gone wrong—so wrong that now the only choice this administration has given us as Members of the Senate is the lesser of two evils?

Somewhere there has been a tragic miscalculation. We have been led to believe that by pouring out our resources and the blood of our finest youth to destroy Germany and Japan, peace once again would return to the earth, and men once again could resume the task of finding a better way for men and nations to live together.

The President, himself, now charges Russia with being a major aggressor. All across this land voices are now being raised in a chorus of angry denunciation of Russia as a far greater menace to world peace and to our own way of life than the Nazis themselves.

As far back as June 7, 1946, David Lawrence wrote in the United States News:

There is no use camouflaging the truth about what is going on. We are up against the ruthless rule of totalitarianism in world diplomacy. * * * A government that cannot be trusted can make war over night. Russian aggression has begun.

In the March-April Monthly Study issued by the American Federation of Labor we find the following grim assertion:

Soviet Russia is ready to move in as Britain moves out, spreading a totalitarianism more cruel and far-reaching than Hitler's over countries our boys died to free.

Certainly there is no question in the mind of Winston Churchill himself that a terribly tragic blunder has been committed when he writes:

The schism between communism on the one hand and Western civilization on the other is the most far-reaching and rending the human race has ever known.

On March 12, 1947, Sumner Welles wrote:

The postwar period has entered its most critical phase. Events are moving rapidly toward an inevitable crisis. The American people have entered the valley of decision.

Russia would never be where she is today if it had not been for the criminal betrayals of hundreds of millions of helpless human beings, to say nothing of the betrayals of American principles, entered into under pressure of expediency by American statesmen at all the secret conferences of the Big Three from Cairo to Potsdam.

On March 14, Dorothy Thompson reminded the American people of this very fact when she wrote:

The western powers collaborated systematically for the creation of the situation which we are now called upon to halt. What—we now see with fright—started at Casablanca with the unconditional surrender formula. The result of that formula was the

refusal of any aid whatever to what we now know was a formidable movement in Germany to overthrow Hitler and set up an honorable regime. We could have made peace with that regime and avoided the horrible destruction of the last year of the war.

Then came Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Each one of these conferences brought nearer the present inevitable crisis. Governments supporting western civilization, governments that had fought with us, were thrown into the ash can. It was not Russia, but Britain and ourselves who introduced Tito in Yugoslavia, and opened the Polish vacuum to his longtime comintern collaborators Belrut and Berman.

Mr. President, I need not dwell longer on the tragedies of the past. Suffice it to say that the crisis now confronting us has been made inevitable by the policies which this Administration has been a party to throughout the critical years of the war.

The whole of Europe, England included, is being dragged down to a sub-human level of existence. Germany is impotent.

When we couple with our deindustrialization program of Germany, the terrifying effect on German law and jurisprudence, and on any semblance of individual security, which our denazification procedures are having, our policies become all the more questionable.

When we add to these things the continued starvation level which we are forcing on the German people, it seems perfectly obvious that it is futile to talk about stopping the spread of communism when our own policies toward defeated peoples are preparing the very soil of hunger, misery, despair, and degradation upon which communism thrives.

Mr. President, at this point in my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the record statistical tables which illustrate the vital relation which prewar German industry had with other European nations, including Greece, and Turkey.

There being no objection, the tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GERMAN ECONOMY FOR EASTERN EUROPE

A survey of foreign-trade figures, according to official League of Nations statistics, reveals that in normal trading years Germany used to be both the largest supplier and the best customer of almost all eastern European countries. To illustrate this point, I have chosen the year 1928 and 1929 as representing the only 2 years of real prosperity in Europe between the two World Wars, and the years 1935 and 1936, after the stabilization of the Nazi regime. The latter figures already show trade distortions caused by bilateral Nazi trading practices, but are not yet completely distorted by war preparations and political alignments.

To begin with, I single out Greece and Turkey, the two countries now in need of American aid. These figures show convincingly that the economies of these two countries would immensely benefit by a revival of trade with Germany and of German productive power. This, in turn, would reduce the extent to which American aid is needed, and would help put these countries on a self-paying, instead of a relief, basis. At the same time, it would benefit the German economy and thus cut relief costs to that country. The figures are:

Greek imports from Germany (in millions of drachmas):

1928: 1.07 or 8.6 percent of total imports (next to United States and United Kingdom).

1929: 1.25 or 9.4 percent (next to United States and United Kingdom).

1935: 1.99 or 18.7 percent (first place).

1936: 2.67 or 22.8 percent (first place).

Greek exports to Germany (in millions of drachmas):

1928: 1.63 or 9 percent of total exports (next to United States and United Kingdom).

1929: 1.61 or 23.1 percent (first place).

1935: 2.11 or 297 percent (first place).

1936: 2.68 or 36.4 percent (more than United States and United Kingdom together).

Turkish imports from Germany (in millions of Turkish lira):

1928: 31.7 or 14.2 percent of total (first place).

1929: 39.2 or 15.3 percent (first place).

1935: 35.5 or 40 percent (first place).

1936: 41.7 or 45.1 percent (first place).

Turkish exports to Germany:

1928: 22.2 or 12.8 percent (next to United States and Italy).

1929: 20.6 or 13.3 percent (next to Italy).

1935: 39.2 or 40.9 percent (first place).

1936: 60 or 51 percent (first place).

Just to illustrate this point further, I shall add some corresponding percentage figures for other leading eastern European countries, mostly now behind the iron curtain. The figures reveal, how the loss of these markets affects the German economy, and how the economy of these countries suffers from the lack of German goods, which Russia, due to her low standard of living, is unable to supply. All figures indicate the percentage of the country's exports and imports coming from or going to Germany.

	1929	1936
Austria:		
Imports.....	20.9	16.9
Exports.....	15.7	16.1
Hungary:		
Imports.....	19.7	25.8
Exports.....	11.5	23.1
Poland:		
Imports.....	27.3	14.3
Exports.....	31.2	14.2
Rumania:		
Imports.....	122.3	39.9
Exports.....	118.6	20.8
Czechoslovakia:		
Imports.....	25.0	17.5
Exports.....	19.3	14.5
Yugoslavia:		
Imports.....	15.6	26.7
Exports.....	8.5	23.7
Bulgaria:		
Imports.....	22.2	61.0
Exports.....	29.9	47.6

1927.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, on April 12, 1947, General McNarney backed up Herbert Hoover's warnings concerning the desperate plight of the German nation when he said:

This concentrated population of nearly 70,000,000 must be offered an early hope for economic and political stability. If they are forced to live without hope, the inevitable result will be chaos in central Europe, followed by a rebirth of totalitarianism.

Not only are we confronted with the prospects of such a collapse of central Europe as a result of the policies of this administration; we are also confronted with the tragic and almost irreparable damage that has been done to our relations with South America.

It is not at all reassuring to note that in the United States News of February 7, 1947, Under Secretary Dean Acheson is reported still to be a staunch supporter of Mr. Braden and his interventionist policies in South America, especially

when we are reminded by Sumner Welles that—

Unless the United States returns to the basic principles of the good-neighbor policy, no Inter-American conference can now be held without risking a break-up of the Inter-American system and the total destruction of pan-American solidarity.

The good-neighbor policy was founded on respect for the freedom and the sovereign rights of the peoples of the Americas, on our abstention from every form of interference in their domestic concerns, and on the consultation and friendly cooperation between all of the American republics with regard to every problem which affected the security or welfare of the hemisphere.

I wonder whether there is any Member of the Senate who would care to state just when any member of this administration took the trouble to consult with a single member of the inter-American system on the President's speech calling for an all-out offensive against the spread of communism?

Certainly the President's own speech in Mexico in which he recently reiterated his continued support of the good-neighbor policy does not mean what it says in the light of his own unilateral repudiation of our promise to consult with our neighbors to the south on every matter affecting the welfare and security of the Western Hemisphere.

And what about our policies in the Far East? After the failure of General Marshall's truce team to stem the tide of Communist advance, are we to believe that the administration is about to make a complete change of policy toward China and Japan, while the whole Far Eastern Division of the State Department under the lead of John Carter Vincent still holds the reins?

On April 12, 1947, Li Chi-shen, a former aide of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek warned:

China is facing her most serious crisis.

Are we now going to reverse our efforts to force communism on the Chinese Nationalist Government, Mr. President, and are we going to continue to permit Russia to obstruct General MacArthur's administration of Japan by dominating the councils of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission? I ask those questions.

They are questions which have not yet been answered.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I raise the whole question of these basic American policies for only one reason. I am convinced that we cannot plunge headlong into the "broad implications" of the Truman proposals: that we cannot underwrite the staggering commitments to rearm and rebuild the rest of the world which still is outside the Russian sphere, and remain a sound, solvent, and free people.

We have already spent a large part of the \$31,000,000,000 appropriated for world reconstruction and relief since VJ-day. Yet we find the nations of the world confronted next year with a worse winter than the last.

If we continue the same kind of international cooperation in the future as in the past, we shall only drain ourselves further of our own desperately needed raw materials. For instance,

during the last year, in spite of the fact that Europe has all the coal she needs right under her feet, this Government sent 500 Liberty ships across the Atlantic carrying 2,000,000 tons of coal a month to Europe at the cost of \$400,000,000 to the American taxpayer, or a sum equal to the proposed Greek and Turkish loan.

We now confront the iron curtain of a state-controlled slave-labor trade monopoly around half the world. Every American dollar that now goes abroad feeds the fires of world inflation and sends our own inflation spiral further upward. Each dollar earmarked for foreign aid bids in the American market for scarce American goods. Please do not forget that.

The American people should understand with crystal clarity that already our world relief efforts have prolonged rationing and Government controls, and have thwarted our desire for a descending cost of living.

We would by now be well on the way to a normal price structure in the United States, were it not for the inflationary world economic effort in which this country is engaged.

Those who complain of high prices in this country are the loudest advocates of the very kind of world economic program which makes it impossible for the American economy to work its way back in an orderly fashion to a healthy and balanced level. I sold corn within 90 days for \$1.09 a bushel. Last week I sold the same kind of corn for \$1.55 a bushel because of this export program. That is how it affects our economy.

At this moment our own Assistant Secretary of State is in Geneva, urging the acceptance of an international trade organization upon all but the Russian-dominated countries, which will put half of the world on a ration system and turn our own national credit agencies into agents of a new form of state capitalism.

On March 19, 1947, President Truman admitted that this kind of international cooperation could not be carried on by the United States without another year's extension of export controls.

The President said:

Our international responsibilities cannot be fulfilled without this machinery.

Mr. President, we cannot ride off in two directions at once in pursuit of two conflicting foreign policies without tearing ourselves to pieces. Until we renounce the Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements, which compel us to build up Russia's strength and legalize her aggression, we are in no position to take seriously President Truman's declaration of an American "quarantine" on Russian aggression around the world.

Once more I repeat that I am duty bound, and stand prepared today, to vote whatever relief measures are necessary, within our capacity to provide.

But, Mr. President, as to all the implications of the military interventions here proposed, the plea that an emergency exists can no longer be justified. We are no longer confronted with the March 31 dead line, first urged upon us. Whatever action we take cannot be interpreted either as upholding or be-

traying the hand of Secretary Marshall, since the Moscow Conference awaits only its formal adjournment. Time is of the essence no longer.

Therefore, under these conditions, I cannot in good conscience cast my vote, at this time, to commit the American people to the implications of a global military intervention, with all its terrifying potential of a third world military explosion.

Rather it seems to me the Senate could better serve humanity, the welfare of the American people, and the cause of those who sincerely desire to arrest the march of Communist tyranny by eliminating from this bill and laying aside for further earnest consideration its appropriations for military intervention.

Finally, let me anticipate those who will charge that this is another Munich, another Dunkerque, or a Pearl Harbor.

The real Munich will occur in this case only if, by providing too little too soon, we lull the American people into a false sense of accomplished security, while the very forces of tyranny, over which the American way of life must finally triumph, feed and grow strong on the utter inadequacy of our action.

Let us not lead the American people down an uncharted trail in the darkness, burning our bridges behind us, without knowing whether the bridges ahead are down.

For myself I prefer to continue working to piece together the whole pattern of future American foreign and military policy, out in the open for all to see, and only then to determine America's final answer to the challenge of communism.

Mr. LUCAS obtained the floor.

Mr. HAWKES. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield to me so that I may ask the Senator from Nebraska a question and make a brief statement?

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, the hour is growing late and I do not want to yield for an extended colloquy.

Mr. HAWKES. There will be no extended colloquy. I merely wish to say a few words.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, may I ask whom the Chair has recognized?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. HAWKES. I am asking the Senator from Illinois to yield to me so that I may make a brief statement. It will not take long.

Mr. LUCAS. I yield.

Mr. HAWKES. I take it from what the Senator from Nebraska has just said that he is in almost the same position I am in. He does not know where we are going, and that is why he is not willing to consent to go there. He does not know why we are going there, and that is the reason he is not willing to vote to go to some unknown destination without knowing what we are going to do when we get there.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator is correct.

Mr. HAWKES. If we had a well-organized plan which would give us a picture of what we are going to do, the Senator and I might both be willing to

go along with the plan. Do I correctly understand the Senator?

Mr. WHERRY. The able Senator from New Jersey has answered the question better than I could. I have stood on the floor time after time and asked question after question. We are told that if we comply with the request, that is one way to peace. I have asked the question, "If we do not comply, what will happen?" We are told that one man's guess is as good as another's. I have asked why the problem has not been referred to the United Nations. It is said that it would be referred to the Security Council, and that no action would be taken. My theory is that if the United Nations can solve this problem, it ought to be sent through the front door, and not the back door. We are now up against the choice of voting either to make these installments on the first commitment, or not to make them.

I have tried hard to solve this question. I have lain awake at night. This is the most difficult vote I have yet had to cast in the United States Senate. I want to go along. I have tried my level best to go along. But I cannot find any precedent on which to go along. I have gone into the question in detail. Since the time element is out of the picture, I should like to see conferences in which the State Department would unfold to Members of the Senate the foreign policy which they want us to carry out. I would be the first to subscribe to a course of stopping communism if I knew where such a course would lead us.

Mr. HAWKES. I thank the Senator from Illinois.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR OVERSEAS INFORMATION SERVICE

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I wish I were able to tell exactly what I am going to do tomorrow during every minute of the day. If I were able to do so; if I were able to anticipate the future; if I had some kind of a device by which I could tell what the conditions of the world are going to be tomorrow, then I am sure that I could answer the questions of the able Senator from New Jersey [Mr. HAWKES] and the able Senator from Nebraska [Mr. WHERRY]. But I do not know anyone who is omniscient. All we can do in these unusual world circumstances is to do the best we can in an effort to do what is right for our own national safety and security. As has been said times without number, every Member of the Senate will have to use his best judgment as to what he believes is the right thing to do in guiding the destiny of this Nation so far as our future is concerned.

On January 27 I engaged in a colloquy with the able Senator from Connecticut [Mr. McMAHON]. On reading a recent article in Life magazine I recalled what I had said at that time. I quote a part of it:

I think it would be the better part of wisdom, and it probably will be done in due course of time, to ascertain, if we can, how much other nations of the earth are spending in lands other than their own in attempting to put across their theory of government or their form of economic life or any other thing in connection with building

up their own national philosophies on foreign soil. I anticipate that other great powers of the earth are spending so much more than we are it will make up look rather niggardly when our budget is compared with theirs.

I have always thought that if we utilized every possible means at our command to sell America, over the air or through magazines or by other type of propaganda, we would be doing a great service to the people of this country and would be doing much for our own security in the future. But it will be found that many people object to our spending even the \$19,000,000 now alleged to be used for this type of work.

At that time I was referring to the appropriation of last year which was made to the State Department for work of that kind under the able supervision of Mr. Benton. Mr. Benton is now seeking money from the Congress of the United States to carry on this important work. I have been told by some Members of the Senate that there are those in this body and in the House of Representatives who are so economy-minded and who so firmly believe that Mr. Benton's work has utterly failed that they are willing to eliminate every dollar from the appropriation which he is seeking at the present time.

I wish to address my remarks at this late hour in the afternoon to the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate which soon will be listening to the State Department's representative requesting money to carry on work of this kind in foreign lands. I am talking about selling the United States of America. I am not selling the United States of America short, as some people have been doing, but I am interested in selling America in a way that will advance the doctrine which will be laid down tomorrow by the Senate so far as the Greek-Turkish loan is concerned.

Mr. President, Life magazine, in an editorial in its April 14 issue, cited a non-attributable speculation recently indulged in by a competent observer of the national scene in Washington. "If the Russians were thinking of putting \$250,000,000 into Greece," this observer was quoted as saying, "they would probably advance \$175,000,000, spend \$25,000,000 on propaganda, and save \$50,000,000." The question raised by the Life editorial is pertinent. Though no official figures are available, we know that the Soviets are conducting extensive information activities abroad, probably as large as all other major countries put together, and that propaganda is a basic instrument both of Soviet foreign and domestic policy.

The Senate is now considering the bill for economic assistance to Greece and Turkey, a program aimed to aid these countries maintain their independence against the threat of totalitarian aggression. Since the announcement of this program by the President, all the propaganda resources of the Soviets have been concentrated on misrepresenting and distorting to the Greek and Turkish peoples the purposes of this aid and the policies of the United States Government. A review of the output of Radio Moscow for the past month shows that the Russians and their satellites have spared no propaganda effort to misin-

form the world about United States policy. This again illustrates the normal pattern of the Soviet propaganda technique.

What are we doing to tell the people of Greece and Turkey, as well as the rest of the world, about the United States and its policies? In comparison with the magnitude of the job to be done, the expenditures are pitifully small. Please note the figures.

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, the State Department, through the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, is planning to spend approximately \$125,000 on information activities in Greece, and approximately \$190,000 in Turkey. In comparison with the amount of the proposed loan, it is evident that these estimates are far too small, and should be radically revised upward. Despite the urgent need for overcoming misrepresentation and telling the facts about this country, there are those, including some Members of the Congress, who are reported to favor a drastic cut in the proposed OIC appropriations, if not the elimination altogether of the overseas information program.

The war has enormously increased our responsibilities in the world. We have large overseas commitments, and we cannot escape our responsibilities as the world's greatest power. I do not think it makes sense to invest hundreds of millions of dollars in Greece and Turkey, without making certain that the people of these and other countries are fully informed of the scope and purpose of our help.

To me it does not make sense to send military missions and an administrative force to aid in the spending of this money in Greece and Turkey without informing the people of those countries by every conceivable method exactly what we are doing, how we are spending the money, and for what we are spending it.

The Moscow radio has charged that the United States is embarking on an imperialistic-expansion program, as Frank Kelley so vividly pointed out in an article in the New York Herald Tribune on April 13. Here are some of the things Mr. Kelley said:

TECHNIQUE FROM HITLER

Moscow tells France that Truman "has revived the hopes of all enemies of democracy." Moscow tells Austria that the new American policy "is a combination of dollar policy with the policy of the truncheon," borrowed from Hitler.

Moscow tells the British that "the dollar, with clear designs on Greek independence, is to take Greek fascism under its protection."

Moscow tells the Italians that American aid for Italy is "a worn-out banner * * * hoisted by all the pretenders to world domination."

Moscow tells the Near and Middle East in Arabic that the Truman and other speeches "indicate clearly that the United States not only fully supports the Turkish policy of retrogression and imperialism in the east but also desires to extend Turkey's activities in this field."

TWO VERSIONS FOR TURKEY

Moscow tells Greece that it is ruled by a monarcho-Fascist dictatorship. Moscow tells Greece that Paul Porter's plan will bring all of Greece's commercial and economic life

under the absolute control of the United States.

Moscow tells Japan that American interest in rebuilding China has the goal of trying to make China a colony of the United States.

So it goes. This is psychological warfare which is going on at the present time over the air in every one of those countries where we have made loans.

Mr. President, we must do more, of course, than combat this wave of misrepresentation. We must also conduct an aggressive campaign to sell democracy, and create a better understanding of the democratic processes among the peoples whose continued independence we are seeking to maintain. We cannot lose the war of ideas by default. As surely as I am standing here, that is what we will do in the event the State Department is not equipped with sufficient funds to carry on an honest counterpropaganda as to exactly what the American people are doing in Greece and Turkey at this time.

In many areas, particularly those behind the so-called iron curtain, and in those in which few people understand English or have the money to purchase American periodicals, and those in which the press is controlled by the government, private American agencies cannot operate or can do only an inadequate job. The Government, through its information service, must continue to do much of the work of giving the facts about the United States. For this reason, the OIC today is an integral part of the foreign service. We can no longer afford to be indifferent to what other peoples think about us. It is in our own interest to see that foreign countries are provided with accurate information about the United States and its policies.

According to the best information available, Great Britain is spending over \$1,000,000 this year for information and cultural activities in Greece. Though I have no official information, it may be assumed, in the light of her similar expenditures elsewhere, that Britain will continue to regard a substantial expenditure for information and cultural activities in Greece as a good investment.

I prophesy that as the military forces of England are withdrawn from the Middle East her propaganda will increase their further appropriations, because it is the war of psychology which is next in importance after the military has failed, when the protection of the country is involved.

It is estimated that Great Britain this year is spending between \$40,000,000 and \$45,000,000 for overseas information and cultural work. This compares with the approximately \$31,000,000 which the State Department is asking for the same activities for the fiscal year beginning July 1. Great Britain is spending about \$16,000,000 for the overseas operations of the BBC, about \$14,000,000 for the cultural activities of the British Council, and between \$10,000,000 and \$15,000,000 for information—pictures, press, exhibits, film strips, magazines, and so forth—a total of from \$40,000,000 to \$45,000,000 in all, on overseas information and cultural activities.

Here are a few comparative expenditures for information and cultural activ-

ities. The British figures are estimated for the current year; the United States figures are those for the fiscal year 1947-48:

	Britain	United States
Belgium.....	\$250,000	\$81,000
France.....	1,000,000	360,000
Portugal.....	300,000	75,000
Egypt—more than.....	1,000,000	193,000
Mexico.....	300,000	287,000
Argentina—more than.....	400,000	307,000
Chile.....	200,000	148,000

So we see from the preceding figures that in Mexico, our neighbor on the south, Great Britain is spending more money for that kind of propaganda than the United States itself is spending to carry on our good-neighbor policy, which is so vital to the defense and security of the United States.

Furthermore, Mr. President, Britain is spending about half a million dollars in each of several Near Eastern countries, as compared with a proposed United States expenditure in each of those countries of less than \$100,000.

Mr. President, I bring this matter to the attention of the Senate at this time because it seems to me it is apropos of what we are discussing in the Senate today. I know and everyone else knows that the present proposal will be adopted; and if it becomes the policy of the United States of America it must be, if it is to be successful, implemented with a sufficient appropriation to carry on the type and kind of work found in the State Department under the supervision of Mr. Benton.

PROPOSED INCOME-TAX REDUCTION

Mr. President, I have just one other matter which I wish to discuss briefly. It does not relate to Greek relief, but it relates to American relief—in short, taxes.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, let me say that it seems to me that while we are on limited time, with debate restricted, it is undesirable to have Senators discuss extraneous matters. The majority leader is very anxious to have an adjournment taken at once, and Senators are anxious to go to their homes tonight. It was understood that there would not be a night session tonight. So it seems to me that the debate should be confined to the question now pending before the Senate, inasmuch as debate is restricted.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, if I can obtain unanimous consent to have my remarks incorporated in the body of the RECORD, perhaps that will take care of the situation. I was about to make a statement upon an amendment which I offered earlier today to House bill 1, known as the Knutson bill, which is now pending before the Finance Committee, of which the Senator from Illinois is a member. Certainly I have no desire to detain the Senate any longer. Nevertheless, I have the floor, and I think I am entitled to speak about any matter which I wish to discuss.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the Senator from Colorado raised the point that he might wish to debate this matter for

some length of time tonight, but he was afraid that a motion to take a recess would be made.

So far as I am concerned, let me say that I shall remain as long as the Senator from Colorado desires to have us remain.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I do not wish to take advantage of the situation.

Mr. HATCH. It will be no advantage at all.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. But I do have some amendments which I should like to discuss. I shall try to discuss them briefly, in order to accommodate fellow Senators.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President—

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I ask the Senator please not to take me off the floor.

Mr. WHITE. I am not going to attempt to do so.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, have I the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has recognized the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, in order to expedite the procedure and to accommodate my good friend the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], I ask unanimous consent that I may have incorporated into the body of the RECORD at this point a statement which I have prepared. It is not very long. It deals directly with the amendment I submitted earlier today as a substitute for the tax bill now before the Finance Committee, known as House bill No. 1, and better known as the Knutson bill. If I may obtain such unanimous consent, I shall yield the floor.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR LUCAS

Mr. President, the Senator from Illinois realizes full well that the majority party is more or less committed to the American people to pass at this session of Congress tax legislation of some kind, regardless of whether or not such a step is in the interest of a sound fiscal policy.

I am convinced that this is not the time to pass a tax measure, primarily because once again we are considering important legislation without sufficient facts upon which to base a prudent judgment and a sound conclusion. I cannot believe that a majority of the Senate will vote for H. R. 1, known as the Knutson bill. It seems perfectly plain that it is an economically unsound, inequitable, and untimely piece of legislation. Although the flat 20-percent across-the-board proposal has been modified somewhat, the bill has not been changed in any fundamental way. It still gives the greatest relief to those who need it least.

Mr. President, a sound fiscal policy requires that before any tax reduction is put in effect, the budget be balanced and a substantial payment on the national debt be made—only after these two things have been provided for should consideration be given to the reduction of taxes. H. R. 1 would reduce taxes before a single major appropriation bill has been passed by the Congress. Moreover, it reduces taxes at a time when inflationary pressures are at their peak. There can be no doubt that H. R. 1 will sharply aggravate these pressures by creating an additional amount of money to compete for goods which are in scarce supply. Income payments have risen from \$71,000,000,000 in 1939 to \$165,000,000,000 in 1946. They are expected to go even higher in 1947.

Even if this were the time to reduce taxes, H. R. 1 is the worst way to do it. It discriminates harshly against low-income taxpayers. For example, it would increase spendable income for a married person with no dependents, with an income of \$1,200 by 1 percent, by 4.2 percent at \$6,000, and by 34.2 percent at \$100,000.

Because of my belief, that there is a determination on the part of the majority of the Senate to vote for some tax reduction, without regard to the economic factors I have just mentioned, I have thought it wise to introduce a tax-reduction plan which, in contrast to H. R. 1, is fair and equitable, spreading tax reduction among all taxpayers in a sensible fashion. In view of the high level of employment and national income likely to persist for the remainder of this calendar year, this bill would be effective for the tax year beginning January 1, 1948.

The bill raises the personal exemption for each taxpayer and each dependent from \$500 to \$600, and in case of a joint return by a married couple from \$1,000 to \$1,200. This accords with the President's statement that low-income taxpayers will have high priority in any tax-reduction program. This provision of the bill is designed to help low-income taxpayers meet, to some extent, the increase in the cost of living. It also has administrative advantages in that it removes 3,200,000 taxpayers from the tax rolls. Removing taxpayers from the tax roll is the surest way to remove a large number of employees from the pay roll. It will cost the Government \$1,500,000,000 in revenue. If it be argued that every citizen ought to pay some taxes, the plain answer is that a citizen who is struggling to maintain a minimum level of subsistence ought not to be required to make even a token payment in taxes. Increasing exemptions as a method of tax reduction is advocated by all progressive-minded tax groups.

When the need for increased revenue to finance the war became clear, one of the methods of increasing revenue adopted by the Congress was to lower the exemption rate. This increased sharply the tax load upon the lower-income brackets over prewar levels, and added millions of taxpayers to the rolls. Increasing exemptions tends to modify somewhat the harshness of the wartime tax load upon the low-income groups.

One of the most glaring inequities in the present tax law is that citizens of nine States (Washington, California, Idaho, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Nevada, Louisiana, and Oklahoma) and Hawaii enjoy the privilege of dividing income between husband and wife for Federal income-tax purposes. The result of this privilege is that a husband who has a surtax net income of \$20,000 is able to escape with a tax equivalent to twice the amount of tax upon \$10,000 surtax net income. Since the highest surtax rate upon \$10,000 is 31 percent and the top rate at \$20,000 is 50 percent, the family is enabled to save a very substantial amount in taxes. This inequality has been protested for years by the citizens of the non-Western States, with complete merit.

In 1941 an effort was made by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives to meet the problem through the requirement of mandatory joint returns, which would have deprived the Western States of their special privilege. Unless a measure similar to what I propose becomes the law someday, the citizens of the States enjoying this preferential treatment will be compelled, no doubt to their disadvantage, to submit to a program of uniform taxation which will place them on an equal basis with all other States. This measure failed of passage on the floor of the House of Representatives. The opportunity is now here to remove the inequity, not by depriving the Western States of their special privilege, but by generalizing this advantage to citizens

of all States, so that husband and wife will, in every State, be permitted to split incomes. This privilege is of immense administrative advantage to the tax-gathering authorities. It will eliminate the host of litigation now indulged in by the Treasury Department to put down tax-avoiding schemes based on assignment of income to a wife, or through the creation of a spurious family partnership. It places families with earned income in a more equitable position with families receiving their income from investment, since families receiving their income from investment are readily able to divide up the property and the income between family and wife.

The third significant provision of the bill is the reduction by two points of the surtax rate in each surtax net income bracket. This has the effect of giving each taxpayer a reduction of 2 percent of surtax net income. This proposal, as a whole, in contrast with the reductions contained in H. R. 1, gives a more equitable amount of savings in dollars to all taxpayers rather than relating the savings directly to the amount of taxes paid.

I estimate that this bill will cost \$3,800,000,000 in revenue at present levels of national income. The \$100 increase in exemptions will cost \$1,500,000,000, the splitting of family income \$1,000,000,000, and the reduction of 2 percentage points in each surtax bracket \$1,300,000,000.

I hope every Senator will give fair and impartial consideration to this substitute, having in mind only the taxpayers' interest.

IRRIGATION AND RECLAMATION APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. WHITE obtained the floor.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield to me?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I wish to make a few remarks for the RECORD on the action of the House Appropriations Committee as it relates to the reclamation projects of the West. Periodically I intend to keep the record perfectly clear on this issue, because of its great importance to the economy of our Nation and its great political importance to my party. I refer to a report which I have received today that the House Appropriations Committee proposes to cut the budget of the Interior Department approximately 47 percent. I further understand that within that cut the great reclamation and conservation program and projects of the West have suffered shocking injury.

For example, Mr. President, I understand that the Bonneville project appropriation has been cut from approximately \$26,278,000 to approximately \$6,900,000, or thereabouts. I understand that the appropriations for some of the services vital to the welfare of the people of the West as provided for in the budget for the Department of the Interior have been eliminated entirely—for instance, such items as appropriations for the construction of transmission power lines. In a moment I shall say what I think is the significance of that action. I further understand that it is proposed by the House committee that in the construction of the reclamation projects private contracts shall be let in all instances. In other words, construction cannot be built by a Government agency itself irrespective of any savings that might accrue to the public by such a procedure. That is a policy which not even the private utility companies follow in connection with a considerable amount of their construc-

tion, such as some of their high-voltage construction. Many of them take care of their own construction for various reasons, one reason being that they want the construction done by their own experts. Another reason is that they have learned that such a procedure as that which the House committee proposes shall be imposed upon an administration such as the Bonneville administration is a very expensive one and will raise the cost even further, at the expense of the consumer or in the instance of Bonneville at the expense of the American taxpayer.

I understand, Mr. President, that should the Senate Committee on Appropriations go along with the policy inherent in the cut by the House in the Interior Department appropriations, it would be practically impossible to go forward with these great projects in the West. Not only that, but great losses would be sustained by the American taxpayers, because it would not be possible even to maintain economically the present projects on the basis of the amount proposed in the House figure.

Mr. President, this is an exceedingly serious situation from a great many angles. For example, let us take the proposal that we shall eliminate the construction of the transmission lines by the Government. That raises very squarely—and let us have the record show it, because I am ready to meet the issue—the drive of the private utilities of the East against the development of the people's power resources of the West. Let those power interests come on, if they wish, and make that a political issue in the campaign of 1948. I am ready to meet the issue. I am ready to meet it because I think it needs to be made clear to all the people of this country that a great record has been made in the West in the development of power so that the little fellows, the average citizens, out on the farms in the remote areas of the West, through REA and other power projects, can have their light, too. The western power program is making it possible so that there will be an end to the hardships the farmers have had to endure because of lack of power which the private power interests have not been willing to afford them at a reasonable profit. Through such projects as Bonneville facilities have been made available at rates which they can afford to pay but at the same time at rates which result in paying for the costs of the services.

Let the record be crystal clear on this issue. These western projects for which I am speaking are not costing the taxpayers of the East, of the South, and the North any money. They are not built at the expense of the taxpayers in the East, the North, and the South. I am perfectly willing to meet the issue that they are self-liquidating projects when one figures in all the benefits that accrue to the economy of this country from such projects. They are projects which are creating tremendous wealth for this country. Out of that wealth new tax dollars will flow. Out of that wealth new jobs of a permanent production expanding type will bring a stable economy to the West. The opponents of these proj-

ects in this Congress will get no aid, assistance, or comfort from the private utilities of the West. The private utilities of my section of the country have come to see the absolute essentiality of these projects to the future of the private utilities themselves. I think the Tacoma agreement of February 1947, which I have on another occasion introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and discussed, makes clear that the private utilities of the West cannot be counted as members of the hatchet team that is proposing to cut the heart out of the budget of the Interior Department.

I think we might as well have it out at this session of Congress as to whether or not we are going to permit a blockage of these great assets, in the form of these power developments in the West, and the conservation program of the West, by selfish power interests of the East which do not like to see low power rates made available to the people of the West in self-liquidating projects.

Mr. President, I have only started to discuss this issue in the Eightieth Congress. I intend to discuss it innumerable times, until the people of my section of the country know what is at stake. I want them to understand what is at stake so that they can take the action necessary to hold responsible politically those in both parties who are seeking to sell the people of the West short in order that certain interests in the East can exploit them.

Mr. President, the next point I desire to make is that these great developments in the West are essential for national security. I do not want my record in the Senate of the United States to show that I sat here in the Eightieth Congress and permitted my country to be sold short from the standpoint of national security, by failure on the part of Congress to appropriate the funds necessary to go forward with the great and needed power development works of the West. At least I intend to oppose any such course of action by this Congress.

Let me say, Mr. President, that if that unfortunate day should ever come when we actually find ourselves in a third world war, we will thank God for any action taken in this Congress to make available to this country the western power projects for which I am pleading today. We need them for national defense and security. In the event of war the people of this country will thank the memory of those of us who are fighting now to save these projects.

Where would we be today, Mr. President, just where would we be today, if we had not had the foresight to develop TVA? Where would we be today if we had not had the projects which were available for use in the Second World War in the Pacific Northwest? How far would we have been able to go in the development of the atomic bomb if we had not had those great projects? Time did not permit building them during the war. They were ready for war use. New ones are needed for security as well as for peacetime production.

I say, Mr. President, we are not only going to need those projects which have already been completed, but we are go-

ing to need to complete Grand Coulee, McNary, Hungry Horse, and Foster Creek. Every one of those projects on the Columbia and Snake Rivers are needed now as well as the projects down in California, about which the junior Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND] well knows. Further, every other Western State without exception is the site of one or more projects vital to the expansion of the West. Every one of those western projects is going to be needed for national security alone, not to speak of their being needed for the economic development of that section of the country in time of peace. They are needed for war and peace. They are needed as a check against depression. They are needed to keep the American private-enterprise system an ever-expanding one. This is no time to restrict our economy. This is a time to expand, because without an expanding economy and ever-increasing production stagnation overtakes our system of supply and demand and depressions follow. I do not think we have scratched the surface of the potentialities of our capitalistic system. The West is the industrial frontier of America. It must be freed of the financial control through certain interests that want to keep it as an economic appendage to the industrial East.

The people of the East have everything to gain and nothing to lose by the industrialization of the West. Such a development means larger markets and more purchasing power for the people all over the country. Yet there are forces in this Congress working as hard as they can in the name of economy, trying to defeat this program. They are selling the American people short on a false economy program.

One of their arguments is that we are going to have to economize straight across the board. I repeat for the RECORD today what I have heretofore stated, that I am opposed to the principle of a horizontal cut across the board. Some vertical cutting needs to be done in some instances where we can dispense with some services. Waste needs to be eliminated wherever it is found, but increases in the budget, not decreases, not cuts, are needed also in many instances.

I can cite no better example of the need for budget increases than in regard to the great services of the reclamation and power program of the Western States. The argument that these projects for which I am speaking have to be cut along with other cuts is based on a false economy, a penny-wise and pound-foolish philosophy. Therefore I think my party, the Republican Party, should take cognizance of the situation, and proceed to ascertain the facts in regard to these projects from the standpoint of the economy of the country including our national security and military defense.

I wish to say another word, Mr. President, in regard to the political significance of what is proposed, because there are those in both parties—the Democratic Party as well as the Republican Party—who would like to see this type of devastating attack made upon these great wealth-creating projects. In my judgment—and it will be my position

in the campaign of 1948—that it is very much in the interest of all the people of this country as well as in the interest of the people of the West especially to defeat those who in the name of economy are attempting to do such great injury to the West. I care not whether they are Republicans or Democrats. I happen to be one who is going to place the economic welfare of my country and its national security above party politics. I believe the soundest of Republicanism is to elect Republicans who will stand for the type of program for which I am pleading here this afternoon.

My party is not entitled to the support of the West in a national campaign if in this Congress its leaders cut the heart out of the reclamation program. Fine-sounding political promises made in 1948 to catch our western votes are not going to fool the people.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. In a moment I will yield. Before I close I wish to mention the Willamette Valley flood-control project. I want to refer to this project in order to stress, Mr. President, that we must do something about flood control now. The waters of our rivers do not wait for the Congress to appropriate money. The waters of our swollen streams are washing into the sea each year millions upon millions of dollars' worth of property, far in excess of the cost of building the control dams necessary to check the destruction caused by floods. So let my party know clearly that when it goes before the people in 1948 it must be ready to answer to the western people on its program in regard to reclamation, power development, conservation, and flood control. I do not want to see my party contribute to a delay in the building of these projects. Our national welfare does not justify the action proposed by the House. Such delay year after year will turn, through the working of the elements, certain sections of the West into another eroded China. I do not want to see our great natural resources sacrificed, even for a year, by my party's inaction in the Eightieth Congress, simply because it may think it is good politics, in the name of economy, to participate in what, in fact, is false economy. I yield to the Senator from New Mexico.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Maine has the floor. He yielded to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I am through.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, do I have the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The senior Senator from Maine has the floor.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield one moment?

Mr. WHITE. I yield one moment.

Mr. HATCH. I want to join the Senator from Oregon in everything he has said about the development of the West. This is not a political issue, it is not a Republican issue, it is not a Democratic issue. It is vital to our section of the country, and I want to join most wholeheartedly in everything the Senator from Oregon has said. If any candidate for political office in New Mexico, Ari-

zone, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, or Oregon disagrees, I shall join with the Senator in asking that he be defeated. It is not a political issue, but it is a vital issue for the economy and the well-being and the welfare of our section of the country. I am sure the Senator from Colorado joins me wholeheartedly.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, will the Senator from Maine yield?

Mr. WHITE. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I want to have printed in the body of the RECORD an amendment which I have offered to Senate bill 938. It pertains to the proposed loan to Greece and Turkey. If the American Congress is going into the banking business, it owes it to itself and the millions of taxpayers it represents to adopt the age-old banking techniques. When an American corporation applies to the RFC for a loan, a painstaking and searching inquiry is made to ascertain the financial condition of the borrower. That, briefly, is the purpose of my amendment, which is to insert at the end of the bill the following new section:

SEC. —. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any loan pursuant to this act, the government requesting such loan shall (a) register with the United States Treasury Department all holdings of gold held by such government, and by the nationals of such government, both at home and abroad; (b) register with the United States Treasury Department all foreign assets, stocks, bonds, or other holdings, of such government and of the nationals of such government; (c) make public the full foreign and domestic indebtedness of such government; and (d) relegate all foreign indebtedness of such government to a subordinate position to the indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act.

Mr. President, I now wish to discuss my amendment.

GREEK FOREIGN INDEBTEDNESS

My amendment to S. 938, which, "as a condition precedent to the receipt of any loan pursuant to this act the government requesting such loan shall (a) register with the United States Treasury Department all holdings of gold held by such government and by the nationals of such government, both at home and abroad, (b) register with the United States Treasury Department all foreign assets, stocks, bonds, or other holdings of such government and of the nationals of such government, (c) make public the full foreign and domestic indebtedness of such government and (d) relegate all foreign indebtedness of such government to a subordinate position to the indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act."

Mr. President, if the American Congress is going into the banking business it owes it to itself and the millions of taxpayers it represents to adopt the age-old banking techniques. When an American corporation applies to the RFC for a loan, a painstaking and searching inquiry is made to ascertain the financial condition of the borrower. That, briefly, is the purpose of my amendment.

Members of Congress are accused of being notoriously generous with taxpayers' money. That is a serious charge and one which prudent Congressmen dare not ignore. Today, very properly, we are attempting to reduce the President's budget by four and one-half to six billion dollars. Very properly, too, every tax-spending agency is required to come before the committees of Congress and make a strong case for every cent appropriated. Every proposed expenditure is gone over with a fine-tooth comb. My amendment merely extends that wise precaution to the pending Greek-Turkish loans. No taxpayer can make these inquiries; the RFC is not empowered to do so; no banker has any such right; only the Congress can order it done. I urge the Congress to adopt the simple traditional practice of looking before leaping.

How much gold does the present Turkish Government hold? How much gold is held by the Nationals of the Turkish Government at home and abroad? For example, Mr. President, what are the foreign assets, stocks and bonds of the Turkish Government, of the Nationals of the Turkish Government? Is it true, Mr. President, that the Turkish Government has \$250,000,000 in gold reserves deposited in other countries outside of Turkey? If we make a loan to Turkey or to Greece, will that loan be repaid before any payment is made on the present foreign indebtedness of Turkey or Greece?

I know, Mr. President, that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been somewhat troubled by the complete failure to observe business practices in the act which they recommend the Senate pass. The fact that the committee adopted an amendment presented by Senator LODGE to the effect that no part of the present loan or grant or other assistance should be used to pay either interest or principal of present foreign indebtedness indicates that the committee is somewhat troubled by the business situation in which we are asked to vote \$400,000,000. The amendment by Senator LODGE, which the committee accepted, desirable as it is, does not go far enough. It does not require that all present foreign indebtedness of the borrowing government shall be relegated to a subordinate position to the indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act. That is the precise provision inserted by the RFC in all of its loans. Senator LODGE proposes that no part of the funds appropriated under this act shall be used to pay the indebtedness already existing, either interest or principal, but it does not give our debt priority. Indeed, it is questionable in my mind if Senator LODGE's amendment has any material effect. By a simple matter of bookkeeping either the Greek or the Turkish Government may arrange its financial affairs so that it can repay principal and interest on its present foreign indebtedness and yet not employ any part of the present aid to make those payments. Our moneys would be used merely to replace Greek or Turkish funds which would be applied on the debt.

The Lodge amendment, desirable as its purpose is, does not meet the issue. It

leaves the barn door wide open. My amendment states clearly that any indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act shall take priority over any other foreign indebtedness of the government obtaining the assistance which we are now asked to vote. According to my amendment, our debt must be repaid before any payments can be made by either Greece or Turkey on interest or principal of foreign indebtedness now existing.

Mr. President, the Turkish Government in actual fact is in a better financial position at the present time than is the Government of the United States, in respect to its per capita indebtedness, the amount of its foreign holdings, and the total of its present indebtedness. Turkey succeeded in obtaining several hundred millions of American dollars during the war. Ninety percent of Turkey's exports during the war went to Germany, and the payment was made in gold, not worthless German marks. Relatively, Turkey is in a favorable financial position. It is likely that the foreign assets, stocks, bonds, holdings of gold of the Turkish Government may be 5 or 10 times as much as the loan which we are now asked to extend them. In order that the American people and the United States Government and the Senate shall know exactly what the situation is, it seems to me entirely reasonable that a government requesting aid under this act be required to register with our Treasury Department its holdings of gold and its foreign assets, stocks, and bonds, and to make public its foreign indebtedness. Moreover, if the government requesting assistance is actually in a desperate position, as Mr. Truman has indicated; if the situation is tragically serious; if this loan is really vital; if in fact it is essential in order to maintain the present government of Greece or Turkey, it seems entirely reasonable and feasible to me that such governments should be glad to give this American loan priority in repayment over its other present foreign indebtedness. I can see no reason whatsoever for denying the validity and the desirability of my amendment. It only requires good banking practices.

I am particularly anxious that this amendment be adopted by the Senate because of the ancient history of financial exploitation to which the Greek people have been subjected. In 1927 the Greek Government was forced into the treaty of Geneva, which recognized the International Finance Commission established in 1897. That finance committee has jurisdiction over the servicing of all of the present foreign indebtedness of the Greek Government. Apparently that indebtedness, Mr. President, now totals well over \$500,000,000. Ever since 1897 a very large part of the revenues of the Greek Government were pledged for the serving and repayment of its foreign indebtedness. In fact, the only unpledged public revenues left to the Greek Government after 1927 were direct taxes, miscellaneous excise taxes and export duties. It is an incredible story of international financial intrigue and exploitation which the Senate now must review if it is to act intelligently on the proposed loan. I do not wish to extend

the debate on the present amendment, but I insist the Senate learn who owns the Hambro Bank of London. The Hambro Bank is the authorized agent to receive practically all payments of interest and principal of the Greek Government. I call attention to the loan of 1881 of £2,800,000; the loan of 1884 of £2,400,000; the loan of 1887 of £3,800,000; the loan of 1889 of £4,200,000; the loan of 1890 of £1,600,000; the loans of 1893, 1902, and 1906—all of these loans are payable at the Hambro Bank, both interest and principal.

I call attention, Mr. President, to the loan of 1907; the loans of 1910 and 1911 of 3,400,000 pounds; the loan of 1914 of 11,500,000 pounds; the loan of 1923 of 6,200,000 pounds; the loans of 1924 of nine and ten million pounds each; the loan of 1925 of 9,100,000 pounds; another loan made in 1925 of \$5,100,000; the loan of 1928 of 3,900,000 pounds; an additional loan in 1929 of \$11,000,000; the loan of 1928 of \$16,000,000; the loan of 1930; the loan of 1931 of 4,500,000 pounds—all of these loans almost without exception are payable at the Hambro Bank in London, both as to interest and principal.

If we were to check the history of Greece, we would discover that for over a hundred years since the first wars of independence which the Greek people fought with Turkey, we would discover that the international bankers of London and later of Paris and Berlin decided that the Greek people needed a monarchy and that they needed foreign loans.

It is an astounding fact, Mr. President, that since 1824, the year of the first external loan floated in London, the Greek people have paid out more than three times the total of the principal of all of their foreign loans. They have paid three times the principal in interest and service charges. In short, Mr. President, the bankers discovered that they had a happy hunting ground in Greece and they poured in the loans and took out interest, excessive interest, excessive servicing charges, and various deductions of all kinds. Loan after loan, financial crisis after financial crisis; loans of eighty-nine million francs; loans of sixty million francs at 6 percent interest; loans of ninety million francs; loans of one hundred and thirty-five million francs; vast sums of money lent to the Greek Government, but Mr. President, when we examine the details of those loans, what do we discover? For example, let us take a look at the loan of 1887 of one hundred and thirty-five million francs at 4 percent interest. First, the loan sharks got forty-five million as a bonus; twenty-six million was set aside to buy three ships for the Greek navy; thirteen million francs were set aside for the servicing of the public debt and fifty-one million francs were utilized to cancel old debts. Take a look at the loan of 1881. Out of a loan of one hundred and twenty million francs, fifteen and a half million francs were used to cancel advances; forty-four million francs for military supplies; and that, Mr. President, is the way the whole financial history of Greece has been built up—huge loans, big portions of the loans set aside

for interest or service charges, large hunks required to be used to purchase materials and supplies from the nation making the loan; all types of financial manipulations and juggling; all handled in such a manner that the principal constantly built up—Greece going deeper and deeper into debt with no hope of getting out of the grip of the international bankers of London.

In 1897 the Greeks fought a war against Turkey which they lost. Apparently some large reparations were demanded by the Turks and the Great Powers came in to assist Turkey. In order to obtain funds sufficient to pay the reparations, the Greek Government agreed to the establishment of an International Finance Commission. That Finance Commission obtained the power to control finances in order to safeguard service payments. The Greek Government bound itself not to contract any debt and not to change its revenue laws without consent of the International Finance Commission. In addition, the Commission administered the stamp tax; the customs dues of the Port of Piraeus; the Government monopolies in salt, kerosene, matches, cigarette paper, and emory; and certain taxes on tobacco. The total net revenue from these sources was divided by the Commission according to a complicated scheme between the service of the foreign indebtedness, the domestic indebtedness, and the general fund of the Greek Treasury.

Between 1900 and 1925 several wars occurred in the Balkans in which Greece was involved. I would not suggest, of course, Mr. President, that the international bankers had anything to do with instigating those wars, but one of the results of the wars was that the foreign indebtedness of the Greek Government rose from 840,000,000 gold francs in 1912 to 1,650,000,000 gold francs in 1933. So, Mr. President, year after year, war after war, monarchical extravagance after monarchical extravagance, Greece sank further and further into the clutches of the international bankers of London and Paris, but principally of London.

In 1927 the International Finance Commission was pledged additional revenues for the servicing of the Greek indebtedness. Remember, Mr. President, that this International Finance Commission had existed ever since 1897 with legal status. It continued to function up until the German invasion. It was taken over by Germany and Italy during the occupation. Today the International Finance Commission still has legal status, but its operations are suspended temporarily. After our proposed loan is consummated the International Finance Commission undoubtedly will resume operations at the old stand unless my amendment is adopted. We may expect the British bankers to insist on the International Finance Commission being set into operation once again, and the exorbitant interest rates on a debt already repaid more than three times over will once again be set in operation.

Senator LOPPE's amendment states that no part of the present loan or grant can be employed to pay interest or principal on foreign indebtedness. Will such an amendment be made effective and

close the door against the manipulation of the International Finance Commission? The only way we can check the blood-sucking tactics of the London loan sharks is through such a provision as contained in my amendment.

Mr. President, when I first considered offering this amendment I wondered if the present Greek Government should not be required to cancel its outstanding foreign indebtedness, particularly in the light of the fact that between 1824 and today the Greek Government has paid out in service charges and interest three times the principal of their foreign indebtedness. Why should not such foreign indebtedness be canceled? Can the Greek economy ever be put on its feet, Mr. President, so long as the Greek people are saddled with a foreign indebtedness of over \$500,000,000, an indebtedness which carries an excessive interest rate, an indebtedness to which are pledged certain important revenues of the Greek Government, and which have been pledged legally ever since 1897 and again pledged in the Treaty of Geneva of 1927? How can the Greek economy be expected to function under such a handicap?

If we examine the financial history of Greece in connection with the political history of Greece we would discover that the great powers placed a monarch on the Greek throne in order that this type of financial exploitation could be satisfactorily executed. Many of these loans from 1824 onward apparently were made at the request of the Greek monarchy. They were sought by the Greek monarchy and they were expended by the Greek monarchy. The Greek people are justified in believing that the Greek monarchy has been the agent for the London and Paris bankers. Perhaps, Mr. President, this hundred-year-old international banking system explains why one Greek King was assassinated, why other Greek Kings fled into exile, perhaps it explains why the late George II was driven into exile in 1924. The exploitation of the Greek people by the international bankers of London via their stooge, the monarchy, explains the intense hatred and unpopularity of the present Greek monarchy. Perhaps it explains the present civil war in Greece, which we are asked to quell.

We know, of course, that the British supported the Greek monarchy; we know that Winston Churchill forced a hand-picked, foreign-born monarch back on the Greek throne and we know that this arbitrary act has caused a civil war in Greece. With the help of four hundred and fifty millions of relief dollars from the American taxpayer, the monarch has conducted a civil war for 2 years to re-establish his right to rule. Now we become the inheritors of British mistakes in Greece, we must sustain a monarch restored by force of British arms. What are the implications? Are we to assume British liabilities throughout the Near and Middle East and are American taxpayers expected to pour out their funds to restore corrupt and venal regimes which can then begin repaying age-old debts to London bankers? Is Uncle Sam asked to enter the scene as the No. 1 sucker to make good on all of the foreign indebtedness fostered by London bank-

ers for the past 100 years? Frankly, Mr. President, I want to know the answers to those questions. That, Mr. President, is one of the reasons that led me to introduce this amendment requiring that all the foreign indebtedness shall be made known to the United States Congress; that all foreign assets, stocks, and bonds shall be registered, and that all foreign indebtedness shall be relegated to a subordinated position to the indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act.

I am told, Mr. President, that Mr. Winston Churchill's family are heavy owners in the Hambro Bank of London. I do not know if this is accurate or not. I do not care whether it is Winston Churchill, his uncle, his nephew, his daughter, or himself. I do not care what particular "fat cats" of British nobility or British aristocracy own the Hambro Bank in London. I basically object to the money of American taxpayers being poured out to maintain regimes—corrupt regimes—in various parts of the world in order that international bankers may continue their exploitation and continue to receive exorbitant rates of interest on foreign indebtedness which has already been repaid three times. I object, also, Mr. President, to the systematic secrecy with which the State Department has smothered the entire question of the financial manipulations incident to the proposed Greek-Turkish loan.

At the time that Premier Tsaldaris, of Greece, was in this country requesting a loan the Export-Import Bank made a confidential report on the financial status of the Greek Government. That loan was not then extended. Why, Mr. President, has not the administration made public the text of that report of the Export-Import Bank? The American people have a positive right to know the truth in regard to the foreign indebtedness of the Greek Government—to whom their debts are owed, how much is owed, what interest rate is pledged and what provision the Greek Government intends to make in regard to the repayment of its foreign indebtedness, and whether or not American funds will be used directly or indirectly to pay these loans.

We are sick and tired, as a Nation, of secret diplomacy. We are sick and tired of being dragged around the world by the nose by the fancy footwork of international bankers. American taxpayers should not be required to bail out the Hambro Bank. The American people expect the United States Senate to protect their interests. They object, to corruption. They object to a hundred-year scandal of international financial intrigue. We should refuse to vote for legislative proposals about which the American people have not been told the whole truth. We should refuse to vote for a bill which does not place every possible safeguard around our funds. We should refuse to vote for a bill which makes a sucker out of the American Government and the American people in behalf of feeble self-serving monarchies and their bosses the international bankers. We should refuse to throw away our money to sweeten their kitty. We should refuse to vote for a bill which does not

require the repayment of American indebtedness before these loan sharks' accounts are paid. Mr. President, I ask that the Senate adopt my amendment which will protect us at least to some extent.

I have another amendment which I want to have appear in the RECORD. It is to insert at the end of the bill the following new section:

SEC.—. (a) Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States has adopted as its policy in international affairs (a) intervention in civil strife, civil war, or political conflicts in foreign countries; or (b) unilateral action, either now or in the future, in disregard of its obligations to the United Nations.

(b) The Congress hereby reaffirms the basic policy of the United States to bring before the United Nations all economic, political, or military conditions which may endanger the peace of the world.

I want to suggest to Senators that before we embark upon the diabolical policy of intervening in Greece and Turkey, we should explore fully the exact situation which confronts us. We should also attempt to understand where it will lead, what it implies, what it will cost, and where it will end.

I now wish to discuss my amendment.

INTERVENTION IN CIVIL CONFLICT

I have offered an amendment to S. 938, an amendment which reads:

SEC.—. (a) Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States has adopted as its policy in international affairs (a) intervention in civil strife, civil war, or political conflicts in foreign countries; or (b) unilateral action, either now or in the future, in disregard of its obligations to the United Nations.

(b) The Congress hereby reaffirms the basic policy of the United States to bring before the United Nations all economic, political, or military conditions which may endanger the peace of the world.

President Truman in his speech to the Congress stated, "It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures," and President Truman added, "I believe our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid." Mr. President, I have commented on the President's speech stating that in my opinion it was nothing short of an undeclared declaration of war, and that if we recognize its world-wide import, it is nothing more or less than a considered policy of underwriting the status quo throughout the world. Mr. Truman's policy, if adopted, will lead to American intervention in every country in the world which is in a process of social change either because of political unrest or of actual revolution. Mr. President, if the Truman doctrine is adopted by the Congress without corrective and clarifying amendments, we will have radically altered American traditional foreign policy. We will have adopted a policy of aggressive unilateral imperial action in behalf of reactionary governments throughout the world.

I suggest to the Senators that before we embark upon this diabolical policy

that we should explore fully the exact situation which confronts us. Also we should attempt to understand where it will lead, what it implies, what it will cost, where it will end.

This new policy, as I understand it, is a doctrine of frustration, disaster, financial bankruptcy for the American Nation, an all-out armament race, and ultimately war.

All the world today is in a process of social ferment and political change. New forms of government are coming into existence, new ways of managing a nation's economy. Perhaps America, Australia, and South Africa alone in the entire world are the only nations which are not now caught in the grip of powerful political and economic crisis. Surely China, India, the Near and Middle East, Egypt, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, most of the Republics of South America—every area that we can mention—is under economic and political strains undreamed of before in world history. The world is in gestation. Traditional, orthodox methods and the old ways of doing things are being challenged. New systems of government and of economics are coming to birth. In many cases as in Europe, we have mixed free enterprise with regimentation and semisocialism. In some cases it is government ownership; in the Soviet Union, three times the size of the United States, we have the first gigantic experiment in communistic society. Apparently it has great internal sources of strength. The world is changing, Mr. President, and before we, with all of our economic and political and military resources, embark upon a policy of opposing that change, or attempting to turn the clock back, we should calculate whether it can be done; and if it can be done, whether it should be done and whether we can develop a successful formula for doing it. Of one thing I am certain; the American people will not want our substances poured out to support monarchies, feudal hereditary shiekdoms, ancient moth-eaten empires, systems of war lords and private feudal armies. The American people will not want to shell out their hard-earned money and their blood to sustain the status quo of every outworn ancient type and form of government anywhere that they may be challenged throughout the world. They will not want to support a cruel, ruthless, worthless monarchy in Greece nor a tyrannical dictatorship in Turkey nor the hereditary feudal authority of the Arabian sheiks. The American people will not want to pour out billions on billions of dollars to uphold the hand of venal, completely, and utterly corrupt war lords in China. And what is more—the American people do not want the Senate to vote for a policy of American imperialism and exploitation throughout the world nor for intervention in every family quarrel and civil war all over the world. But these things are the substance of the Truman doctrine.

Mr. Walter Lippmann, writing on the subject of bypassing of the UN, stated:

If the pattern of our conduct in this affair becomes a precedent, we shall have cut a hole in the Charter which it will be very difficult to repair. The President has told us, quite rightly, that the "seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife." Suppose we cannot all around the world relieve quickly enough the misery and the want. Suppose that in Greece later, or in some other wracked and hungry land, there comes into power by elections like those in Greece a government of the extreme left, dominated by the Communists. That could happen. It could happen elsewhere in Europe, in Asia, or even in an American republic.

What happens then if that government calls upon the Soviet Union for aid, asks it to equip and train its army, to supervise its budget, to plan and direct its economy? What under the "Truman doctrine" do we do if the Soviet government says there is an emergency, that it has been invited to intervene, that the United Nations is not in position to extend the kind of help required?

I call attention to Mr. Lippmann's statement "It could happen elsewhere in Europe, in Asia, or even in an American Republic."

It is begging the question to say we are not intervening in a civil war. Mr. Lippmann in the same article puts it very bluntly. He says:

The official picture of what we are getting into in Greece has been softened and simplified. The emphasis has been put on the need of the Greeks, the dire results of not helping them, and the benevolent and innocuous character of our assistance. This picture needs to be supplemented by a full realization that we are intervening in a civil war, that we shall be responsible for the Greek Army, not only its training and equipment but its strategy and tactics, that since our financial assistance is measured to balance the Greek budget, we shall become responsible for the whole operation of the Greek Government.

Mr. Lippmann cautions that we need "a full realization that we are intervening in a civil war, and that we shall be responsible for the Greek Army." Mr. Lippmann goes on to point out that the Greek and Turkish situations have been international problems for over 100 years and that the imperialists of Britain and France have interfered in Greece times without end just as we now propose to do. I quote Mr. Lippmann again:

Now, the Government of Greece has been a European problem ever since the country was liberated from Turkey in 1829 by the combined intervention of Britain, France, and Russia. Never for long has Greece not been an international problem, and while we may be able to succeed where so many others have failed, it is, I believe, extremely unwise on our part to accept the sole responsibility. The British Government, which has dealt with Greek affairs for over a century, has failed and has suffered great moral injury.

Fools tread where the wise hesitate to go.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point, as a part of my remarks an article entitled "Cripps Says Nation Needs a New Loan," by Herbert L. Matthews, published in the New York Times of March 30.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRIPPS SAYS NATION NEEDS A NEW LOAN—£350,000,000 MORE MUST BE BORROWED, BRITON DECLARES—SEES A CUT IN FOOD

(By Herbert L. Matthews)

LONDON, March 29.—Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the board of trade, lived up to his reputation for plain talking today. He told workers that there was going to be a cut in the clothing ration, that food imports could not be increased, and that workers were not yet experienced enough to become managers.

He declared that Government had calculated it would have to borrow £350,000,000 abroad this year. "That is the amount by which we cannot balance our payments by exports," he said.

Textile mills have been turning out only one-third of their potential production in the past 2 months, he said, whereas even the meager clothing ration had been based on full production.

There were groans from the audience when he talked about clothes coupons, but he repeated that there just was not the yarn for spinning and that manpower was very inadequate.

On food, he intimated that the United States was partly responsible.

"We wish we could afford more food imports," he said, "but we have not got the dollars with which to get them, and unfortunately food prices in America have risen by 30 percent. That means the dollar loan is less valuable than we calculated it would be when we got it from America."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. We should not evade, soften, obscure, or in any way disguise what the President actually has proposed to the Senate. He has proposed a new policy of American intervention and interference in the civil affairs of every nation throughout the world on a unilateral basis whenever we choose to do so—a policy of intervention economically, politically, and militarily.

In his message to Congress the President stated in a somewhat indirect manner that our security was at stake unless the new policy which he advocates is followed.

The radio-press-political commentators describe the Truman doctrine as a policy to encircle Russia and oppose her in every single point everywhere in the world. Imagine tens of billions of dollars of American money and millions of American troops flowing endlessly to each of those critical points over the next period of years. It will be no simple matter to encompass the Soviet Union and her satellite nations by pressure, by manipulation, by armed warfare everywhere.

To me the policy means that we declare war upon every liberal or revolutionary movement anywhere in the world that may be struggling against old forms of oppression and exploitation. Thus in spite of the President's specific observation to the contrary, the status quo does become sacred. If this policy is logically adhered to, it requires that we engage from now henceforth in economic and political warfare with Russia everywhere in the world. It is an undeclared declaration of war against her.

If the British should say to us: Either the United States must come to our res-

cue and maintain the British Empire on our terms or else we will turn to the Russians, what is to be our policy? A few days ago Mr. Stafford Cripps, president of the Board of Trade, stated to a Labor Party rally that his Government had calculated that it would have to borrow £350,000,000 abroad this year.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the New York Times report of this speech on March 30:

Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the Board of Trade, lived up to his reputation for plain talking today. He told workers that there was going to be a cut in the clothing ration, that food imports could not be increased, and that workers were not yet experienced enough to become managers.

He declared the Government had calculated it would have to borrow £350,000,000 sterling abroad this year. "That is the amount by which we cannot balance our payments by exports," he said.

Textile mills have been turning out only one-third of their potential production in the past 2 months, he said, whereas even the meager clothing ration had been based on full production.

There were groans from the audience when he talked about clothes coupons, but he repeated that there just was not the yarn for spinning and that manpower was very inadequate.

On food, he intimated that the United States was partly responsible.

"We wish we could afford more food imports," he said, "but we have not got the dollars with which to get them and unfortunately food prices in America have risen by 30 percent. That means the dollar loan is less valuable than we calculated it would be when we got it from America."

Where, Mr. President, do the British expect to get \$1,000,000,000—from us? From Russia?

The British have promised to the Indian people that India will become independent in the year 1948. What does that imply? Suppose that civil war breaks out all over India. Thousands of people have been killed in religious civil wars in India in the past 2 years. Suppose, Mr. President, that Mr. Pandit Nehru, a very liberal thinker—perhaps even a Socialist—becomes the head of a new Indian government, what will be our policy economically and politically toward India? Do we stand ready to bolster by economic, political, and military means the British Empire everywhere in the world? Suppose, Mr. President, that we do bolster the British Empire. Suppose that we pour another \$31,000,000,000 to the British as we did under lend-lease between 1941–1946 and then we discover that the workers of Britain and the people of Britain are determined to institute socialism or communism throughout the British Isles and throughout the British Empire—what will be our policy?

Mr. President, let us go a step further and examine the situation in France. In the opinion of all observers, France has a government which today is a radical left-wing government. We have poured into France since VE-day roughly \$2,500,000,000 in aid; yet this has not prevented the French people from moving to the left. Suppose, Mr. President, that a civil war were to break out in France within the next year—what will be the policy of our government? Will we undertake to supply modern arms in

unlimited quantities to those groups in France who might oppose the present left-wing government?

France today has a mutual defense pact with the Soviet Union. If the Truman doctrine, as I interpret it, is an undeclared declaration of war, what are its implications in respect to France? I trust that the Senate has enough courage and enough information to consider logically what this policy means in respect to China—a nation which has been in constant turmoil and civil conflict ever since the turn of the twentieth century. Today in China two massive social forces are engaged in conflict to the death for control of the political and economic life of 400,000,000 people. Since VJ-day, we have poured in China anywhere from 1.7 billions of dollars to 3 billions of dollars in aid and equipment, depending upon what statistician is playing with the figures. That aid has gone primarily to the Chiang Kai-shek government, a dictatorial government having the support of feudal war lords whose venality and corruption is one of the seven wonders of our modern world. Opposed to them are the Chinese Communists whose formula for existence is very simple—they move into an area—they kill the large land owners and military war lords—they parcel out the land among peasants and then they put a gun in the hand of the peasant and tell him to defend his land. After thousands of years of oppression and exploitation, the Chinese peasant finds that he not only possesses a gun but he has the duty to fight for land which is now his. How in God's name is it possible to stop such a ruthless social movement of high-handed banditry by supporting corrupt war lords? And yet, if this bill passes, it will be our policy to attempt to do this impossible and repugnant thing.

If the Vandenberg bill is adopted, it will be logical to intervene much more actively in China than we are at present. Instead of \$3,000,000,000 which we have kissed good-bye in the past 2 or 3 years, we will have to budget four or five—perhaps ten—billions a year to maintain the present government in that vast area. Senators ask, if we are to fight the Communists in Greece, why do not we fight them in China? It becomes necessary if this policy of world-wide intervention is to be adopted that we estimate what it will cost—ten billions a year—twenty billions a year—thirty billions a year—and for how long. It behooves us to remember that the American national debt is now more than two hundred and sixty billions. It is also pertinent to mention that between March 1941 and September 30, 1946, we expended over \$50,000,000,000 in lend-lease. Since VJ-day we have expended actually \$16,000,000,000 as reported by the senior Senator from Arkansas, JOHN McCLELLAN, on this floor a few days ago. For example, to UNRRA we have given two and seven-tenths billions; to the International Monetary Fund we have pledged two and seventy-five one-hundredths billions; to the International Bank three and one-tenth billions; in loans and credits to the United Kingdom four and six-tenths billions; to France two and five-tenths billions; three hundred million to Italy; six hundred mil-

lion to Holland; six hundred and sixty million in outright gifts to the Philippines. Even Turkey has received gifts amounting to fifty and sixty millions since VJ-day; Belgium one hundred and seventy-five; Greece seventy; Finland one hundred and ninety-nine—everywhere in the world. Mr. President, as a part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point an article by Mr. Bertram D. Hulén from the Sunday New York Times of March 30, entitled "Twenty Billion Dollars Paid for Postwar Aid."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY BILLION DOLLARS PAID FOR POSTWAR AID—THAT IS THE COST SO FAR OF OUR HELP TO OTHER NATIONS, AND THE AMOUNT IS BOUND TO INCREASE

(By Bertram D. Hulén)

WASHINGTON, March 29.—The Truman doctrine of providing assistance for free nations that are in imminent danger of succumbing to Communist pressure has thrown into high relief our entire program of foreign assistance since the cessation of hostilities.

While precise figures are not yet available in exact amounts down to the last dollar, the round estimate is made that the total of such payments since the end of the war is approximately \$20,000,000,000. This probably will not be found far off from the final, official figure that is arrived at through the present study.

Admittedly, \$20,000,000,000 is a sizable figure. It approaches the total of our debt as a result of our participation in World War I, even though it is only a fraction of the debt produced by World War II.

As matters stand the budget for the fiscal year 1948 that will begin on July 1, 1947, calls for appropriations of nearly \$3,500,000,000 for the several purposes covered in our foreign programs.

This figure, of course, does not include the requests made by President Truman for aid to Greece and Turkey. He has asked for \$400,000,000 for them and in circumstances that do not necessarily mean that this will be all as the program of assistance proceeds.

ESTIMATE IS UNCERTAIN

The approximate estimates that are thus far available include not only actual expenditures but also commitments and funds that have been earmarked for specific purposes, all covering foreign financing, relief and rehabilitation, credit, supplies and, in general, the many aspects of our far-flung activities.

Of the major items, the British loan amounts to \$3,750,000,000. Our contributions to the International World Bank call for outlays of \$3,175,000,000 and to the International Monetary Fund of \$2,750,000,000.

We increased the capital of the Export-Import Bank after hostilities by \$2,800,000,000 to \$3,500,000,000, practically all of which has been expended or earmarked so that the bank is scraping the bottom of the barrel.

The cost to us of winding up lend-lease, of emptying the pipe line after hostilities, is placed at \$1,200,000,000. But \$700,000,000 should be added to this sum in the calculations because of an authorization to China after VJ-day in that amount as regular wartime lend-lease.

Surplus property disposals are estimated to have cost us over \$5,000,000,000. Goods valued after deterioration at \$7,200,000,000 have brought a return of only \$1,700,000,000. Yet it is not considered fair to place this in the rank of outright contributions, since the sales represented a liquidation operation.

OCCUPATION COSTS

Similarly, the costs of our armies of occupation are so involved in the set-up of the

regular Military Establishments that it is difficult to arrive at a true figure in terms of net outlay. But our officials have not liked pouring \$200,000,000 in Germany on this account and for relief every year.

Outlays for the Maritime Commission are placed at a net of \$107,000,000 since the war. Expenditures in behalf of the Philippines involve \$700,000,000 for war damages, rehabilitation, surplus materials, and budget purposes.

The budget recommendations for the fiscal year 1948 contemplated \$730,000,000 in Export-Import Bank loans, \$1,200,000,000 in further withdrawals by the British from their loan, \$650,000,000 for costs of occupation, \$555,000,000 for the UNRRA and relief purposes, \$137,000,000 for rehabilitation and other purposes in the Philippines, \$40,000,000 on an old RFC loan to the United Kingdom, and \$12,000,000 for the lend-lease pipe line.

Now to these are to be added the costs on behalf of Greece, Turkey, Korea, and perhaps other countries.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Between now and 1950 what is to be the budget for the new doctrine? Is it thirty or fifty billions? Where does this policy of pouring out billions on billions end? What good purpose does it serve? If we were to extend a billion dollars to Korea in the next year, will it do any good? If we put out one-half billion a year for Hungary and Austria, what will be the practical results? If we pour three billions or five billions a year into China, will it prevent a peasant with a gun in his hand fighting for land which is not his? What will the policy of intervention everywhere in the world in every civil and political conflict cost us?

Mr. President, Mr. Walter Lippmann has discussed this subject in his column Today and Tomorrow appearing in the New York Herald Tribune under the title "Policy or Crusade?" Permit me to quote the conclusion of his searching observation. He accurately describes the Truman doctrine as a crusade:

A vague global policy, which sounds like a tocsin of an ideological crusade, has no limits. It cannot be controlled. Its effects cannot be predicted. Everyone everywhere will read into it his own fears and hopes, and it could readily act as incitement and inducement to civil strife in countries where the national cooperation of parties is delicate and precarious.

Mr. Lippmann suggests that such a policy might very well act as an incitement and inducement to civil strife. This policy may create the very condition that it seeks to stop. So then, I ask again, Mr. President, what does the policy cost and let us be frank enough and blunt enough to acknowledge that this policy, if it is adhered to logically, will cost the American people from ten to twenty billions of dollars per year. And if it is not to be followed, consistently and vigorously why adopt it?

I wish that the Senate would recall what happened following World War I. We poured billions of dollars into foreign investments and loans for several years, and then when we began to realize that these debts could not be paid back, our investments ceased; and when they ceased, our foreign markets evaporated; and as our foreign markets vanished, industry faltered and the boom burst. The days of October 1929 are still fresh in the memory of the American people.

This new policy of reckless spending is certain to end in another 1929.

A long time ago we discovered that an economy geared to economic war could maintain employment but at the expense of our own living standards through the media of inflation. We are now engaged in an economic warfare which is devouring American resources just as surely as the war against Hitler's Fascism devoured those resources during the past 6 years.

Our declared policy prior to March 12, 1947, has been a policy of peace and adherence to and support for the United Nations. That agency, representing as it does the conscience of all mankind and the sovereign authority of 50 or more nations, has taken hold of the imagination and hopes of the American people.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. WHITE. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

George W. Foltz, of Alaska, to be United States district judge for division No. 1, District of Alaska, vice George F. Alexander, term expired; and

Charles Lee Spillers, of West Virginia, to be United States attorney for the northern district of West Virginia, vice Joe V. Gibson, deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the calendar.

UNITED NATIONS

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Warren R. Austin, of Vermont, to be Representative of the United States of America to the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Herschel V. Johnson, of North Carolina, to be alternate representative of the United States of America to the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

That concludes the calendar.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President may be notified immediately of the action of the Senate with respect to these nominations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. HATCH. I ask what happened to Order No. 106 on the executive calendar, the nomination of Gordon R. Clapp of Tennessee to be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The nomination was not stated.

Mr. HATCH. Why not?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The nomination has gone over from day to day, and for that reason it was passed over as of today.

Mr. HATCH. I suggest the nomination of Gordon R. Clapp on the calendar be stated. If there is any objection I shall not raise any question about it. I suggest, however, that the nomination be stated.

Mr. STEWART. I certainly shall object.

Mr. WHITE. I hope the Senator will not insist on the nomination being stated.

Mr. HATCH. I withdraw my request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The request has been withdrawn.

DEATH OF REPRESENTATIVE NORMAN, OF WASHINGTON

The Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a resolution coming over from the House of Representatives (H. Res. 189) which was read, as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. FRED NORMAN, a Representative from the State of Washington.

Resolved, That a committee of four Members of the House with such Members of the Senate as may be joined be appointed to attend the funeral.

Resolved, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provision of these resolutions and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect the House do now adjourn.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, I offer a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution submitted by the Senator from Washington will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 106) was read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. FRED NORMAN, late a Representative from the State of Washington.

Resolved, That a committee of two Senators be appointed by the President pro tem-

pore of the Senate to join the committee appointed on the part of the House of Representatives to attend the funeral of the deceased Representative.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the second resolving clause, the Chair appoints as the committee to represent the Senate at the funeral of the deceased Member of the House of Representatives the senior and junior Senators from the State of Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON and Mr. CAIN].

RECESS

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, as a further remark of respect to the memory of the deceased Representative, I move that the Senate take a recess until 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 6 o'clock and 21 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 22, 1947, at 11 o'clock a. m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate, April 21, 1947:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

William Bruce Lockling, of Arizona, for appointment as a Foreign Service officer of class 3, a consul, and a secretary in the diplomatic service of the United States of America.

The following-named persons for appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 4, consuls, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Clarence Boonstra, of Louisiana.

Willard O. Brown, of Texas.

Joseph L. Dougherty, of Iowa.

Hugh D. Farley, of Virginia.

John C. Payne, of New York.

Edward J. Rowell, of California.

The following-named persons for appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 5, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Wymberley DeR. Coerr, of Connecticut.

Charles Robert Moore, of Washington.

H. André Weismann, of New York.

The following-named persons for appointment as Foreign Service officers of class 6, vice consuls of careers, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America:

Arthur B. Allen, of the District of Columbia.

John A. Armitage, of Tennessee.

Denis A. Baumhover, of Iowa.

William B. Cobb, Jr., of North Carolina.

Richard T. Davies, of New York.

Lambert John Eichner, Jr., of New York.

Baird E. Emmons, of California.

John Calvin Hill, Jr., of South Carolina.

Elmer C. Hulen, of Kentucky.

John A. McKesson 3d, of New York.

Paul M. Miller, of Maryland.

Miss Susannah Mirick, of Massachusetts.

B. Frank Poe, Jr., of South Carolina.

Wells Stabler, of the District of Columbia.

APPOINTMENTS, BY TRANSFER, IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

TO ADJUTANT GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Capt. Joseph Stephen Magrath, Jr., Finance Department (temporary major), with rank from January 15, 1947.

TO JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

Lt. Col. Eugene Mead Caffey, Corps of Engineers (temporary colonel), with rank from August 4, 1942.

TO QUARTERMASTER CORPS

Capt. Frank Arthur Bogart, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from June 11 1941.

TO CORPS OF ENGINEERS

First Lt. Robert Howard Allan, Infantry, with rank from January 12, 1947.

TO SIGNAL CORPS

Maj. Frank Glover Trew, Cavalry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1941.

TO INFANTRY

Capt. Donald Kenneth Hughes, Field Artillery (temporary major), with rank from November 30, 1941.

TO AIR CORPS

Maj. William Frank Steer, Infantry (temporary colonel), with rank from June 12, 1942.

Maj. Richard David Wentworth, Field Artillery (temporary colonel), with rank from June 13, 1946.

Capt. George Lovelace Poor, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from July 31, 1944.

Capt. Jack Emmert Wert, Quartermaster Corps (temporary major), with rank from February 1, 1944.

First Lt. John Robert Blunk, Quartermaster Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 7, 1947.

First Lt. Nolan Edward Burch, Infantry, with rank from August 30, 1946.

First Lt. Andrew Lacock Cox, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from February 20, 1945.

First Lt. Roy Arthur Dix, Coast Artillery Corps, with rank from January 7, 1947.

First Lt. Neil James Graham, Field Artillery (temporary captain), with rank from January 4, 1947.

First Lt. James Porter King, Finance Department, with rank from March 11, 1944.

First Lt. Francis Carmel Lozito, Chemical Corps, with rank from January 7, 1947.

First Lt. Henry Bailey McDaniel, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain), with rank from January 7, 1947.

First Lt. Marvin Leroy Wells Peters, Infantry, with rank from January 6, 1947.

First Lt. James Hiram Phifer, Jr., Pharmacy Corps, with rank from September 24, 1946.

First Lt. Charles Ernest Tychsen, Signal Corps, with rank from November 13, 1946.

First Lt. Arthur Brown Van Buskirk, Quartermaster Corps (temporary major), with rank from February 10, 1941.

First Lt. Thomas Renan Waddleton, Quartermaster Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel), with rank from December 7, 1944.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate April 21, 1947:

UNITED NATIONS

Warren R. Austin to be the representative of the United States of America to the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Herschel V. Johnson to be the alternate representative of the United States of America to the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

productive ownership can be frustrated in other ways than by nationalization.

Different degrees of concentration are required for rational and efficient production in various industries. Railroads are hardly a family-sized project, nor are some of our manufacturing and service industries. But agriculture has long been and can remain a family-type enterprise. Periodically in the world's history it is menaced by the commercial collectivists, who threaten to overthrow the family-farm pattern and proceed to reduce as many farmers as possible to the status of underpaid, propertyless wage-slaves who till the broad acres of prosperous landowners.

Europe and Latin America, as well as Asia, have seen much of their land thus concentrated in earlier generations. This concentration, combined with under-industrialization and lack of technical know-how, contributed materially to the pauperization of the peasants. Let those who can read look at the record. When it comes to land and its tilling, the threat to private property and the family comes as much from selfish landholders as it does from government ownership. Lenin knew this well, and opportunistically exploited the grievances of the dispossessed in persuading peasants to the Revolution.

History is repeating itself in the Central Valley of California, as elsewhere throughout the West. The article of Bishop Armstrong of Sacramento in this issue tells the story. Land monopolies grow and the ranks of the migrant agricultural workers are swelled as farms of thousands of acres come to depend upon cheap labor.

To prevent just such abuses our Government in the nineteenth century put acreage restrictions on homestead projects. Later, with the passage of the Reclamation Acts in this century, ownership limitations were laid down as conditions for participation in the benefits of irrigation. When the Central Valley irrigation project was planned in the thirties such limitations were included.

Today the owners of our native latifundia are displeased that they cannot get cheap government irrigation water for limitless acres. Through Senate bill 66 (introduced by Senator DOWNEY) they would have all "excess land provisions" made inapplicable. In House bill 655 (introduced by Representative ELLIOTT) we read: "No benefit of the Federal reclamation laws shall ever be denied because of the size of any holding of private lands within or served by said projects." Was land greed ever more blatant in denying to the Government its right and duty to regulate ownership of private property for the common good?"

The So-Called Truman Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. BRIEN McMAHON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an address on the subject The So-Called Truman Doctrine, by a distinguished citizen of my State, Alfred Baker Lewis.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The policy of giving effective aid to Greece and Turkey so as to enable them to resist aggression is one that true liberals and peace lovers should support.

We should, in my opinion, aid democratic nations if we can afford it even when they are not the victims of aggression. But in the case of nations faced with the fact or the threat of aggression, I do not believe that the test of democracy should apply.

In regard to Greece, where the Communists are in revolt against the Greek Government, the EAM was part of the coalition government which welcomed the British troops when they first landed in Greece. About that time the Bulgarian Government, which had been at war with England and America but not with Russia, surrendered to us. This did not please the Russians so they declared war on Bulgaria, and since their armies were at the border of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian Government which had surrendered to us was overthrown and replaced by a Communist-dominated government, which surrendered to Russia. This Communist-controlled government, a Russian puppet, then made demands on Greece for Greek territory including Salonika, bordering the northern shores of the Aegean Sea.

The discipline and in fact the very reason for existence of Communist Parties is to follow and support Russia's foreign policy, as I showed in detail in my pamphlet on Liberalism and Sovietism. Consequently, the Greek Communists had to support the demands of the Bulgarians for Greek territory. Now the Bulgarians were hated by the Greeks because Bulgaria had helped the Nazis, the Greek Communists knew that no Greek government except one completely controlled by them would surrender Greek territory to Bulgaria. They therefore withdrew from the coalition government and started a revolt against it to seize complete control of it by force. This revolt was put down with the aid of British troops.

Since then the Communist bands have been suppressed everywhere in Greece except in the northern part, where they slip across the border into Greece's Communist-controlled neighbors' territory and they get protection, more arms and equipment, and possibly reinforcements, and come back to fight again. Thus Greece is the victim of aggression by Communists, Greek and foreign, seeking to dismember her on behalf of a foreign government controlled by Communists.

The Communists obviously hope that the attacks of these bands will help to prevent Greece's economic recovery long enough so that the desperate Greek people will turn to communism unless help comes from us.

In the case of Turkey, Russia denounced her friendship pact with Turkey and then made demands for surrender of the Turkish territory known as Kars and Ardahan, and also demanded military control of the Dardanelles, although her ships are now guaranteed full use of the Dardanelles in peacetime by treaty, and the same treaty closes the Dardanelles to warships of all powers during war. Russia also insisted when making these demands that the matter be settled by direct negotiations between Russia and Turkey.

Thus Turkey is faced with the threat, though not yet with the fact, of aggression, and has mobilized her army to prevent a Russian sneak attack against her such as was made by Russia on Finland.

Frankly, I think genuine liberals should end the double standard of morality which totalitarian liberals so often apply in dealing with Russian foreign policy. If the United States, for example, demanded from Mexico the parts of her territory bordering our country plus control of the Tehuantepec Peninsula so that we could dig a canal from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific and greatly shorten the present distance from our east to our west coast through the Panama Canal, every liberal would denounce such American imperialist aggression. Russia has done a precisely comparable thing in the case of Turkey, yet the totalitarian liberals object not to Russia's demands but to Turkey's resistance to them.

If the United States Government, on behalf of the oil companies which hold the so-called Barco concession in Columbia, took over the government of Columbia and then our puppet Columbian Government demanded from Venezuela the surrender of part of her territory, that would be analogous to what is being done to Greece by Russia. Genuine liberals would certainly denounce our Government in that case. But when Russia makes, through her puppet, Bulgaria, similar demands on Greece, the totalitarian liberals denounce the Greek Government, not Russian imperialism. I submit that that is a clear case of a double standard of morality. I believe we should judge a totalitarian dictatorship like Russia as harshly and as gently as we would judge our own Government in similar circumstances.

Surely it is not right to claim that only those nations which are democracies are entitled to freedom from fear of attack. Russia is certainly entitled to freedom from fear of attack, in my opinion, although she is not democratic. When Poland was attacked, those of us who were not isolationists denounced the Nazis for attacking and praised the British for supporting the Poles, regardless of whether Poland was at that time a real democracy. Genuine liberals were opposed to Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia, although Ethiopia was not a democracy; and were also opposed to Axis attack on Greece, although the Greek Government was an iron-clad dictatorship. We opposed the Nazis' attack on Russia and gave her lend-lease aid, although Russia is a dictatorship. If we are ever going to have a warless world, aggression must be opposed and stopped because it is aggression, just as we would not justify A in maiming B because B was accused of shady financial dealings.

As a matter of fact, the best way to make a nondemocratic nation democratic is to make it free from the fear of foreign attack, for often the denial of democracy is due to the attempt to gird a nation against a foreign aggression. In the case of Greece the Government is certainly not democratic, but it is far more democratic than the totalitarian dictatorship of Communist Russia. Communist papers are being published in Greece and a parliamentary opposition exists and speaks up. The EAM was urged to participate in the election which resulted in the Greek Government. Strikes have taken place under the present Government, including a successful strike of civil servants, which means that Greece is less totalitarian than New York State, where such strikes today are forbidden by law.

There is evidence that the process of further democratizing the Greek Government has begun. The Greek Premier Tsaldaris has officially offered amnesty to the EAM if they will lay down their arms, with a new election to be held if necessary under international supervision, after a reasonable period, plus the use of Salonika as a free port by Greece's Communist neighbors. This seems to me a reasonable and statesmanlike proposal.

Instead of bypassing the United Nations by our proposing aid to Greece and Turkey, we are supplementing the UN in a situation where it cannot act. The ultimate purpose of the UN is to prevent aggression and war. But as it is at present constituted, the UN is unable to prevent aggressive war when committed or threatened by any member of the Big Five or any ally of the Big Five because of the veto in the Security Council. The UN could not prevent our attacking Mexico, for example, if we had a Government which was imperialist enough to do that, because any action against us by the Security Council would be vetoed by such an American Government. This veto as insisted on by Russia and agreed to rather reluctantly by Roosevelt probably because he thought that it should and could be removed after a while and because having it in the Charter would avoid opposition by one-third of the Senate to rat-

ification of the United Nations Charter. But the veto makes the UN useless in preventing certain kinds of aggression.

The policy which the ADA favors is to strengthen the UN so that it can provide economic aid where needed, which it cannot, in fact, do now, and also prevent all aggression, and meanwhile have the United States act to prevent aggression where the UN is powerless because the aggressor is a nation possessing a veto or a puppet or ally of such a nation.

Needless to say, public opinion cannot be relied on to prevent aggression by a totalitarian dictatorship such as Russia because public opinion cannot function inside Russia and world opinion cannot reach the Russian masses. Their Government may, if it wishes, tell them, without contradiction, that Russia is in danger of attack by Turkey and Greece, just as they were told that Finland was about to attack them, and were told that England and France were the aggressors in the war against the Nazis. (This was the official opinion of the Russian Government at the time, as propounded by Molotov and repeated by the Communist Parties throughout the world.)

In any case, any charge that the proposed Greek and Turkish policy bypasses the UN is answered fully by the Vandenberg amendment, which, I understand, has been accepted substantially by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to the effect that the UN by a majority vote may take over aid to Greece and Turkey and stop unilateral American aid.

What the so-called Truman doctrine amounts to is an end to appeasement of totalitarian aggression. We are not proposing to oppose Communist influence on governments such as France where the influence is the result of free elections. We are opposing aggression, and that means opposing communism, only because and insofar as the Russian Communist dictatorship and its satellites are guilty of aggression. Naturally, there are dangers to peace in such policy, for peace is not easy to achieve with any totalitarian dictatorship, since the foreign policy of such a government is independent of any internal opposition. We know from experience with the Nazis that appeasement of a totalitarian dictatorship certainly leads to war. A policy of firmness which will stop aggression before it snowballs into a world war offers a very much better chance of lasting peace. We can then work out reasonable relations with Russia on the basis of security for her neighbors, as well as for her, if we recognize the principle that nondemocratic countries also are entitled to freedom from the fear of aggression.

The Italian Peace Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRIEN McMAHON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix an advertisement entitled "Why We Are Opposed to the Ratification of the Italian Peace Treaty," which appeared in the Washington Post on April 16 last.

There being no objection, the advertisement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE ITALIAN PEACE TREATY

The proposed Italian peace treaty shortly coming up for ratification in the Senate does not square with our new policy toward Greece and Turkey. It renders helpless before aggression the country with the third largest population in Europe; the country with the most strategic position in southern Europe. Who controls Italy controls the Mediterranean.

DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO TRY TO SAVE GREECE AND TURKEY FROM COMMUNIST INFILTRATION AND AGGRESSION WHILE WE LEAVE ITALY TO ITS MERCY?

The treaty is already obsolete because it was negotiated when we were still trying to appease Stalin, before the Truman doctrine was announced, before America was fully aroused to the totalitarian danger. Former Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle, Jr., says:

"The only certainty resulting from immediate ratification of this treaty would be that Italy would be disarmed, that American and British troops would be withdrawn; that a disarmed Italy and Adriatic would be left facing Yugoslavia with an army estimated at 600,000 men, maintained at war strength, and backed by a militarist Government which has proclaimed its desire to seize more Italian territory and dominate or, if possible, annex the proposed free territory of Trieste; and to strengthen its position in the Adriatic and the Balkans by every possible means, including use of force short of war.

"It follows that the wise and prudent course, in the point of view of the United States (and, I think, of the rest of Europe), would be to delay ratification of this treaty until we know with reasonable clearness, what else is going to happen."

AMERICA WILL PAY ITALY'S REPARATIONS

The treaty makes a nearly bankrupt Italy agree to pay \$365,000,000 in reparations. Italy cannot pay this unless the United States puts up most of the money.

The treaty gives Tito's Communist government all but one of Italy's coal mines.

The treaty also give to Tito all of Italy's bauxite mines in Istria and nearly all of the great hydroelectric plants developed by Italy in Istria since the last world war.

Secretary Byrnes admitted that the treaty was a compromise, unsatisfactory in several respects.

The American delegation went to Paris with a proposal for a boundary line between Italy and Yugoslavia based on an attempt to leave the smallest number of Italians under Yugoslav control and vice versa, but Tito, with the help of his Russian masters, got what he wanted.

Trieste and the area internationalized by the proposed treaty are admitted by both sides to be overwhelmingly Italian in population.

ITALY DESERVES BETTER AT OUR HANDS THAN THIS TREATY

Did you know:

That more than 100,000 Italian partisans died fighting against the Germans?

That both Field Marshal Alexander and our own Gen. Mark Clark called the Italian resistance movement, the partisans, "the most effective in Europe"?

That the Italian resistance, and the six regular divisions which went into combat on our side, saved many thousands of American and British lives?

That since the Italian armistice in September 1943 Italian casualties in the common cause exceeded the combined casualties of the American and British Armies in Italy?

That the overwhelming majority of Italians were on our side when it was dangerous to be so? That at the risk of their lives they protected tens of thousands of escaped Allied prisoners of war through their powerful underground movement?

That all the members of the present Italian Government were anti-Fascist when to be so meant financial ruin, risk of prison or death, or exile?

WHAT KIND OF A WORLD ARE WE BUILDING FOR OUR CHILDREN?

The United States is working for a world based on justice. How are we removing the causes of war and fascism if the peace treaties are to follow the pattern of this treaty based on looting the weak and dividing the spoils, without regard for the right of all peoples to decent standards of living, equitable access to natural resources, emigration or elimination of economic monopolies?

MEN AND NATIONS PAY, IN THE END, IF THEY FORGET THE THING CALLED MORAL RIGHTEOUS- NESS: IF THEY SELL OUT JUSTICE FOR EX- PEDIENCY

It is crystal clear, now, that the Italian treaty which sacrificed justice for a supposed expediency, failed even to achieve expediency, and has instead become a grave threat to our country's own interest. It is not too late to avoid the danger and dishonor which a hasty ratification of this treaty will involve. Under our Constitution the Senate has the final word. It will heed the voice of the American people. Write or wire Senator VANDENBERG, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and your own Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. Urge them not to ratify these treaties before the pattern of the European peace has been set, before the German and Austrian treaties have been negotiated or before every effort has been made to renegotiate more just and more workable treaty terms. Meanwhile, let Congress by appropriate resolution declare officially the end of the war with Italy, and pass such special legislation as may be necessary, as was done in the case of Germany after World War I.

Committee for a Just Peace With Italy, Inc., New York, N. Y.; Charles Poletti, Chairman of General Committee; Edward Corsi, Chairman of Executive Committee; John B. Salterini, Treasurer; John J. Lamula, National Organizer; Joseph Di Fede, Executive Secretary; Prof. Paul Shipman Andrews, Rev. Robert W. Anthony, Luigi Antonini, George Baldanzl, Roger N. Baldwin, Harry Lorin Binsse, Dr. L. M. Birkhead, Msgr. John P. Boland, Ray Brock, James Burnham, Philip Burnham, George Creel, Frank R. Crosswaith, Mrs. Carl Doelger, The Reverend Vincent Donovan, O. P., Christopher Emmet, George Field, Henry P. Fletcher, Judge Felix Forte, Varian Fry, the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S. J., Harry D. Gideonse, Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Joseph C. Grew, Prof. Ross J. S. Hoffman, Prof. Sidney Hook, Prof. Horace M. Kallen, Councilman Chas. E. Keegan, the Reverend Wm. C. Kernan, Christopher LaFarge, Roger K. Larkin, Mrs. Wales Latham, Samuel Levitas, Eugene Lyons, Clare Boothe Luce, Prof. Robert M. MacIver, Walter Mansfield, Reuben H. Markham, Col. Robert P. Marshall, David Martin, Edgar Ansel Mowrer, Prof. Maurice Newfeld, Liston M. Oak, Gov. John O. Pastore, Judge Ferdinand Pecora, Vincent Sheenan, Wm. Philip Simms, Sterling Spero, Chauncey Stillman, Benjamin Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Dorothy Thompson, Frank Trager, Judge Matthew J. Troy, James N. Vaughan, Oswald Garrison Villard, Robert J. Watt, William L. White, Samuel Wolchak, Bertram D. Wolfe.

eral assistance to any needy person as well as for old-age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children; (4) for Federal financial participation in the costs of medical services made available to needy persons under State public assistance programs and in assistance payments to needy sick persons who reside in public or private medical institutions other than mental hospitals and tuberculosis sanitarium; (5) for Federal grants-in-aid or other appropriate provision of Federal aid to States in providing foster family home care for children in accordance with their individual needs; (6) for Federal financial participation in the administration of general assistance, including such welfare services as the States provide through the staff of the public welfare agency to help persons become self-supporting or avoid becoming dependent, and to contribute to their general welfare.

Adopted by house March 13, 1947.

JOHN H. HALL,
Speaker of House.

Adopted by senate March 28, 1947.

M. E. CORNETT,
President of Senate.

House Joint Memorial 19

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent and petition as follows:

Whereas the processing and marketing of crab meat is an important industry of the Pacific coast States and Alaska that is capable of supplying the needs of the United States for such product, if given a fair opportunity so to do; and

Whereas the importation of foreign crab meat has hampered the development of this industry and will, if unrestricted, seriously curtail and impede the growth and development of an important industry of the Pacific coast States and Alaska: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Oregon (the Senate jointly concurring therein), That the Congress of the United States be, and it hereby is, memorialized to enact legislation reasonably restricting the importation into the United States of foreign crab meat, and defining that term to include not only crab meat produced in foreign waters, but also crab meat produced, processed, canned, marketed, or distributed by foreign nationals outside the United States and Alaska; be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of state of the State of Oregon be, and he hereby is, directed to send copies of this memorial to the President of the United States, to the President and the Chief Clerk of the United States Senate, to the Speaker and the Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Member of Congress from the State of Oregon.

Adopted by house, March 15, 1947.

Readopted by house, March 29, 1947.

JOHN H. HALL,
Speaker of House.

Adopted by senate, March 29, 1947.

M. E. CORNETT,
President of Senate.

Divided Loyalties

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. TOM STEWART

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. STEWART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD a very fine editorial entitled "Divided Loyalties."

This editorial appeared in the Chattanooga News-Free Press of April 7, 1947. The editorial is well worth the reading of every person who enjoys the freedom and liberty of our American democracy.

Specifically, the editorial refers to a protest made by Americans of Armenian extraction against President Truman's plan to aid Turkey in the stop-communism program, and, as the editorial points out, such a protest on the part of these Armenian Americans is a reminder that all too often immigrant groups in this country are prone to put bitter hatreds and other prejudices that they and their forebears brought with them from the Old World ahead of the welfare of the United States.

Mr. President, regardless of the matter of lending money to Turkey, Greece, or any other nation, the chief consideration for doing such a thing should be the welfare and the security of our democratic form of government and of our people, the citizens of the United States of America.

Of course, consideration should be given to the welfare of the world as a whole. The important question raised by this editorial however, is that these Armenians who have become American citizens are thinking more of their homeland overseas than they are of the home of their adoption. It emphasizes a thing, Mr. President, with which we have been confronted daily in recent years, and that is pressure brought by so-called foreign nationals and racial groups who are making this country their home, yet are apparently more interested in persuading America to do this, that, or the other, in the interest of their home across the seas.

In these matters too often the welfare of our democracy is wholly a secondary consideration. Those who are citizens in this United States of America and enjoy the privileges, protection, and advantages which are given to all American citizens, should not take these privileges so lightly. It seems to me that throughout the recent years we have permitted too many hundreds of thousands of these foreigners to become citizens without impressing upon them what it really means to be an American.

We give our citizenship away too cheaply and, too often, I fear, to unworthy persons: if not unworthy, indifferent to the blessings which come with such citizenship. Too much of the free giving of citizenship rights can and will destroy our country.

It seems to me that it would be a very good time now to begin to review the background, and indeed the recent activities of many of those who have been granted naturalization, with a view of taking away from them the rights of citizenship where they appear to be more interested in the welfare of other lands or other people. That which is given easily is often cherished indifferently.

To be an American citizen is the greatest material privilege that can be extended to any human being. There is not another nation on the face of the earth which gives to its people the things that America gives to them. From childhood they are given a free education in

every State of the Union, and after completing their education they are afforded business opportunities which defy comparison in any land.

The enjoy the right of freedom of religious worship and the right of freedom of speech. When they are imposed upon or injured to their damage, they have full and complete recourse in the courts of the greatest government on the face of the earth. Their case may be passed upon by a jury of their peers in a court that is honest, and the right of appeal to the highest court of the land is always possible. There is no sham and dishonest trial in the name of justice, but their rights of all kinds are protected in competent and honest tribunals.

They enjoy the right to own property in their own name. They have the privilege of casting a free and honest ballot in the elections throughout the land. They have a voice in their Government and of its citizenship they are considered a component part. They are employed at work in industry, or by their Government, without discrimination, and their success is limited only by their ability. They are paid the highest wage received by any citizens of any land upon the globe, and they enjoy the highest standard of living afforded anywhere.

Here they are out of reach of secret spies and they can lie down and rest under a roof of their own when night time comes, without fear of invasion of their homes. Here they are not molested by the gestapo or by so-called SS troops, and they may live in peace and quiet and happiness with full and complete individual protection. They may rear their families under the good influences of fine communities built up by honest, fearless, God-loving citizens of a great land, and when old age with its infirmities finally overtakes them, they are cared for by a grateful government and protected throughout the years that be ahead of them, until the end of their mortal existence.

Mr. President, we should turn our serious attention to improving the conditions of our own people in this country in time of stress and teach these comparative newcomers that the price of citizenship in the greatest Christian government in the world does not come cheap.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIVIDED LOYALTIES

Announcement that an organization claiming to speak for 150,000 Americans of Armenian extraction wants to be heard in Washington in protest against President Truman's plan to aid Turkey in the stop-communism program is a reminder that all too often immigrant groups in this country are prone to put hatreds, loyalties, and other prejudices that they bring with them from the Old World ahead of the welfare of this country.

No one can blame the Armenians for hating the Turks. The history of Turkish treatment of Armenians is a dark chapter indeed.

But we do not propose to help the Turks because we love or admire them. We plan to strengthen them against Communist aggression because they occupy a strategic position in the Middle East and we do not want Russia to take over control of this strategic position. If we do not help the Turks, Russia will probably take them, and the Dardanelles with them.

The Armenians say they do not object to this country helping the "heroic Greeks," but that it would be very bad for us to help the Turks.

In the interest of the safety of the United States and of freedom in every part of the world where it still survives, however, it is just as important for us to help the Turks as it is for us to help the Greeks. It doesn't make a bit of difference how bad the Turks have been or now may be.

Because of their ancient hatred of the Turks the Armenians who are protesting the Truman program do not understand this.

These Armenians are now Americans, or at least they should be. They and all other immigrant groups should put the welfare of their new home—the land that has given them the priceless blessings of freedom—first in their thoughts and should welcome that which is best for this country, even if it means something advantageous for people they hated over there.

The Armenians in this country are relatively few and are not strong enough to do much harm.

There are, however, a great many other newcomers in the United States, and far too many of them cling to old world prejudices, ideologies, and ways of thinking to a degree that makes it impossible for them to be desirable Americans. In the aggregate, they are capable of exerting influences that could be—and some that are—definitely harmful to the America that is loved by those who have been here longer. Communism, and other forms of radicalism, for examples.

VITO MARCANTONIO, the most un-American of all the men who have ever gone to Congress, who follows the Communist Party line on many issues, although he denies being a Communist, is kept in Washington by a hodgepodge of foreign groups in Harlem.

Perhaps a congressional immigration committee, as well as that on foreign affairs, could find food for thought in the protest of anti-Truman policy Armenians.

The Price Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. MURRAY

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very able article discussing the trend of prices, the causes of that trend, its significance, and what should be done about it. Since the preparation of this article prices have gone up 2.1 percent further. This is a careful analysis of the most important problem confronting the country, and should have our serious study if we are to avoid disastrous consequences.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times magazine of April 20, 1947]

THE PRICE PROBLEM: AN ANALYSIS BY BOWLES—
"SETTING STRAIGHT" THE RECORD OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED, HE PROPOSES A SEVEN-POINT PROGRAM

(By Chester Bowles)

(The upward trend of prices is now being widely debated. Here is one view of the significance and causes of that trend. The author was head of the Office of Price Admin-

istration from July 1943, to February 1946, and Director of Economic Stabilization from then until his resignation last June.)

In the last few months I have frequently been asked to express my views on the upward rush of prices which has now been in full swing since last July.

I have refused these past requests for one reason. Like most other people, I am bored by ex-Government employees who spend their time explaining how much better things would be if only their advice had been followed.

Last week, however, I changed my mind. Some recent explanations for the price increases of the last 10 months simply cannot go unchallenged. Here are a few of the most serious:

1. "Certainly, prices are too high. But incomes are high, too, and so there's no great burden on anyone. In addition, our people have plenty of savings to fall back on."

2. "Of course, this inflation is dangerous. But it was the only possible way that we could get production rolling."

3. "Our businessmen and farmers could cut these high prices quickly enough if they really wanted to."

4. "The whole trouble lies with labor, with its constant strikes and incessant demands for higher wages."

None of these explanations can stand up under close examination. Each one does some group in our economy a grave injustice. If we are to learn anything from this unhappy experience we should set the record straight without delay.

First, let's see what has actually happened to prices since Congress decided to abandon over-all price controls last June. How do the increases of the last 10 months compare with the action of prices when effective over-all price control was in operation?

Between Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939 and February 1942, prices in general rose with increasing rapidity. The passage of the Price Control Act in February 1942, enabled the Government to check the rate of increase. But it was not until President Roosevelt's "hold-the-line" program began operating in May 1943 that price control really became effective.

Between May 1943 and VJ-day in August 1945, average prices were held almost completely stable, while production zoomed to higher and higher levels. (The prices of some things, of course—such as apparel—went up. But the prices of others—such as fresh vegetables, fruits, and fish—came down.)

Between VJ-day and last June price increases were necessary on some manufactured products to smooth out the adjustment from war to peacetime production. But even with these post-VJ-day adjustments, the increase in the cost of living between May 1943 and June 1946 according to the Department of Labor, was only 6.6 percent, while the official index of wholesale prices rose only 8.5 percent in this entire 37-month period of heavy inflationary pressures.

When effective over-all price controls were abandoned by Congress last June 30, prices immediately shot upward. In July alone the increase in living costs equaled the accumulated increases of the last 3 years.

In the last 10 months wholesale prices have risen 31 percent—that's almost as much as in the previous 7 years, and nearly four times more than in the previous 37 months of effective price controls. Moody's Index of general commodity prices shows an increase of 63 percent since a year ago, while Moody's Index of raw industrial material prices shows an increase of 61 percent. Food at retail, which had increased only 1 percent in the 37-month period between May 1943 and June 1946, has increased 31 percent in 10 months.

How about the prices that our 40,000,000 families are now being asked to pay for

individual items? Since last June drug and pharmaceutical products are up 67 percent. That alone put a big dent in many family budgets—particularly those of our older people who can afford it least.

Fats and oils have doubled. Soap has increased 62 percent. Lard 72 percent. Oleomargarine 73 percent. Milk is up 32 percent. Coffee 49 percent. Wheat, which last June was selling at \$1.60 a bushel, recently hit \$3, with a resulting 25-percent increase in the prices which Mrs. Housewife now pays for bread.

Meat for the average family is up 60 percent. Pork chops, which cost you 38 cents a pound last June under price control, now average 63 cents. Veal cutlets have risen from 45 cents to 75 cents. Sirloin steak from 55 cents to 73 cents.

And you had better think twice before you say "Let 'em eat fish." Cod steaks, which cost Mrs. Housewife 27 cents last June under price control, are now selling for 45 cents. Flounder has risen from 16 cents to 35 cents. Boston mackerel, 18½ cents at the June OPA ceiling, has also hit 35 cents, with Spanish mackerel 10 cents higher.

We who were responsible for price control thought that apparel prices were too high last June. And yet, in the last 10 months, cotton goods have shot up 39 percent, with other apparel rising from 10 percent to 50 percent. Leather prices are up 63 percent.

In the building material field price rises in the last 10 months have been equally startling. Take paint, for an example. Since last June pig lead has increased 60 percent. Cottonseed oil has more than doubled. So has linseed oil. Copper has gone from 14 to 21 cents a pound.

These increases have inevitably led to price rises of 60 percent in household paints. Lumber, which was high-priced even under price controls, has shot up an additional 50 percent since then, according to the Department of Labor.

So much for the dismal inflationary record of the last 10 months. How about the so-called explanations which I listed earlier in this article? Let's take them in order and see to what extent each may be valid.

1. "Certainly, prices are too high. But incomes are high, too, and so there's no great burden on anyone. In addition, our people have plenty of savings to fall back on."

If you are tempted to offer this suggestion to an average American family, you had better smile when you it.

In spite of our widely heralded prosperity, more than half the families in the country are still living today on less than \$2,000 a year; and, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 40 percent of their incomes must go for food. Because of the price increases of the last 10 months the standard of living of tens of millions of our people has been sharply reduced.

"But," you may ask, "why don't people dip into their savings in order to tide them over a temporarily rough period?" For the simple reason that most people do not have any real savings into which to dip.

Our total savings during the war period were admittedly great. But the Federal Reserve Board has established that 65 percent of these savings are held by the third of all our families with the highest incomes. The average savings of the lower-income half is only \$700 for each family.

But these figures are already 9 months old. By now the savings of the majority of our people have sunk to still lower levels.

How about explanation No. 2? "Of course, this inflation is dangerous. But it was the only possible way that we could get production rolling."

This argument will not stand examination any better than the first. As prices have moved up, the purchasing power of millions of families has been reduced. As a result, production in many fields is actually less

than a year ago. The actual unit volume (not inflated dollar value) of food sold today is roughly 8 percent below that of a year ago. The increase of 30 percent in milk prices in the last 10 months has resulted in a 10 to 15 percent drop in fluid milk consumption (that's the technical term for the milk you give the kids).

There's about 8 percent more meat available for civilians than a year ago, largely because of lower Army requirements. The increase seems much greater to our upper-income and middle-income families. Why? Because tens of millions of lower-income families have been forced to reduce their meat purchases sharply. The well-to-do may be eating half again more meat; but our less fortunate citizens are eating less.

Restaurants on the average are showing a reduction in business. Drug store business for the country as a whole is 5 percent less than a year ago.

Each week the newspapers still herald an increase in department store volume over the previous year. But an examination shows that this increase in recent months has been the result of inflated dollars. The actual volume of goods moving across the counters is less today than a year ago under the price controls which were said to make production impossible (remember?).

Nondurable goods are off 15 percent. Durable goods production is, of course, higher than a year ago. In the Federal Reserve Board index civilian production (which excludes foods) is up about 8 percent, although the monthly rate of increase has been far less than in the price control period between VJ-day and June 1946.

Automobile production has climbed steadily. So has the production of washing machines, radios, and vacuum cleaners. There are still many people who can afford them even at the present high prices (40 percent to 70 percent above 1940).

The record in housing offers additional proof that inflation tends to diminish total production rather than to increase it. The immediate emergency demand for new housing has been estimated at not fewer than 5,000,000 units. In 1946, during the better part of which price controls on building materials were effective, we started to build roughly 1,000,000 new units.

As the distortions of the war period dropped further behind us, we might have expected to increase this figure in 1947 to a million and a quarter new homes, or perhaps even to 1,400,000.

How much new housing are we likely actually to get? The experts estimate a maximum of only about 800,000 units. Very few of our GI Joes can pay the present high prices, and not many have rich fathers-in-law. The building industry is pricing itself right out of the market in the face of the greatest housing demand that the country has ever seen.

How about Explanation No. 3? "Businessmen and the farmers could cut these high prices quickly enough if they really wanted to."

There have been many efforts to talk prices down by appealing to the better nature of our businessmen and our farmers. These efforts have been notably unsuccessful, and for two excellent reasons:

In the first place, no individual businessman is wholly the master of his own decisions as far as prices are concerned. One businessman's price is the next businessman's cost. No one businessman, no matter how enlightened or public spirited he may be, can do much by himself to control what happens to the final price that we consumers pay.

A second reason why price control by entreaty has proved ineffective lies in the basic nature of the profit system. In the free-enterprise system most prices will adjust themselves to reasonable levels under normal conditions. When the supply of goods

and the money available to pay for them are in balance competition will tend to bring prices down, and, by and large, to assure the public improved values.

Since 1941, however, conditions of civilian supply and demand have been badly distorted by the war and its aftermath. We have been in a seller's market—a market in which supply and demand on most products have been unbalanced to the advantage of the producer and the distributor.

It's all right to talk glibly about the public duty of our businessmen and our farmers to sell only at reasonable prices in a period in which they can, for the most part, get whatever they ask. But, human nature being what it is, can we really expect the individual farmer to sell his wheat at \$1.60 a bushel when his neighbors are selling theirs at \$3 a bushel? Or the businessman to cut his prices 30 percent or 40 percent below what he knows he can get? Businessmen and farmers, for the most part, are no more selfish than the rest of us. But what would you do under such circumstances?

How about the fourth explanation? "The whole trouble lies with labor, with its constant strikes and incessant demands for higher wages."

The claim that higher wages since last June are the basic cause for the sharp increase in prices is simply untrue. Average wholesale prices for all industrial products have risen 26 percent in the last 10 months. Wages in this same period are up only 5 percent. In most industries—thanks to rapidly increasing volume and lower overhead costs—this 5-percent increase could, in all probability, have been absorbed under price control with no increase in the final price at all.

Nor can we explain away the sharp price increases or the slackening of production in some industries since last June on the basis of strikes and work stoppages. During the last 10 months the number of hours lost by strikes has been at much the lowest point since VJ-day.

The myth that our working people are reveling in fat incomes and luxury living dies hard. Our average wage earner is worse off today than he was 3 years ago. It's true that his hourly wage rate on the average is 20 percent higher. But because he is working fewer hours his weekly pay check has risen only 3.6 percent.

Figure in the increased prices that he and his wife have had to pay since last June and you find that his weekly pay check will buy 16 percent less today than in 1944. Add on the fact that our working people are clearly conscious that business profits after taxes and net farm income are running at a rate 30 percent to 40 percent above the wartime peaks, and you will understand their rapidly growing bitterness.

If it is unfair to blame the individual businessman, the individual farmer, or the workers in our plants for what has happened since last June, whom should we blame?

Price control for the average businessman was a headache. In the vast OPA pricing operation, there were often delays and occasionally some stupid mistakes.

With only 1 year to go, many business-association leaders rejected the counsel of such seasoned businessmen as Eric Johnston, George Meade, Jack Straus, of Macy's, and the heads of the Committee for Economic Development, and impatiently went all-out for a "free economy"—in the face of conditions that made the normal working of a free economy impossible.

In one of their antiprice-control advertisements last June the National Association of Manufacturers assured us:

"If OPA is permanently discontinued, the production of goods will mount rapidly, and through free competition prices will quickly adjust themselves to levels that consumers are willing to pay. * * * Supply will

quickly catch up with demand. Prices will be fair and reasonable to all. Quality will be improved. * * * Send for a booklet that explains how price controls cause inflation."

Some of our leading politicians who should have known better must also bear their share of the blame. Senator ROBERT TAFT was one. Senator KENNETH WHERRY was another. On June 12, 1946, Senator WHERRY said: "Mr. Bowles has said that if price controls were eliminated, the price of meat would go up 50 percent. Mr. Bowles is trying to scare us. My prediction is that without price control meat will cost less than today." If Mrs. Wherry keeps a budget, the Senator will find that meat is now up 60 percent.

Last June, in the face of weeks of skilled anti-price-control propaganda, three out of four Americans—according to Gallup—were still solidly in favor of the OPA in its fight to hold down prices. But a majority in both Houses of Congress chose to listen instead to the lobbyists who represented vested interests.

It's easy to blame our elected Representatives for folding up under pressure. But, in all fairness, we should recognize that never in our recent history had any Congress been faced with so much pressure applied with such finesse.

Some competent economists have figured that the resulting price increases which American families had had to pay since last June (that is, the price increases which would have been avoided if price controls had been continued for another year) have already totaled \$8,000,000,000.

What is likely to happen in the next few months? Will prices continue upward? Will they soon start down? When they drop, will they drop with a bang?

Clearly, no one really knows, and the wisest are the least inclined to prophesy.

Many economists feel that prices will continue to rise in an increasingly erratic fashion until late spring or early summer; that a sharp decrease will occur then in farm prices, which will be the signal for a general break in all prices.

Some of them expect that the drop will be sharp; that production will be curtailed; that we shall be faced with unemployment ranging from four to seven million, accompanied by a flurry of bankruptcies and foreclosures; and that recovery will take place in 1948.

It may be that the drop-off in prices will be much sharper and that unemployment will be substantially increased above the guesses of the economists.

Or it may be that shipments of food and other economic aid overseas will tend to cushion the adjustment. While many prices may move sharply downward, with some accompanying economic pain, the adjustment in general may be made without too much damage.

Let's hope and pray that we'll be let down relatively lightly.

There are, of course, certain steps that we can take in the next 60 days which will cushion whatever economic shock may lie ahead. None of them could be called radical by any stretch of the imagination. If we are wise, we will join together, Republicans and Democrats, liberals and conservatives, eliminate the political maneuvering, and promptly put them into effect:

1. We can continue rent control for one more year from June 30, 1947. A sharp increase in rents right now, added to the sharply increased cost of living since last June, would be disastrous for the 18,000,000 families who live in rented dwellings.

2. We can pass the Taft-Wagner-Ellender bill promptly. (Senator TAFT deserves full credit on this one.) This bill, vigorously administered, can put our housing program back into high gear. Not only will it assist veterans and others in getting decent homes but it will help materially in maintaining employment.

3. We can broaden social-security payments to include farmers and self-employed.

4. We can raise minimum wages from 40 cents an hour (the figure set in 1938) at least to 65 cents an hour, to make up for the increased cost of living.

5. We can assure our farmers permanent protection against disastrously low prices. (The legislation is now on the books; but they need to know that it will be renewed in 1948.)

6. In the international field we can adopt a bold program of economic aid to the war-torn peoples of western Europe and Asia.

7. We can forget the optimistic political promises of last fall and pass a really adequate tax program, predicated on a reasonable Federal budget, with a reduction in the national debt.

Such measures will not neutralize our mistakes of the last 10 months. They will not restore our \$8,000,000,000 of lost purchasing power. But, if we act promptly, they will help. They might even turn a potential smash up into a modest readjustment of the cream puff variety.

Hunger, Canals, and Oil Fields in the Near East

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered recently by Samuel Guy Inman on the subject *Hunger, Canals, and Oil Fields in the Near East*. This splendid address deals with the pending measure and should be in the hands of all Members of Congress.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HUNGER, CANALS, AND OIL FIELDS IN THE NEAR EAST

(By Samuel Guy Inman, guest professor of international relations, Ohio Wesleyan University)

President Truman warned Congress, in his epoch-making speech of March 12, that he was making a proposal that would profoundly affect the foreign policy and the national security of our country. It is this section of his proposal, and with full approval of aid to the suffering people of Greece and a full recognition of the difficulty of the problem which the President and his advisors are seeking to meet, that I respectfully challenge, what is being called the "Truman doctrine."

When we talk about a doctrine as a basis for a foreign policy of a great nation, we get into serious business. First and foremost is the Monroe Doctrine. This was announced after years of discussion, and months of correspondence between President Monroe and some of the wisest statesmen the world has known, including Thomas Jefferson, John Q. Adams, ex-President Madison. Because it was so carefully and patiently worked out, it became the rock on which our foreign policy has rested for a century and on which the greatest democracy in the world has been built. A substitute for the Monroe Doctrine cannot be composed in a cabinet meeting or two and a few days debate in the Congress.

Another doctrine, the Coolidge doctrine was much discussed in 1927. It proposed that wherever there was an American citizen

or American property, there was likewise a part of American territory. It was backed by the President's statement that "the legions which she (United States) sends out are armed not with the sword, but with the cross—we have no purpose save to merit the favors of Almighty God."

Another famous pronouncement was made by President Theodore Roosevelt. It was called, probably because of the modesty of the author, "The Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine." The central point in the Roosevelt corollary was that disorder in any nation would require intervention by some outside power. In the American continent, such police power, because of the Monroe Doctrine, should be exercised by the United States. The United States Senate refused to endorse the doctrine. But President Roosevelt carried it out anyway. It led the United States into a series of interventions in Nicaragua, Panama, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and other Caribbean countries. From 1900 to 1932, there were forty such armed interventions in the affairs of our neighbors. In those days the Latin Americans called the Pan American Union "the colonial section of the Department of State."

Every one of these 40 interferences was undertaken under the same formula—there was disorder; if the United States did not stop it, some other nation would. Major interventions were accompanied by loans and United States experts, who were to aid, it was said, the suffering people. We now know that the people who were actually aided, as President Taft bluntly stated, were our businessmen.

INTERVENTION OUTLAWED

Finally we realized that what we were actually doing was to lose trade, alienate our neighbors, and build up suspicion and hatred around the world. The United States Senate made a thorough investigation of the whole mess. President Hoover sent an investigating committee to Haiti and withdrew the marines from Nicaragua. (Most significant is the fact that Nicaragua, where our reforming soldiers were there the longest, from 1912 to 1932, conditions today are the worst.)

Under the wise leadership of Cordell Hull at the Montevideo Conference the United States signed a solemn treaty we would never again intervene in the affairs of other American Republics. The new good neighbor policy won the Latin American Republics to our side during the Second World War.

Only 3 weeks ago in Mexico City, President Truman told the Latin Americans we would always keep not only the letter but the spirit of this pledge. It was Mr. Truman also who made a solemn appeal to all the nations at the close of the San Francisco Conference to keep their word to settle all disputes according to the United Nations Charter.

Unilateral intervention by this country was about to destroy the Pan American Union, when we right-about-faced, and saved that institution. Unilateral intervention in Greece and Turkey would kill an effective United Nations.

It would also start driving the nails in the coffin of the Pan American Union. Already we have begun to show indifference to inter-American affairs because of our interest in far-away places. Two years ago we signed the Act of Chapultepec, which was hailed as a great step toward peace. But we have failed to do anything about implementing that pact. This inaction is raising the old suspicions south of the Rio Grande.

Gentlemen of the Senate, let me pose a question: If we take on Turkey as our partner, who remained neutral and played with the Nazis during the war, how will we explain our policy in Argentina, where we work against the Government because it remained neutral and played with the Nazis?

A GLANCE AT THE MAP

"It is only necessary to glance at the map," says President Truman, "to realize the importance of Greece and Turkey." That is exactly

what the Senate should do—take a look at the map—and what do you see? You see not only the suffering Greeks, whom we all want to help; you see the Suez Canal, the Dardanelles, and the oil fields of Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran, announced by American oil companies last week as the richest in the world. "We floated to victory on a sea of oil," said Winston Churchill when referring to the First World War. Let us be careful that we do not also float into the third world war on a sea of oil.

"Look at the map," said Henry Cabot Lodge to the Senate, which had an immense map before it at that session, which showed the rich oil fields of South America recently discovered. Stay out of the League of Nations, the Senator appealed, and make a deal with Colombia, near home, for oil. So we stayed out of the League and went into the South American oil fields.

"Look at the map," said President Theodore Roosevelt, when explaining his statement, "I took the Canal Zone," and his interventions in the nearby Caribbean countries.

One week after President Truman addressed the Congress on the Greek question, the Navy announced the sending of a task force to the Dardanelles. By its name that force of battleships must have a task to perform.

THE DARDANELLES

In all honesty, the Congress and the people of the United States must not allow themselves to be drawn in the question of the Dardanelles without recalling what this country did in a similar situation in regard to the Panama Canal. Colombia originally held the potential Canal Zone, as Turkey now holds the straits which connect the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. When Colombia would not accept our terms for the Canal Zone we encouraged a revolt in a part of her territory, Panama, and sent battle cruisers to keep Colombian troops from landing to suppress the revolution. We then arranged a quick lease with Panama. We justified it on the grounds of not allowing a backward country to hold up the progress of a world power.

As early as 1850, when Great Britain was strong in Central America, we signed the Clayton-Bullwer Treaty, which stipulated that the United States and Great Britain should build and fortify the Isthmian Canal. After the Spanish-American War, when we definitely became a world power, we told Great Britain that if she would not agree to abrogate that treaty we would ignore it anyway. We alone must have the right to build and fortify the Canal. Realizing there was nothing else to do, the British promised to let us have our way in the Caribbean if we would not limit her around the Suez Canal.

Does not our own experience suggest that we get together with Russia and arrange the question of the Dardanelles, now that Russia has become a great power, as we had at the opening of the twentieth century? According to our history, what would we do about the Dardanelles if we were in Russia's place?

THE UNITED STATES IN THE NEAR EAST

Following the First World War, the United States was asked to take a mandate over Armenia, which the Turks were about to wipe out of existence. We refused for good reasons. But the reasons given by Senator Brandegee, in opposing the matter in a notable Senate was, "Why should we take a mandate over Armenia? She has no coal, she has no oil." Conditions have changed in the Near East.

Recently oil has appeared in quantitles in Saudi Arabia. The most juicy gossip at the San Francisco Conference was the competition between the Standard, Dutch Shell, and Sinclair interests as to which one could entertain most lavishly the Arabian delegates. During the last few weeks the Arabian Oil Co. and the Anglo-Iranian Co. have an-

nounced plans to build a 1,000-mile pipe line from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.

Bitter debate in the Security Council was caused by the presence of Russian troops in Iran. We denounced their presence. They withdrew. Since then the United States sent a military mission to Tehran, which is today busy organizing an Iranian army and police force, as our experts are aiding in the reorganization of Persia's finances and public-health program.

We can evidently take care of our interests in that section of the world without taking on the responsibility for adjusting all the political problems in that boiling caldron of human passions.

USE THE UNITED NATIONS

There is just one way to face this terrible dilemma. It is not by challenging our opponent to war. It is by challenging him and all other nations to work out the problem, as all have pledged, through the United Nations.

If the United States bypasses the United Nations in the very first days of its life, we will never live down the accusation that we killed the organization. We are the most powerful nation in the United Nations. We pay around 37 percent of its budget, we have the largest number of people in the secretariat, and we have invited it to make its home in our midst.

If the United Nations has been slow in organizing, now is the time for us to use our great power to speed it up. If we would put our moral passion, our financial power, and our experts to work and appeal to our friends in the organization to help, we could with hope put the whole crisis up to the United Nations. A country that can speed up its processes from making 1,000 airplanes a year to 50,000 to win a war can speed up the work of the United Nations sufficiently to win the peace. What the united group could not possibly do, it could allot to this country. That is a common process in international organizations.

One more step is open to us—a serious one. If Russia is violating its pacts and preparing for war, let us accuse her before the tribunal that we have pledged to use in such cases. She could not veto action regarding such an accusation. Article 27 clearly states the decisions of the Security Council "shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members, including the concurring votes of the permanent members, providing that * * * a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting." It is important for the public to realize that Russia, according to the Charter, cannot veto an action against her when she is the accused party.

Article I of the Charter, which President Truman so earnestly pleaded for at San Francisco, says that the purpose of the United Nations is "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace [and] settlement of international disputes or situations that might lead to the breach of the peace."

If we do not keep this pledge so soon after making it, we will give to the outside world the proof of their belief that recent appointment of a considerable number of military men in our diplomatic service contrary to former precedents, indicates a fundamental change in the traditional principles of the nations. Students of international problems know that one of the most fruitful causes of war has been loans by big countries to little ones. So when the United Nations was organized, care was taken to get away from this old imperialistic custom. A world bank was set up by the nations in a meeting at Bretton Woods so that loans could be made by a group of nations and not by individual countries. A total capital of \$9,000,000,000 was subscribed by more than 40 nations, not including Russia. This bank has been slow in starting. It needs some big challenge to get it going.

Greece could be that challenge. And Russia could not stop the loan, because Russia is not a member of the bank. The United States, on the other hand, could put the loan through, because it is the largest stockholder and furnishes the most important officers of the bank.

The Balkans are the powder house of Europe, and the Near East is a stalking caldron of religious, racial, and political passions. All the big European nations have gotten their fingers burned, when they have not actually started a war, by attempts to mix in the affairs of those unhappy lands. Great Britain is the last one to acknowledge defeat. Now, as good friends, they want to turn over the job to us. By recent experience, we learned there was nothing but trouble and expense in such an intervention in China, so we have withdrawn our troops. How can anyone look forward to the long future and expect that this proposed departure from all our past will bring us, unaccustomed to such a task, anything more than a final disillusionment and ruin that it brought Rome, Spain, and other empire builders.

AN APPEAL

Mr. Chairman, I heard you say to a little group of consultants of the State Department at San Francisco that your experience at that Conference had converted you completely to the method of consultation. "I believe there is no problem so great," you declared, "that it cannot find a settlement through conference if the interested parties are honest and intelligent, and will take sufficient time to work the matter through."

I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, to Senator CONNALLY, your running mate at San Francisco, Lake Success, and other recent meetings of the United Nations, as I appeal to every one of the 79 Senators who voted so heartily for the United States to join the United Nations, as I appeal through this Committee of Foreign Affairs, to President Truman, who stirred us at San Francisco when he exclaimed on the final day, "What a wonderful day this can be in history"—I appeal to all of you that you do not depart from the glorious traditions of our country and rush quickly into this Near East adventure. Rather, let us keep our word with the rest of the world, call their representatives together, and lay before them this overwhelming problem, too big for any one nation to solve.

The Truman Doctrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a statement written by Fred P. Myers, a prominent attorney of voteless Washington. It expresses a viewpoint worthy of study.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Let us hope that the adoption of the Truman doctrine will be accomplished without any delusion and with a full realization of its commitments and implications. Whatever its apparent purpose, the practical and ultimate effect is gradually to integrate our foreign policy with that of Great Britain and to underwrite the British Empire, be-

ginning at the point of most imminent danger, at the crossroads of the east. It will be recalled that this matter was first publicly precipitated by the urgent request of Great Britain to assume and take over her commitments in Greece, because of her inability to maintain her position there after March 31. Now the proposition is presented under the harmless guise of a humanitarian appeal for relief of a newly-discovered condition of distress in Greece (to which as such there may be no serious objection), but extended to aid to Turkey, and reinforced by a proposed world-wide crusade against communism. Although in a recent letter to Mr. Earle, President Truman referred to the fear of communism in our country as a "bugaboo," it is now found necessary to brand the opponents of the proposal with the stigma of that dreaded ideology. If there is any doubt as to where the proposed Truman doctrine is expected to lead our Nation, it should become clear from great Winston Churchill, who as Prime Minister of England said several years ago of his Empire, "We mean to hold our own." In an article entitled "If I Were An American" in last week's issue of Life Mr. Churchill said in a flattering challenge:

"Britain has, of course, been grievously weakened * * * The British nation will rise again, if not to its former preeminence, at least in solid and lasting strength * * * But Britain and the British Commonwealth as a whole will welcome the establishment of American power in the Middle East and will give potent aid by every means. Americans should not hesitate to march forward unswervingly upon the path to which destiny has called them.

A study of the map of the eastern countries and waterways, and a familiarity with history clarifies the interest and the plight of Great Britain in connection with the present proposal of the administration. In order to maintain her vitally important imperial life line through the Mediterranean Sea, the Suez Canal, to the Persian Gulf and eastward to her vast possessions and conquests, it is necessary for Great Britain to have pro-British and subservient regimes in the countries adjacent to that life line. It will be recalled that the Crimean War, nearly a century ago against Russia was but an incident of Britain's necessary policy to protect her far-flung empire along the line of the Mediterranean Sea and the region referred to by Kipling as "east of Suez." Now since Great Britain confesses her inability to maintain that position, we are about to step in to hold the line against Russia. In effect, we are thus about to commit our Nation irrevocably to a policy of making our Monroe Doctrine practically coextensive with the British Empire, and to intervene wherever the alarm of communism is sounded. We are thus about to follow the siren voice of manifest destiny apparently heedless of the inevitable complications and historic fate of self-appointed rectors of the destiny of other nations and peoples.

FRED P. MYERS.

Funds To Fight Cancer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial published in the April 1 issue of the

Newark Evening News. The editorial is entitled "Give To Conquer Cancer."

I wish to make the following comment in connection with the editorial: I think it most important that we in the United States recognize again the very important, old American habit of contributing to drives for public benefit. I think there is too great a tendency for those of us in the United States to assume that these great public-benefit problems should be taken care of entirely by the Government. I am perfectly willing to support some Government aid for cancer research, but I also think it is important that we, as individual Americans, make substantial contributions to such great public causes as the cancer drive.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"GIVE TO CONQUER CANCER"

The American Cancer Society today begins a month-long, Nation-wide public appeal for funds to fight cancer, now second to heart disease as a cause of death in the United States. The national goal is \$12,000,000, with New Jersey asked to contribute \$750,000, although an attempt will be made to raise \$1,000,000, of which 60 percent will be spent in the State.

"Give to conquer cancer" is the slogan of the appeal for funds to battle this scourge through research, education, and service. The need is great. An estimated 184,000 persons will die of cancer in the United States this year, an average of one fatality every 3 minutes. The New Jersey toll is estimated at more than 7,000. No respecter of social position or age, cancer kills four times as many children as does infantile paralysis.

While cancer statistics are horrifying, there is a bright side—a side which has grown brighter since the first extensive effort was organized in 1945, and which will grow even brighter if the present appeal has the wide public support it merits.

With funds raised the last 2 years, 94 research projects have been financed and are being conducted by outstanding scientists. Three times as many projects await funds to be started.

In New Jersey, an encouraging battle against the disease is progressing with funds raised the last 2 years. Facilities and expert personnel have been provided to treat patients in 30 hospital clinics which report numerous cures. The field army volunteers have been aided in their year-around education and service program. Knowledge is being spread that cancer is curable if the public can be made sufficiently alert to have regular physical examinations. At last progress is being made by the weapons of research, education, and service, weapons which can be put to full use only if everybody will "give to conquer cancer."

The Proposed Loan to Greece and Turkey

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD

copy of a public letter written to the President by Mrs. Alexander Stewart and others on the proposed action with respect to Greece and Turkey.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The administration's proposed course with respect to Greece and Turkey accepts the division of the world into American and Russian spheres of influence and proposes to stop the expansion of Russia and the spread of communism by force of arms.

By its failure to deal with the needs of the Russian people and by intensifying their fears of being surrounded by hostile military forces, this policy will actually help to bolster up the Stalin dictatorship in Russia. And since communism thrives on war, civil disturbances, and poverty, American dollars devoted to bolstering the military forces of dubious regimes in Europe and Asia will serve to multiply the grievances which make people outside Russia also a prey to communism. American resources will be drained as the Nation is thus drawn into the conflict against Russia and mounting chaos throughout the world. In the end our own country will be militarized and dragged into an atomic war with no prospect for the survival of democracy anywhere.

We see no hope, on the other hand, in any program of appeasement of Russia, since this does not change the radically evil pattern of international relationships and only postpones the inevitable clash of power against power. Nor is it possible for the United States to isolate itself from the rest of the world.

The only hope is in an integrated program which includes:

1. Rejection of the policy of military intervention.
2. Abandonment of the atomic armaments race which places an intolerable burden on the economy of every nation, including our own. An offer to take immediate steps toward placing strategic points such as the Dardanelles, Suez, and Panama under international control, and toward universal disarmament and establishment of international controls for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.
3. Use of our God-given resources, no longer squandered on armaments competition and military adventures, for immediate relief of the homeless and starving, and for an all-out world-wide reconstruction program for peace, before it is too late.

As things stand now our contributions for relief and toward the restoration of the economic life of the peoples of Europe and Asia are too small to prevent starvation and increasing disintegration. The need for putting an end to the threat of war and to international unrest grows daily more desperate but the good faith of our disarmament proposals is in question and progress toward disarmament is completely blocked so long as we are engaged in an armaments race and a power conflict with Russia. Everywhere and every day hunger and fear breed more hunger and fear.

An integrated program such as we have outlined can break the deadlock. It will enable the peoples of Europe and Asia to become rapidly self-supporting. It will create demands for the products of our farms, factories, and mines. It presents a challenge worthy of the inventive and organizing abilities of American scientists, industrialists, farmers, and workers.

The adoption of the course here outlined is also the one way to dissolve the fear and suspicion which grip the Russian people today. It would give the United States the moral leadership of the world, and would create the atmosphere of security, confidence

and hope in which democratic forces all over the world could be revived.

George A. Buttrick, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York; Allan Knight Chalmers, Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York; Bernard C. Clausen, Euclid Avenue Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio; Donald B. Cloward, Council on Christian Social Progress, Northern Baptist Convention, New York; Phillips P. Elliott, First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Donald Harrington, The Community Church, New York; John Haynes Holmes, The Community Church, New York; Jessie Wallace Hughan, War Resisters' League; Hannah Clothier Hull, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Swarthmore, Pa.; Charles W. Iglehart, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Abraham Kaufman, War Resisters' League; Frederick J. Libby, National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.; Albon Man, Committee for Amnesty, New York; A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York; John Oliver Nelson, Peace Fellowship of Presbyterians; Ray Newton, Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mildred Scott Olmsted, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Philadelphia, Pa.; Edwin McNeill Poteat, President Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary; Halene Rea, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Devon, Pa.; Paul Scherer, Union Theological Seminary, New York; Mark A. Shaw, National Council for Prevention of War, Boston, Mass.; Alexander Stewart, Peace Section, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Pa.; Annalee Stewart, National President Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary, New York; Evan W. Thomas, M. D., War Resisters' League; E. Raymond Wilson, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Washington, D. C.

MARCH 17, 1947.

Policies of Americans for Democratic Action

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, April 21, 1947

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a speech delivered on April 8, over the American Broadcasting Co. network, by Mr. Wilson W. Wyatt.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Tonight I speak for a new movement of American liberals. But it is new only in the sense that American liberals have at last established their own organization, free of totalitarian influence and dedicated to the basic American faith in reason, justice and

the dignity of the individual. The underlying spirit of our organization is in the oldest tradition of American liberalism. The values to which we give allegiance have rallied Americans throughout our history in the unending fight for a greater and fuller democracy. Today these same values are rallying free men throughout the world in their struggle against the twin evils of hunger and despotism.

The name of this organization is Americans for Democratic Action. ADA does not pretend to speak for all progressives everywhere. No single organization—no single man—can soberly claim to be the chosen and exclusive representative of American liberalism. But we do believe we speak for the overwhelming majority of American progressives—those whose hearts and minds rebel at the extension of tyranny, whether it takes place in Franco's Spain or Tito's Yugoslavia; those who repudiate the police state, whether imposed by the totalitarians of the right or of the left. We reject intolerance, repression or terrorism under any banner. We believe free men can work out their own destiny without being reduced to the false and desperate choice between fascism, on the one hand, and communism, on the other.

The liberal who believes in the middle way has been too long silent, bewildered and homeless. Now is the time for him to speak and act—if freedom and democracy are indeed to present hope to the people of the world. This is why thousands of us, sharing these convictions, came together to form Americans for Democratic Action.

Tonight I want to speak primarily on the foreign-policy program of the ADA, with special reference to the question of aid to Greece and Turkey. ADA's foreign policy is not the product of back-room intrigue, nor of minority manipulation. It was prepared after months of discussion and adopted at our national conference after two long days and nights of debate. More than 250 leading American progressives took part—such men as Leon Henderson, chairman of our executive committee; Franklin Roosevelt, Jr.; and Mayor Humphrey, of Minneapolis, our vice chairman; Paul Porter, special Ambassador to Greece; and others on our foreign-policy commission including Marquis Childs, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Bishop William Scarlett, and Thomas K. Finletter.

ADA rejects the theory that war with Russia is inevitable. It rejects with equal conviction the theory that we must purchase peace through continuous surrender to Soviet pressure. There are some who proclaim that we cannot escape armed conflict with Russia and hence we should abandon all attempts at peaceful settlement of our differences. There are others who contend that our own country is engaged in a program of cynical and ruthless imperialism, and that liberals must therefore oppose the United States at every point where our position collides with that of the USSR. Both views are extreme and dangerous. We believe that it would be a world tragedy if the peoples of Europe were misled into thinking that any substantial group of Americans supports the extremes of war or appeasement.

Americans for Democratic Action rests its foreign policy program on three basic principles.

First, any return to isolationism means disaster for America and for the world. From the extreme right and the extreme left—from the Chicago Tribune and the Daily Worker—come demands that we keep our hands off the crises in Greece and Turkey and stay out of the affairs of Europe and Asia. These same demands came from these same sources with regard to Hitler in 1940. We rejected that alliance of the isolationists and the Communists then, we reject it now. No longer can the United States resign from the world and pull the oceans over its head.

To insure peace and our own security, we must assume the responsibilities of greatness. This means that we must pursue positive policies—and we must recognize that doing nothing is itself a policy decision which may undermine our national security.

Second, the United States must exercise its power, wherever possible, through the United Nations. We must work in every way we can to strengthen the United Nations and to support its economic and social agencies—and we ask that other great powers meet us half way. The existence of the United Nations does not, however, eliminate the need for action by individual nations where the United Nations is powerless to act.

Third, the United States must throw its moral, economic, and political support to nations struggling for survival and to the forces of independent democracy within those nations. We must let the world know that our vast resources will be used to create economic and political conditions favorable to the growth of democratic ideals.

The choices we face are not simple. In Greece we are confronted with a reactionary and corrupt government which has shown neither the will nor the capacity to undertake long-overdue economic reforms. Turkey is still far from democracy as we know it. These countries have asked for economic and military aid and the United States proposes to supply it. Let us be clear why this is done, and why, after long and full discussion, Americans for democratic action voted to back the proposal.

Our essential purpose is the protection of international security. Greece is sinking into bankruptcy and political chaos. Both Greece and Turkey are faced today by external forces that threaten to annex their territories, subvert their institutions and destroy their national sovereignty. If the integrity of nations can be openly challenged, either by a systematic war of nerves, or through a civil war supported by a foreign country, then all our hopes for the United Nations and for the peace of the world lie in ruins.

There are many men who proclaim themselves the true executors of Franklin Roosevelt's will. No man can say with absolute certainty what Franklin Roosevelt would have done in all the crises confronting the world today. But certainly it was the essence of his position that America must stand for help to the weak against the strong, for the protection of peace-loving nations against aggression.

The world must act today to insure the security of nations in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The natural center for such action is the United Nations. But the United Nations today simply does not have the troops, the money, or the legal power to deal with the crisis. Americans for Democratic Action favors the immediate strengthening of the UN so that it can take over the Greek and Turkish problems as soon as possible. Pending the full assumption of responsibility by the UN, we see no choice except for the United States to take immediate action to safeguard the independence of Greece and Turkey. We are confident that such action will encourage the hands of those in the Soviet Union who are arguing for friendly relations with the West. We are equally confident that failure on our part to check aggression in the eastern Mediterranean would strengthen the hands of those in the Soviet Union who seek to dominate Greece and Turkey as a step toward the domination of Italy and France and the rest of Europe.

Military security, however, is only a temporary answer. It is an essential part of the solution, but only a small part. The lasting answer to the problem of communism is the removal of the conditions which invite its spread. The only anti-Communist policy

which will work in the long run is a policy of striking boldly at hunger and want wherever they may exist.

American liberals for a long time have been calling for a positive, prodemocratic foreign policy. What can such a positive policy be other than a determined effort at political and economic reconstruction under United States leadership along lines which will favor the growth of freedom? In this sense aid to Greece presents United States policy with its greatest opportunity. It is a challenge. It calls the bluff of all who have been pleading that the United States assume its world responsibilities.

The enactment of the aid-to-Greece bill will be the beginning, not the end, of our Greek policy. The crucial issue is how that aid shall be administered. There has never been a question, as some have charged, of an unconditional subsidy to the present Greek Government. Secretary Marshall's note to the Greek Government in February laid down immediate objectives toward which the United States desires that Government to move. No one knows better than our two Ambassadors, Paul Porter and Lincoln MacVeagh, that aid turned over to that Government unconditionally will be money wasted. We have made it clear that American assistance will not be a blank check for grafters and reactionaries.

The United States must follow through on the use of our aid. We must ensure that all military supplies be used against external aggression and not against the liberties of the people. We must insist on a genuine amnesty—so that all who have fought against reaction and corruption in the interest of a decent and independent Greek Government shall be free to lay down their arms, without fear of reprisal, and begin the rebuilding of their country. We must employ our influence to democratize the civil service, to revise the tax system, to institute effective price and exchange controls—in short, to tighten up the whole Greek economy and set it on a firm and healthy basis. If we do our job well, we will have shown that we can meet the totalitarian challenge on the level of economic reconstruction; that we can fill stomachs, and do it without cutting out tongues.

This will be a tough job. We need time and tranquillity in order to build dams, to plan soil-erosion programs, to revive and expand industries. Our task is to place the Greeks on the road to a reasonable standard of living and at the same time guarantee the free play of political expression.

If we continue to allow the ragged and hungry people of Greece to be exploited, we shall only fan the fires of communism. But if we assume the burdens of guarding national independence and supervising economic reconstruction, we will give the democratic alternative to fascism and communism new strength and vitality throughout the world.

American liberals have a special responsibility today. The alarmist outcries of a hysterical minority have created the impression abroad that all liberals believe that our Government is embarked on a hopeless course and that the only salvation lies in Moscow. This is a false picture. We have many criticisms of United States foreign policy. But if irresponsible liberals succeed in convincing the peoples of the world that the great mass of Americans are indifferent to the fate of independent nations, aggression will be strengthened and the courage to resist will collapse. Our only hope of peace lies in vigorous action in support of the principles in which we deeply believe.

I stress foreign policy tonight, but ADA regards its domestic program as equally important. As the champion of democratic principles in the world, America must eradicate the imperfections and intolerances of

its own society. ADA is pledged to make America the world symbol of progressive democracy. We must be strong at home—free from unemployment and inflation—to be strong abroad.

ADA stands for free men everywhere. We have no belief that the values of free men are going to have an easy time in the next few years. But these values have survived bombings, torture, and concentration camps. They remained alive through the nightmare of a World War. They are the universal qualities of goodness and decency on which a united world must one day be built. It is the obligation of Americans to protect and advance them.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44. SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD: ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44. SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS; MAPS; DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: *Provided*, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all roll calls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m., in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of

the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided*, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided*, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. *Official reporters.*—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

10. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

11. *Illustrations.*—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be line cuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

12. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days

after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided*, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

13. *Appendix to permanent Record.*—The Public Printer shall publish an Appendix to the permanent RECORD, which shall contain all extraneous matter not germane to the proceedings.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator, 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver, upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 21, 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PEPPER to the bill (S. 938)
to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz:

- 1 At the proper place in the bill insert the following:
2 *“Provided, That none of the money herein authorized or*
3 *hereafter appropriated shall be used for the pay, allowance,*
4 *or maintenance of the personnel of any armed forces other*
5 *than that of the United States: Provided further, That noth-*
6 *ing herein shall be construed as to authorize the enlistment*
7 *of any person not a citizen of the United States in the armed*
8 *forces of the United States for service in Greece or Turkey.”*

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. PEPPER to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

APRIL 21, 1947

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 938

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 21 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to the printed.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG (for himself and Mr. CONNALLY) to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, viz: Insert the following preamble:

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing

on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other, and, if the present emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of all Members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter: Now, therefore, be it.

AMENDMENT

Intended to be proposed by Mr. VANDENBERG
(for himself and Mr. CONNALLY) to the bill
(S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece
and Turkey.

MARCH 21 (legislative day, FEBRUARY 19), 1947
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and
ordered to be printed

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 23, 1947
For actions of April 22, 1947
80th-1st, No. 75

CONTENTS

Appropriations.....	4	Housing.....	8	Public works.....	17
Daylight-saving time.....	5	Labor, farm.....	1	Research.....	23
Decentralization.....	7	Lands.....	14	Sugar.....	3
Education.....	11	Lands, reclamation....	16, 21	Taxation.....	6, 26
Electrification.....	21	Marketing.....	12, 20	Trade, foreign.....	3, 22, 25
Extension work.....	10	Minerals.....	6	Transportation.....	26
Fertilizer.....	19	Monopolies.....	24	Veterans' benefits.....	8
Food inspection.....	12, 20	Personnel.....	15	War powers.....	13
Foreign affairs.....	2, 27	Prices.....	18	Wildlife.....	9

HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to conference report on farm-labor supply bill. Senate committee reported international sugar agreement. Senate passed Greek-Turkish aid bill. First deficiency bill to be debated by Senate today.

SENATE

1. FARM LABOR. Both houses agreed to the conference report on H. R. 2102, to continue the farm-labor supply program for 6 months and provide for its final liquidation (pp. 3914, 3937). This bill will now be sent to the President.
2. FOREIGN RELIEF. Passed, 67-23, with amendments S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 3873-909).
3. SUGAR AGREEMENT. The Foreign Relations Committee reported favorably Executive E, the international agreement regarding regulation of the production and marketing of sugar, signed in London May 6, 1947 (Ex. Rept. 2) (p. 3913).
4. APPROPRIATIONS. It is expected that H. R. 2849, the first deficiency appropriation bill, will be debated today (p. 3913).

HOUSE

5. DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME. The District of Columbia Committee reported without amendment S. 736, to authorize daylight-saving time in D.C. during 1947 (H.Rept. 287) (p. 3942).
6. COPPER TAXES. Agreed to Senate amendments to H.R. 2404, to suspend certain import taxes on copper (p. 3927). This bill will now be sent to the President.
7. DECENTRALIZATION. Rep. Stevenson, Wis.; spoke in favor of decentralizing the Government departments and agencies from Washington (p. 3919).

BILLS INTRODUCED

8. VETERANS' HOUSING. S. 1154, by Sen. Capehart, Ind., "to amend the Veterans Emergency Housing Act. To Banking and Currency Committee. Remarks of author. (p. 3910).

9. WILDLIFE. S. 1155, by Sen. Wherry, Nebr., authorizing the transfer of certain real property for wildlife purposes. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3910.)
10. EXTENSION WORK. H.R. 3136, by Del. Fernos-Isern, P.R., to extend the benefit of the Cammer-Ketcham Act to Puerto Rico. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 3943.)
11. EDUCATION. H.R. 3145, by Rep. Stevenson, Wis., to provide for the education of children on Federal reservations and other federally owned property not subject to State or local taxation. To Education and Labor Committee. (p. 3943.)
12. FOOD AND DRUGS. H.R. 3147, by Rep. Wolverton, N.J., to amend Sec. 304 (a) of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act so as to provide for seizure of foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics which have become adulterated or misbranded while held for sale after shipment in interstate commerce. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 3943.)
13. WAR POWERS. H.R. 3152, by Rep. Wolverton, N.J., to extend certain powers of the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 3943.)
14. SUBMARGINAL LANDS. H.R. 3153, by Rep. D'Ewart, Mont., to provide for the sale or other disposal of certain submarginal lands located within the boundaries of Indian reservations in Mont. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3943.)
15. PERSONNEL. H.J.Res. 174, by Rep. Meade, Md., declaring May 1 as National Loyalty Day, a legal holiday. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 3943.)
H.R. 3144, by Rep. Short, Mo., to equalize rights to leave of absence and reemployment for such employees who are members of the Enlisted or Officers' Reserve Corps, the National Guard, or the Naval Reserve. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 3943.)
16. RECLAMATION. H.R. 3143, by Rep. Rockwell, Colo., to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Paonia Federal reclamation project, Colo. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 3943.)
17. PUBLIC WORKS. H.J.Res. 176, by Rep. Miller, Nebr., to provide that Federal public-works projects and programs shall be carried out to the full extent authorized by law. To Public Works Committee. (p. 3943.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

18. PRICES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Murray, Wis., discussing a Washington Daily News article which states that removal of Government price supports would cause a decline in prices and cites examples (p. A1912).
Rep. Rich, Pa., inserted the Olympic Luggage Corporation's letter announcing a reduction in prices of 10% (pp. A1921-2).
Rep. Potts, N.Y., inserted a N.Y. Sun editorial on the cause of high prices (pp. A1936-7).
19. FERTILIZER. Extension of remarks of Rep. Murray, Wis., criticizing the destruction of German fertilizer plants in the face of the fertilizer shortage and including a Washington Post article by John W. Ball on the subject (p. A1933).
20. FOOD AND DRUGS. Extension of remarks of Rep. Miller, Conn., in favor of his bill (H.R. 3128) to amend the Food and Drug Act by providing for seizure of adulterated foods, drugs, devices, and cosmetics while being held for sale (p. A1956).

21. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Welch, Calif., inserted a statement by the late Rep. Norman, Wash., opposing the rate-making provisions of H.R. 1886, a bill to amend the Reclamation Act (p. A1938).
22. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Gearhart, Calif., inserted Richard L. Adams' (prof. of farm management, Univ. of Calif.) recent address, "Agriculture's Stake in the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program" (pp. A1915-8).
23. RESEARCH. Rep. Johnson, Calif., inserted Dr. M.H. Trytten's (Director, Office of Scientific Personnel, National Research Council) recent address, "Problems of Peacetime Scientific Personnel" (pp. A1956-7), and Dr. Vannevar Bush's (president, Carnegie Institution of Washington) address, "The Scientific Way" (pp. A1958-60).
24. MONOPOLIES. Rep. Kefauver, Tenn., inserted a Nashville Tennessean editorial, "The Test Relative to Monopoly" (p. A1919).
25. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Gearhart, Calif., inserted a Statement by the Agricultural Council of Calif. at the hearing on the proposed charter of an International Trade Organization, in which they state, "that no benefit will accrue to the nations of the world from an international share-the-wealth program which denies the American people the right to make through their Congress the basic decisions affecting their own economic welfare" (pp. A1913-4).
Extension of remarks of Rep. McDonough, Calif., in favor of a free-trade zone for Los Angeles (Calif.) Harbor (pp. A1941-2).
26. TAXATION; TRANSPORTATION. Rep. Gearhart, Calif., inserted Justus F. Craemer's (Calif. Public Utilities Commission) article criticizing the Federal excise taxes on freight shipments, passenger tickets, and telephone and telegraph messages (pp. A1910-1).
27. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on the Greek-Turkey aid bill and foreign relief (pp. A1910, A1920-1, A1932-3, A1952, A1954).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 23: H. Agriculture, long-range farm program (Davis of Coop Council to testify); H. Appropriations, USDA appropriations and Independent Offices appropriations (ex.); H. Post Office and Civil Service, veterans' preference; H. Rules, wool bill; H. Ways and Means, trade agreements; H. Public Lands, Alaska statehood, S. Public Works, water pollution; S. Labor and Public Welfare, Federal aid to education; H. Judiciary, establishing a uniform system of bankruptcy and on permitting referees in bankruptcy to prosecute claims against the U.S.; H. Public Works, construction of new GAO building; H. Rules, Hawaii statehood, select committee on foreign aid, and Interior Appropriation bill.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely; of developments on any particular bill.

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No. 75

Senate

(Legislative day of Monday, April 21, 1947)

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a. m., on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Peter Marshall, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Lord Jesus, who didst fill three short years with the revelation of all eternity, in life, precept, and promise, that we have not yet learned and can never forget, help us to make every minute count, making time our servant and not our master. Thou didst never ask for time to prepare Thine answers, but always had the word of Truth for every occasion. Reveal to us now Thy word for today. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. WHITE, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Monday, April 21, 1947, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Chaffee, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (H. R. 2413) to amend the Federal Reserve Act, and for other purposes, and it was signed by the President pro tempore.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BUCK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the District of Columbia may be permitted to hold a meeting which was previously called for 11 o'clock this morning.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

MEETING OF SUBCOMMITTEE OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the subcommittee of the Committee on Public Works, of which the Senator from Nevada [Mr. MALONE] is chairman, be permitted to meet until noon today.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order is made.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Let the Chair state the parliamentary situation.

The Senate is proceeding today under a unanimous-consent agreement reading as follows:

Ordered, by unanimous consent, That on the calendar day of Tuesday, April 22, 1947, at the hour of 4 o'clock p. m., the Senate proceed to vote, without further debate, upon any amendment or motion that may be pending, or that may subsequently be proposed, to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and upon the final passage of the bill itself.

Ordered further, That on said day of Tuesday, April 22, the time intervening between the meeting of the Senate and said hour of 4 o'clock be equally divided between the proponents and opponents of the bill, to be controlled, respectively, by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON].

Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the Chair cannot recognize any Senator except the Senator from Colorado, who is in charge of half the time, or a Senator to whom the Senator from Michigan, controlling the remainder of the time, may yield. The Senator from Colorado is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield 10 minutes to the Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS].

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, as we consider this bill to extend military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey there are two important questions we must first answer. The first question is, Is it right that we should adopt this new foreign policy now proposed by the President, which represents such a wide departure from our previous conception of international diplomacy and which bypasses the functions of the United Nations, an organization which was to guarantee the peace of the world? This question has already been discussed at length during the debate.

The second question is one that seems to have been overlooked during most of the debate. It is, Can the Treasury and the taxpayers of the United States

finance this new global policy? Last week the able senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] forcefully brought this second question to our attention and warned us to take heed of the present plight of Great Britain, that great power which now is threatened with financial bankruptcy. Neither the President nor any member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has ever yet attempted to predict how much this new global policy will eventually cost the American people.

I agree with the able Senator from Virginia that we should first take an inventory of our remaining assets lest we find ourselves in the embarrassing position of having kept the candles of democracy burning in Europe and letting the lamp of democracy in our own Nation go out. History teaches us the cold fact that the government of no nation has ever survived national bankruptcy.

Before adopting this new policy it is our duty first to inform the citizens of our country the full extent of what is being proposed. This is not a question of furnishing \$400,000,000 relief to a needy ally. On the contrary, it is announcing a new American political doctrine for the world, the cost of which could reach untold billions of dollars and involve the deployment of American manhood in the front-line trenches of global ramparts. Already we have furnished relief and supplies to the people of Europe since VJ-day alone to an extent of approximately \$20,000,000,000, and we are now committed to many billions of dollars more through our occupational program for Europe. These figures do not include the \$50,000,000,000 of lend-lease funds used during the war. These gifts, or so-called loans, of \$20,000,000,000 since the war represent about one-third of the entire revenue of our Government during the same post-war period. Reduced to simple mathematics, it means that since VJ-day approximately one-third of all the money the citizens of the United States have paid and are now paying as taxes has been allotted to European relief.

Expressing it in another way, by combining the total of lend-lease during the war of \$50,000,000,000 and the \$20,000,000,000 for relief granted since the war,

we have a figure representing more than 25 percent of our entire national debt. This means that down through the generations in excess of 25 percent of all the taxes which we are going to collect for both service and the retirement of our \$260,000,000,000 debt will in reality be for the gifts which we have already made to Europe during the past 7 years. The question we must answer today is, Can the American people bear this additional load and survive as a free democracy?

I know that one of the answers to this question is that we do not value human lives in terms of dollars. We agree that it is much better to send American dollars than American boys to the front, but I cannot help remembering that we were told the same thing when we adopted lend-lease before the last war. The governments of Europe then said, "Give us financial assistance and we will furnish the men"; but what really happened was that after we were in the war we were not only called upon to finance the cost but we also had to furnish most of the men.

I have earnestly sought the right answer to the question, How should I vote on the pending bill? I feel very reluctant at any time to vote against the foreign policy proposed by our President. On the other hand, I cannot help being sincerely alarmed as to what effect this gigantic program will have on the economy of our Nation. We cannot close our eyes to the grim reality that in adopting this new program we are gambling not only the financial security but the very existence of our own people. There is one cold fact which keeps staring us in the face, and that is the knowledge that we cannot obtain the perpetual friendship of any nation with either money or force. Real friendship is achieved only through obtaining their respect and confidence. The United States Government today stands out as the only citadel of free democracy, and if through financial insecurity this Government of ours should collapse, then the hope of both Christianity and democracy in this world would be doomed.

In reaching my own decision, I shall not attempt to wash my hands of my own responsibility by saying that it is the President's program, and that nothing that I may do or say can alter the final decision. The Federal Constitution places in the hands of the Members of the Congress the power to accept or reject the foreign policy of the President. Our forefathers, foreseeing such decisions as those facing us today, gave Congress this power in order to force the President of the United States to seek first the advice of Congress before launching any new foreign policy. As a Member of the Congress I accept that responsibility, and I shall accept upon my own conscience the results of my vote on this most important decision.

Mr. President, the record of our leaders and the State Department in handling international affairs up to date compels me to ask the question whether or not they are sure they are right this time, when they ask us to underwrite with finances the military and manpower necessary to a world-wide extension of our international policy.

Since Britain is balancing her budget for the first time in 10 years and reducing her taxes, why should we be asked to assume her responsibility in the rehabilitation of the world, and preserve her empire? Why should the United States continue to send money, materials, and food to aid Communist Russia and her satellites and at the same time send money, materials, food, and men to fight communism in Greece and Turkey?

This Truman global policy is merely a small beginning, conceived in haste, without adequate consideration or appreciation of its ultimate effect, which not only dooms it to failure, but commits the United States to a program which we are not powerful or rich enough to carry out without ourselves becoming financially and morally bankrupt. Why should we take this leap in the dark to destroy communism elsewhere in the world before we first destroy it in our own country?

I am anxious and willing to assist the hungry and destitute anywhere so they may help themselves, provided they are not antagonistic to our American way of life, but I am not convinced that the proposed Truman policy will accomplish this purpose. I am convinced that the adoption of this policy today would embark our country upon a gigantic commitment which could easily lead to national financial chaos and disintegration.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD, as a part of my remarks, reports from various organizations through which the United States has furnished relief, both during the war period and also during the postwar era.

There being no objection, the matters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TABLE 1.—Expenditures for relief through various agencies since VJ-day for European countries

Surplus disposal	\$5,114,000,000
Lend-lease (since war)	2,113,186,000
UNRRA (United States contribution)	2,700,000,000
Export-Import Bank	1,966,750,000
Maritime Commission	193,000,000
British loan	3,750,000,000
International Bank (United States share)	635,000,000
International Refugee Organization (pending)	75,000,000
Post-UNRRA relief	350,000,000
Direct assistance to civilians	842,000,000
Government relief in occupied areas	1,450,000,000
Total	19,188,936,000

TABLE 2.—Lend-lease aid, by country
[Thousands of dollars]

	Mar. 11, 1941, to VJ-day (Sept. 2, 1945)
British Empire	30,949,870
U. S. S. R.	11,058,833
France and possessions	2,842,082
China	870,435
Netherlands and possessions	182,000
Belgium	90,278
Greece	71,697
Norway	45,820
Yugoslavia	32,000
Turkey	27,397
Saudi Arabia	14,988
Poland	16,874
Liberia	7,237

Mar. 11, 1941,
to VJ-day
(Sept. 2, 1945)

Ethiopia	5,152
Iran	4,798
Iceland	4,797
Egypt	1,016
Czechoslovakia	349
Iraq	4
American Republics:	
Argentina	0
Bolivia	5,155
Brazil	326,913
Chile	21,499
Colombia	8,120
Costa Rica	155
Cuba	6,083
Dominican Republic	1,594
Ecuador	6,979
El Salvador	894
Guatemala	1,779
Haiti	1,437
Honduras	374
Mexico	38,468
Nicaragua	902
Panama	84
Paraguay	1,963
Peru	18,553
Uruguay	7,132
Venezuela	4,407
Not accounted for by country	1,900,805

Total lend-lease aid..... 48,578,923

TABLE 3.—Lend-lease aid, by country
[Thousands of dollars]

	Sept. 2, 1945, to Sept. 30, 1946
British Empire	442,291
U. S. S. R.	239,050
France and possessions	391,777
China	694,263
Netherlands and possessions	66,896
Belgium	68,320
Greece	3,907
Norway	6,683
Yugoslavia	36
Turkey	60
Saudi Arabia	2,543
Poland	80
Liberia	0
Ethiopia	100
Iran	0
Iceland	12
Egypt	44
Czechoslovakia	154
Iraq	0
American Republics:	
Argentina	0
Bolivia	456
Brazil	4,738
Chile	381
Colombia	7
Costa Rica	0
Cuba	10
Dominican Republic	20
Ecuador	562
El Salvador	0
Guatemala	0
Haiti	6
Honduras	0
Mexico	149
Nicaragua	0
Panama	0
Paraguay	2
Peru	480
Uruguay	9
Venezuela	11
Not charged by country	189,939

Total lend-lease aid..... 2,113,186

TABLE 4.—Maritime Commission credits to European countries

	Credits committed
Italy	\$51,000,000
France	56,000,000
Norway	41,000,000
Greece	45,000,000
Total	193,000,000

TABLE 5.—*Export-Import Bank (as of Feb. 28, 1947)*

	Credits committed
Austria.....	\$750,000
Belgium.....	100,000,000
Czechoslovakia.....	21,500,000
Denmark.....	20,000,000
Finland.....	79,500,000
France.....	1,200,000,000
Germany.....	
Greece.....	25,000,000
Hungary.....	
Italy.....	130,000,000
Netherlands.....	300,000,000
Norway.....	50,000,000
Poland.....	40,000,000
Total.....	1,966,750,000

TABLE 6.—*UNRRA*

	Amount	Remaining to be shipped after Apr. 1, 1947	
		Per-cent	Amount
Albania.....	\$27,178,000	11	\$2,989,500
Austria.....	136,127,000	3	4,083,810
Byelorussia.....	60,700,000	1	607,000
Czechoslovakia.....	264,075,000	2	5,281,550
Greece.....	350,500,000	2	7,010,000
Italy.....	420,750,000	1	4,207,500
Poland.....	481,260,000	3	14,437,800
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.....	188,050,000	1	1,880,500
Yugoslavia.....	420,552,000	5	21,027,600
China.....	529,650,000	21	111,226,500
Unaccounted for.....	59,371,000	13	6,718,230

TABLE 7.—*Summary of major OFLC bulk sales, as of Dec. 31, 1946*

Country to which sold	Cost price of surplus	Realization or sales price
United Kingdom.....	\$588,000,000	\$60,000,000
Canada.....	59,000,000	12,000,000
India.....	593,000,000	39,000,000
France.....	1,398,000,000	300,000,000
Egypt.....	36,000,000	12,000,000
Brazil.....	20,000,000	9,000,000
China.....	837,000,000	175,000,000
Italy.....	565,000,000	160,000,000
Philippines.....	638,000,000	137,000,000
Belgium.....	380,000,000	54,000,000
Total.....	5,114,000,000	958,000,000

ELIMINATION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I desire to speak to an amendment which I now have on the desk the purpose of which is to strike from this bill all provisions granting military aid to Greece and Turkey. The President, in recommending this program to Congress, stated:

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

It is my contention that, under the provisions of this pending bill, the United States is doing precisely the thing in Greece which the President says we oppose. It is my contention that the Greek Monarchy is an armed minority forcibly imposed upon the majority and that the Congress of the United States under the terms of the pending measure is to be the outside pressure group which will be subjugating the Greek people. That is

the whole trouble with taking sides in a civil war. Giving our blessing to the Monarchy does not make its tyranny just, nor its persecution holy.

Apparently the present Royalist regime, like all totalitarian dictatorships, can only be sustained by intimidation and oppression. Certain it is that it controls the press and the radio and that it suppresses the personal freedoms and that, through threats and hints of reprisals, it did fix its recent election. Certain it is that it employs terror and oppression. The President of the United States, who submitted this plan, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], its chief sponsor, and almost every Senator who supports it apologizes for the present Greek Government. Knowing the facts, they cannot do otherwise. I cannot escape, therefore, the conviction that in the policy here proposed, we are doing exactly what we say we abhor.

Turning to the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, page 2 reads:

Up to the present time the guerrillas have had considerable success creating chaos and uncertainty in various parts of Greece, particularly in the North, and the evidence presented to the committee indicates that the Greeks' security forces will be unable to restore domestic tranquillity without outside assistance in the form of equipment and supplies.

The Foreign Relations Committee suggests that since the guerrillas now fighting against the Government in Greece cannot be subdued without outside assistance, it proposes that America on its own decision and by its own action, shall furnish that outside assistance in the form of equipment and supplies. The question could not be stated more sharply or more clearly than that. Since the rebel forces are said to be receiving outside assistance, the committee proposes that their antagonists shall receive outside assistance from us. Two wrongs do not make a right. If it is wrong for outsiders to aid one armed camp, and it is wrong, then it is equally wrong for us to aid the opposing armed camp. It is unfortunate and it is unprecedented for the United States to compete in such a bloody enterprise. That is the certain way to fan a small civil war into a full-fledged world war. How much better it would be if the United Nations with our backing would compel all outsiders to stop providing military aid to either side in the civil war in Greece, and follow that action up by taking the next step toward resolving their bitter differences. I shall outline a proposed plan.

First things must come first. First, let us insist upon political democracy in Greece, and next provide the money and material necessary for her economic rehabilitation. No amount of American arms, no amount of American troops will overcome or enslave the Greek people. History has made that point crystal clear.

Economic, military, and political security in Greece depends upon the establishment of a democracy representative of the great mass of Greek people. Since we do not intend indefinitely to support, supply, and advise a dictatorial Greek army which holds the Greek people under an iron heel and in an armed camp, we

should not undertake such an enterprise now as a stopgap or an expedient. No policy can possibly make sense which does not put democracy first in the life of the Greek Nation. If Greece might have a government, representative of the great mass of Greek people, order would be restored, rebellion would cease, and the entire nation would go back to work again and reconstruction would be well on the way. Mr. Truman's policy begins with the premise that military repression of patriots fighting for liberty is the first requirement of the Greek situation. On the contrary, the first requirement is the establishment of a genuine political democracy which commands the respect and the support of a great majority of Greek people. That condition does not obtain, and so we are called on to render military assistance to a government which cannot itself maintain order because it does not have popular support. The proposition that we enter Greece to guide, support, sustain, and supply a dictatorial and corrupt monarchy and his army is a repulsive and wicked proposal. It is false to our obligations to the United Nations. It is contradictory to the political ideals under which our Nation has grown strong. It is a betrayal of the very principles on which the American Republic was established.

The President, in advocating this policy, stated:

In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is an act of extreme arrogance on our part to assume that we alone are the judges of what should be done under the Charter of the United Nations. It is not the responsibility of the Congress of the United States to make decisions for the United Nations.

Under the United Nations Charter, we have committed ourselves to the solemn and sacred procedure of bringing before the United Nations any condition—economic, political, or military—which endangers the peace of the world. According to the Foreign Relations Committee, a dangerous situation to world peace exists in Greece today, and yet it is here proposed that, without consulting UN, we, and we alone, take unilateral military action to cure it. By giving military aid rather than limiting our assistance to economic help through constituted channels set up for that purpose, we deliberately sabotage the United Nations. Our unfortunate policy of unilateral assistance is bad for us, bad for the United Nations, and bad for the world. If our program of outside military assistance is justified, would not some other nation be equally justified in extending military assistance, training, observers, advice, and equipment to the rebel forces? If we undertake, as a matter of policy, unilateral military action in civil wars throughout the world, we assume the impossible and thankless task of policing the world. A few days ago a number of marines were killed and several scores were wounded because our armed forces found themselves in a theater of civil war in a country 10,000 miles from where we now debate.

I suggest that the decision on what will give effect, or will not give effect, to the principle of the Charter of the United Nations is a matter for the United Nations itself to decide. It is indeed an act of unadulterated insolence to assume otherwise. This Nation is committed to a policy of bringing before the United Nations any situation which endangers the peace of the world. Instead of carrying out that obligation, Congress is about to undertake the policy of giving effect to the principles of the Charter. If such a course of action is legitimate, it follows logically that any other nation now a member of the United Nations can likewise decide for itself, and by itself, to give effect to the Charter with respect to civil wars or any other incident, or trouble, wherever it may occur. The United Nations is made impotent and ridiculous by such procedure. No, Mr. President; let us not hide behind pretty phrases. The basic fact is that we have violated our obligation to the United Nations. The basic, blunt, brutal fact is that we, by ourselves alone, have decided to police the world alone. All of this is done under the pretense that the United Nations is not yet ready to function. When, may I ask, is it to be ready to assume the responsibilities for which it was created? I say now, in this tragic hour of peril, it must act, or, in humiliation, disappear from the hearthstone of peace-seeking mankind. This is the hour of positive action, not procrastination and petty quibbling. It is either now or never.

The tremendous responsibilities which we undertake when we send military men and military supplies to Greece is breathtaking. The bill states that the military personnel we dispatch will be advisers. Does that mean that our military men assume the authoritative direction of the Greek Army? Does it mean that we undertake the strategy, tactics, and military movements of the Greek Army? Does it mean, Mr. President, that our military men will go into the front lines and direct operations? It must comprehend all these things if it is to be effective. Do we intend to use American pilots? Will we use American observation planes? Will our advisers participate in battle itself? The answer must be the very shamefaced answer of "Yes." In effect, the pending measure puts the military forces of America in charge of the warfare of the present Greek Government against the rebel guerrilla fighters in the mountains of Greece, many of whom are fighting for the same precious principles we fought for in 1776.

Mr. President, if the present program is unsuccessful, if the assistance is not sufficient; if the basic civilian population of Greece does not approve; if it does not support the coercive measures undertaken by the American Government; if the program itself should fail, we must make additional military commitments to continue the present Greek Government in power or get out, humiliated before the world, as the British Army beating a retreat from Athens is humiliated. We cannot retrace our step down Niagara Falls once we take that step. Americans, be not deceived, therefore. Military aid of this character and

a military commitment of this scope is not aid short of war. It is war. And it is all-out war and war to the death. So this innocent-appearing proposal is in reality a declaration of war. Little wonder that the President's tense and solemn appearance before a gloomy, unresponsive Congress on March 12 had all the aspects of a declaration of war. It was a declaration of war. It was a declaration of war with Russia.

The United States, with its atomic bombs and other frightful weapons of mass destruction, is the only military power on earth that the Soviet Union fears. Greece and Turkey could be overrun by her in a matter of hours. Greece is so weak and so torn by dissension that she cannot put down the guerrilla warfare which has been raging in her mountains for weeks. Turkey also is a relatively weak state. Regardless of how unfriendly she might be, she does not by herself constitute a military threat to anyone. But Turkey now has consummated a military alliance with the greatest military power on earth, the United States of America, and that is a far different matter.

The Congress of the United States is about ready to underwrite this alliance. At 4 o'clock today the Senate will take this fateful step, I fear. The pending measure provides for guns and soldiers to implement that alliance. Little wonder, then, that when a naturally happy and optimistic President submitted it to a joint session of Congress he was tense and anxious. He alone seems to comprehend the full import of this fateful step. Easygoing Senators and a shifty State Department, with considerable experience at deception, may pooh-pooh its serious aspects week after week, but that does not make it a joking matter. Little wonder that the American people regard it as merely another relatively unimportant money-spending spree, or relief for hungry people, or a belated move to stop the spread of hated communism.

Americans, it is none of these things. There are no humanitarian aspects to this proposal. Its ultimate cost cannot be measured in hundreds of millions. Only in billions can it be counted. It is a military maneuver of monstrous scope. Obviously Greek relief was thrown in to capitalize on the traditional love and devotion of America for a heroic people plagued with malnutrition, disease, and rebellion. With America's current wave of hysteria presently shooting at communism it is easy to enlist support for any program earmarked "Stop communism." But communism is a way of life which can only be stopped by a better way of life. War is its ally. War, and the aftermath of war, spread it.

Russia dare not ignore a military move which threatens her security and the peace of the world. Turkey by herself is no threat to Russia, but an Anglo-Turkish military alliance constitutes a military threat of the first degree. We are going into Turkey for no other reason. The United Nations, if it is ever to serve mankind, must view this military alliance with unsuppressed alarm. The UN, pattering around with less consequential matters, should be on top of this

rapidly developing crisis with undisguised concern. When our soldiers march across the Turkish border a war of aggression in the Middle East cannot be denied by us. UN ought not permit it.

If we were having misunderstandings with our good friend and neighbor, Mexico, we could not and we would not permit a military alliance to be consummated between her and Russia. We would declare war within the hour. But now the shoe is on the other foot.

Hanson W. Baldwin, a widely read writer on military strategy, is a strong supporter of the pending measure. In an illuminating article published in the New York Times on Sunday, April 13, on the Greek-Turkish plan in which he gave his blessing to the Truman proposal, he made this comment which is especially revealing:

This spring, unlike last spring, last summer, and last fall, there have been no great Russian troop concentrations or threatening troop movements on or around the border of Turkey or near other Russian political objectives; even the concentrations in the Caucasus, still considered dangerous as late as last fall, have been reduced. Russia has retired to a large extent from Manchuria, is preparing to move out of Dairen, has left northern Iran. There can be no doubt that the world politico-military situation, as distinguished from the economic situation, is better today from the American point of view than it was a year ago.

According to this reputable and well-informed writer, the situation on the Turkish border has improved markedly. High-ranking generals in our own Army verify this fact also. The crisis has almost disappeared. The situation has not worsened; it has improved. And yet, now we move in with our Army.

The explanation for our present policy of Middle East aggression is that sentiment is growing in Turkey for settling with Russia the Dardanelles dispute amicably. There is opposition there also. It is to bolster that opposition that we intervene. Britain and the United States are determined at any cost, including war, to keep Russia out of the Dardanelles.

Russia has insisted as her long-range policy that she have friendly nations on her border. At Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam we agreed to, acquiesced in, and fully supported that aspiration. Everywhere except on the Black Sea she has now developed that protection. From the Black Sea with its 500 miles of Russian shoreline, it is only 1,000 miles to Moscow. In the words of that master of pungent language, Winston Churchill, the Black Sea area is the "soft underbelly" of Russia. In every other direction, Russia has full protection. On the Black Sea and the Turkish front, she is vulnerable and there only is she vulnerable. Study the Black Sea area on the map for an understanding of its geopolitical and its full military implications.

Any alert military strategist contemplating war with Russia would select Turkey as a made-to-order springboard for that purpose. We have made that selection. The pending measure plants the American flag plus \$100,000,000 worth of military instruction in Turkey. More, much more, will follow. It is

hoped that this first relatively small shot in the arm will bolster Turkey to refuse to cooperate with Russia in resolving the century-old Dardanelles dispute. It is our military strategy at this time to prevent any agreement which will authorize Russia to build protecting fortifications on this gateway to the Mediterranean. For centuries Russia has craved commercial and military access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles. Always she has fretted over the likelihood of an enemy fleet striking at her defenseless Black Sea ports through these straits.

Under the provisions of the pending measure, when our military engineers go to Turkey, maps will be drawn and plans will be made depicting the battleground of World War III; nothing will be left to accident or speculation. Every inch of Turkey will be surveyed and blueprinted. Airfields and air bases will be prepared on paper. I understand the first military shipment to Turkey will include 1,000 modern anti-aircraft guns.

I do not know who the author of this bold and brilliantly conceived military strategy may be. Cloakroom gossip gives General Marshall the credit. It could be. His telegram to Senator VANDENBERG read to us on yesterday almost confirms it. I understand that this distinguished and popular military genius and very wise diplomat subscribes to the Karl von Clausewitz 1830 definition that "war is merely diplomacy by force of arms." I agree with President Truman that General Marshall is perhaps the greatest soldier America or the world has yet produced. I do not know now just how he will rate as a diplomat. History must answer that question, but undoubtedly he is a statesman of great capacity. The Senate will recall the remarkable statement of that distinguished soldier and American, Maj. Gen. Johnson Hagood. Years ago, in response to the form question as to whether he would desire to have the then Captain Marshall serve under him in time of war, General Hagood wrote this historic reply: "Yes; but I would prefer to serve under his command. He is a military genius."

I respect the opinion of every Senator wherever that may lead him, but I do deplore the "Shucks, this is nothing" approach of legislators and of the State Department to the most tragic decision of our time.

Twice I have seen the United States drift into a European blood-bath. I know the signposts. Denials and contradictions and double talk pave the road to war. In America today their resounding and emphatic echoes bounce from crag to crag and forum to forum. Everything is running true to form. Not one fatal criterion is missing. Once again without their approval and against their will the American people are being sold down the river of blood.

I have ever been an implacable foe of peacetime conscription. I have fought this Prussian-inspired military system at every turn of the road. I have made hundreds of speeches against it, published a few articles, and written thousands of letters to my friends pointing out its vicious nature. I am still opposed to peacetime conscription; but if Congress

enacts the pending war measure I will support conscription and military training, and a renewal of selective service on a wartime scale, immediate mobilization of a huge army and navy, increased military appropriations and every other step necessary to defeat our enemies quickly.

I understand that the chairmen of the Appropriations Committees of the House and the Senate are supporting this measure and at the same time demanding a drastic cut in military appropriations. That illustrates well the prevailing error here of not putting two and two together. Armament races cost money with slavery the reward for holding second-best hand.

Violently opposed to conscription and militarism as I am, this is an especially hard reversal for me to make, but our military alliance with Turkey which we are about to implement by passage of the pending measure leaves me no honest alternative.

We ought to begin at once the training of 20,000 very young fighter pilots a year. David Lilienthal and his Atomic Commission ought to be instructed to move ahead under full steam. B-29's and B-36's and all the other implements of death and destruction ought to roll off the assembly lines in great volume once again. I do not believe we can fight communism successfully with arms, but if that be our decision we must fight it in Moscow, not Greece, not Turkey, not France, not all over the globe. If it be our decision to fight communism with guns, and I fear at 4 o'clock today we shall so decide, then we must fight it at its fountainhead.

However, I beg my colleagues to act before it is too late. If they will agree to my amendment which will delete from the pending bill all military provisions, war can be averted. I have felt impelled to present such an opportunity to the Senate. I pray that my admonition falls not on deaf ears. This is my last appeal to my colleagues.

And now, may I make one last plea to UN. I am speaking as an humble Member of the United States Senate, in the United States Senate, but my words are for the ears of the representatives of the United Nations Organization.

If the Vandenberg bill is enacted without corrective amendment, I beg UN to rise to its challenge and demand that Russia and the United States compose within the UN their dead-end differences. Russia, in her stupid, stubborn, exasperating policy of suspicious negation, and the United States, in her new dynamic policy of unilateral military intervention everywhere, are both dead wrong. Two dead wrongs do not make one right. Tell them. Call a spade a spade. UN must realize that time is running out and this is its last and best chance to avert World War III.

The United Nations should tell Russia and the United States that any military move across the borders of Turkey by either of them must be deemed aggression; that unilateral military intervention in Turkey by either the United States or Russia is an act of war.

An impressive majority of the American people have placed their whole faith in the UN. It has their prayers and it

is their one hope. If it lets them down in this crises, UN might as well fold its tent and steal silently into the night, another dream shattered.

Russia's contentions with respect to the Dardanelles are not entirely without merit. Obviously, it is a dispute to be resolved through the offices of the United Nations. Unless UN can measure up to the challenge implied in such a problem, it is worse than worthless. The sands of time are running low. We must have action now.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 20 minutes to the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH].

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, before proceeding with the remarks which I have in mind to make, I desire to make a brief statement concerning the absence of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and his attitude toward the pending bill.

For approximately 2 weeks, in company with other Senators and Members of the House, I traveled over the area of the world affected by this particular loan, visiting both Turkey and Greece, and conferring with responsible officials and citizens in both countries. During the greater part of that time I had the pleasure of being constantly associated with our great, able and distinguished leader, the Senator from Kentucky. For most of the time we occupied the same quarters in the various hotels. Naturally early in the morning, during the day and late at night we discussed every phase and angle of the pending proposal. From that most intimate contact, in addition to his previously announced views, I want to assure my fellow Democrats that the Senator from Kentucky has a deep and strong interest in the passage of this measure. He is so utterly convinced that our course is the correct and wise course that it was only by considerable persuasion that we induced the Senator from Kentucky to remain in Paris for a long delayed visit with his daughter and a greatly needed rest. Had it not been for our persuasion and insistence, he would have returned with us and would have participated in this debate with his usual force, logic, reason, and eloquence.

I make this statement merely that Members of our own side of the Chamber may know, as I am sure they all do, that the absence of the Senator from Kentucky is not due to any lack of interest in this proposal. Even though we all miss his presence here and the fine, effective leadership he always gives, I am sure we all agree that the Senator from Kentucky is entitled to the visit he is now making in Paris with his daughter and his grandchild, and that he certainly deserves the rest and relaxation which he is now obtaining for the first time in many years.

Mr. President, in the limited time in which we have to discuss this all important question it is impossible to reply to all the arguments and statements made, such as the argument just concluded by the able and distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON]. But I would in the beginning emphatically deny practically everything the

Senator from Colorado has said, especially that we are embarking upon a course of unilateral military intervention, because, Mr. President, the action proposed is not intervention. At the request of a friendly nation we are rendering aid and assistance which that neighbor thinks she desperately needs. It is not unilateral military intervention.

Mr. President, the able and distinguished Presiding Officer of this body, the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], eloquently referred to our generation as a "tragic" generation. True it is, Mr. President, that within the lifetime of those who sit in this body our country has twice gone to war. Tragic indeed are those grim experiences, for which we have paid a terrible toll in the lives of our sons and in the depletion of our wealth and resources. Shocking and horrifying as this has been, the tragedy lies deeper. The tragedy of World War I and the tragedy of World War II lie not on the battlefields, not in the expenditures we have made. We have not failed in any of those matters. The tragedy of this generation lies with the statesmen of the world, with the diplomats of the world, who have failed to achieve the goal for which our fighting men fought and for which many of them died.

Despite the cynicism of the critic, I am not ashamed to say—no, I am proud to declare here on the floor of the Senate today—that America has fought in both world wars following high ideals and noble purposes, without hope of selfish gain, with no goal to achieve, save one—a world of peace.

Here, then, Mr. President, lies the true tragedy, that having sacrificed so much, having given to our strength and sinew, we have not as yet won either war. Victory is not ours and will not be ours until the goal for which we fought has been achieved and won. Today we embark upon a course, which some of us believe is definitely aimed to achieve the objectives for which we fought in both wars to make our victory secure.

Grave, then, is the moment; extreme is its importance. We must not waver in our course, and, Mr. President, we dare not be afraid. May we examine as calmly and dispassionately as we can some of the arguments which are advanced for and against the pending proposal, and may we in the discharge of our duties exercise some small degree of the fortitude and courage which our sons so valiantly displayed on the battlefield.

With those who assert that this course bypasses the United Nations I have some sympathy and some understanding, because at first the question came to me, Are we bypassing the organization which we ourselves have set up and for which we are chiefly responsible? Are we establishing a policy which does ignore that organization? It was only after some reflection and with such consideration and thought as I could give that I reached the firm conclusion and decision that we are not bypassing the United Nations, and that we should proceed with the legislation as it is proposed. It is unnecessary to argue this. It has been recognized and admitted by practi-

cally everyone. In fact, I do not think it has been denied that the organization of the United Nations cannot possess the means, the power, or the procedure to fill the emergency needs of the moment. In making this admission, those of us who strongly favored a world organization long before some of its present advocates deemed it even possible to achieve, do not reflect upon either the present or future course for strengthening the United Nations. As yet it is in its infancy. Probably there is no proverb better known than that which reminds us "Do not send a boy to do a man's job." The foundations for the world organization have hardly been laid. The pillars of strength are yet to be erected. The truth of these things is self-evident. Frank recognition of the present defects of the United Nations Organization should only strengthen our resolve to make it the strong organization which we have envisioned, able to cope with every situation, such as that which we now confront. We must build the Organization so strong that when any question shall arise, whether it be one of law for the International Court or a question of warfare or aggression for the Security Council or the General Assembly, whatever the questions or disputes may be, the procedure and machinery of the United Nations Organization will be ample and able to assume and carry the full responsibility. That is my concept of the World Organization. That is our job. May the United Nations grow ever stronger, and never be weakened.

Mr. President, it is said that Turkey does not need our aid and assistance. An amendment will be offered to eliminate any loan to Turkey. Many are the arguments on this point, but on this as on other points I must say that time will not suffice to permit a detailed discussion. It is not my purpose to answer everything that has been said about Turkey. Briefly, I shall give the Senate some of my own impressions and reasons why I favor including Turkey in the loan as provided by the pending bill. In passing, it might be well to say that I am familiar with the general feeling which has prevailed in this country about the Turkish Nation. All of us, I believe, recall most vividly the massacre of the Armenians, and we know that Turkey was an ally of Germany in the First World War. Contrary to popular opinion, however, it should be said that the position occupied by Turkey in World War II was of direct aid and assistance to us and our allies, and this aid and assistance amounted to more than merely remaining neutral.

It should be said in fairness that in the past 25 years Turkey has made great strides in progress and advancement. The Turkish Government of today is not the government of the "terrible Turk." It is today the one strong nation in that section of the world. It is a nation which is definitely opposed to communism and in which communism has not as yet gained any substantial foothold.

Notwithstanding her strong position, and notwithstanding her will and desire to oppose the forces of communism and

prevent it from obtaining a foothold within her country, Turkey does need, and I think she rather desperately needs, our aid today. Presently she is maintaining against her own wish and desire, a standing army which has been estimated to be all the way from 500,000 men to 1,000,000 men. Yesterday the Senator from Michigan said her army is approximately 800,000 men. But whether it be half a million or whether it be a million men, the fact remains that it is too large an army to be maintained and supported by Turkey, a nation of less than 20,000,000 people, who are thus required by circumstances against their will to maintain within their army a half million or more of their most able-bodied and most efficient men. Mr. President, certainly that constitutes a drain upon her resources and a drain upon her finances which eventually, if continued without aid and assistance, will bring economic collapse. Those men should be engaged in peaceful pursuits. They should be engaged in agriculture; they should be engaged in industry; they should be engaged in production.

The funds which we now propose to advance to Turkey—and I say this with the utmost candor and with full knowledge of what I am saying—will be used to modernize the Turkish Army. The direction of the purchases, however, and the expenditure of the funds will be under the supervision of our own Ambassador, Mr. Wilson. I regret that every Member of the Senate could not have had the privilege and opportunity of hearing Mr. Wilson when he appeared before our committee. If they could have heard his vigorous, frank, and intelligent statement of the conditions which exist in Turkey and in that part of the world today and of what will happen if this aid is not granted, I do not believe there would be any doubt left in the mind of any Senator.

Of course, Mr. President, there is the question, Why should Turkey maintain such an army? We know the reason why. We know that Russia has refused to renew a friendship pact. We know that five times daily there is broadcast into Turkey, in the Turkish language, propaganda to spread communism and to destroy the Turkish Government and to bring Turkey within the orbit of Soviet influence and to extend it from there into Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and eventually India and China; for if Turkey falls, if Turkey goes communistic, let us not deceive ourselves what the result will be; it will be that all that part of the world will also become communistic.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. During the debate much has been said to the effect that Turkey is not a democracy. Does the Senator think it makes any particular difference whether Turkey is a democracy, so long as she is resisting aggression?

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut has ably stated the exact situation. As a matter of fact, what right have we to tell Turkey that she would be a democracy? The very purpose of extending this aid is to enable

a small nation to have the kind of government it wishes to have.

Mr. McMAHON. Let me further state that we aided Russia, although she is a dictatorship, when we believed that the Nazis were making aggressions upon her; did we not?

Mr. HATCH. We certainly did.

Mr. McMAHON. And contrariwise, we denounced Russia for attacking Finland, when she made that attack.

So, as I see the situation, the test is not the kind of government which exists in a nation, but the test is whether aggression is on its way.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, the test is simply that every nation in the world, including Russia, including little Greece, has the right to determine for itself, without let or hindrance from any other nation, the kind of government that country wishes to have and the kind it chooses for itself.

That is the very thing that is being destroyed all over that section of the world today. Communism is being forced upon those nations, not by military might now, but by the processes of infiltration, propaganda, and economic collapse, so that those nations will not have the right to choose for themselves, but will have forced upon them a government, a theory, a philosophy of life which they do not want. For that reason, we are standing for the right of those small nations to choose for themselves.

Mr. President, I am not ashamed of that course. It is a principle for which the United States has always stood, and for which I pray to God it may ever stand.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. In other words, the Senator from New Mexico says that we stand, as we stood in 1918, under Woodrow Wilson, for the self-determination of peoples. Is that correct?

Mr. HATCH. Absolutely.

Mr. McMAHON. If they want communism, let them have it.

Mr. HATCH. That is their privilege, if it is a voluntary choice.

Mr. McMAHON. Yes; if they choose it in a free and open election.

Mr. HATCH. Yes.

Mr. President, I wish to say that if we were to follow any other course than the one which is proposed today, all our fine words would fall, and our action would belie our tongues.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. HATCH. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. The accusations which are made against the United States by irresponsible people to the effect that we are pursuing an imperialistic course, it seems to me, are completely refuted by the statement which the Senator has just made—a statement of the truth as to our basic and underlying policy—which is to see to it, so far as we are able, that the peoples of other countries shall determine for themselves the kind of government they want.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I am afraid I cannot yield further. Will the President pro tempore inform me how much time I have remaining?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator has 5 minutes remaining to him.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, naturally I shall have to skip and leave out much that I wanted to say, but I feel I must reply to a statement made by the able Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER]. Here on the floor he said, "If we aid Turkey, the next-door neighbor to Russia, Russia will take offense at such a course or policy." He then asked, "What if Russia were to give aid to Mexico?" This morning the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] reaffirmed the same argument.

Mr. President, in response to those arguments, let me say that there is only one thing for us to determine. It is not whether we are afraid we are going to give offense to some other nation. It is not whether we would like what some other nation might do. There is only one thing for the Congress of the United States and for this Nation to determine, and that is what is right. Having made the right decision, nothing else matters.

Mr. President, if my own country were doing to Mexico, our sister Republic on the south, what Russia has been doing to adjoining countries, if the United States were massing her troops and armies, threatening military occupation and invasion, if the United States were broadcasting daily into Mexico doctrines or ideals of government and were seeking to destroy that nation and to bring her into our orbit as a satellite under our domination and our control, I say to the Senator from Colorado and the Senator from Florida that in such case, if Russia were a friend to Mexico, she should give her aid and assistance under those circumstances. I say that, regardless of the Monroe Doctrine, or any other doctrine, if my country ever seeks to subjugate and dominate and control a weaker and lesser nation by virtue of the strength of either our military or our economic power, then every other nation in the world should raise her hand against us and should give the weak and lesser nation assistance.

Mr. President, I should like to reply to the charge of imperialism, but my time is already up, and my only reply now is that we should look at the record of the United States. It is not altogether blameless, but look at that record and it will be found one of unselfish devotion and sacrifice to the cause of peace, and against aggression. Not one single thing have we asked for ourselves out of either World War I or World War II. Notwithstanding the billions of dollars we have spent, notwithstanding the sacrifices in blood, America has told the world that our only hope, our only desire, is to live in a world of peace. That is all we ask now, and in giving aid to Turkey and to Greece we are merely furthering that aim and that objective.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, there is much more to be said, and there are many things that I have prepared to say. I now ask unanimous consent that my prepared address may be printed in full in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, our able and distinguished Presiding Officer the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] eloquently referred to our generation as a tragic generation. True it is that twice within the lifetime of us who sit in this body our country has gone to war. Tragic indeed are those grim experiences, for which our Nation and our people have paid such a terrible toll in the lives of our sons and in the depletion of our wealth and resources.

Shocking and horrifying as is this terrific cost which we of this generation have already paid, the tragedy lies deeper than costs. The tragedy of World War I and possibly of World War II lies not on the battlefields nor in the expenditures we have made. On the battlefields we have not failed ourselves or the peoples of the world. We have not failed in the vast expenditures we made, wasteful as they were. The tragedy of this generation lies with the statesmen, with the diplomats of the world, who failed to achieve the goal for which the sacrifices of the fighting men were made.

Despite the cynicism of the critic, I am not ashamed to say—no; more than that—I am proud to declare that America has fought in two world wars for no ulterior purpose, for no hope of selfish gain, with no goal to achieve save one, the sole desire for a world of peace.

Here, then, Mr. President, lies the true tragedy: that, having sacrificed so much, having given of our strength and sinew, we have not as yet won either war. Victory is not ours and will not be ours until this goal is finally reached and attained.

Today we embark upon a course which some of us believe is definitely aimed at the objectives for which we fought in both wars. Grave, indeed, is the moment; supreme is its importance. We must not be mistaken. We dare not be afraid.

May we examine as calmly and as dispassionately as we can some of the arguments and reasons which are advanced both for and against the pending proposal. May we in our duties exercise some degree of the fortitude and courage with which our fighting men met their problems on the battlefield.

With those who assert our course bypasses the United Nations, I have some sympathy and some understanding. The first thought that came to me when the present plan was suggested was a most disquieting one. Were we establishing a policy and procedure which did ignore the organization of the nations designed to protect and preserve the peace of the world? It was only after reflection and with as much serious consideration and thought as I was able to give that I reached the firm conclusion that we were not bypassing the United Nations in this instance and that we should proceed as is proposed in the legislation we now consider.

It is unnecessary to argue why this is true. It has been recognized and admitted practically by all who are familiar with the present organization of the United Nations that it would not be possible for that organization to do the things necessary to be done in the immediate future. Such an admission on the part of us who so strongly favor strengthening the United Nations to that point and degree where it will always have available the means and power to meet any and every situation, is no reflection upon the present organization. As yet it is only in its infancy. The foundations for this world structure have barely been laid. Pillars of strength are yet to be erected. Of these things all of us are aware; the truth is self-evident. Yet, I must repeat and say again this is no reflection on the present organization or upon its future possibilities. Frank recognition of its defects must only strength-

en our overwhelming purpose to build the United Nations stronger, to equip it with everything it needs as fast and as quickly as we can. We must build it so strong that whenever in the future any question arises, whether it is a question of law for the International Court or questions of aggression for the Security Council or the General Assembly, whatever the question or disputes may be, the procedure and machinery in the United Nations Organization will be ample and able to assume and carry the full responsibility. This is my concept of the world organization. May it ever grow stronger and never grow weaker.

Mr. President, it is said that Turkey does not need our aid and assistance. An amendment will be offered to eliminate any loan to Turkey. Many are the arguments on this point, but on this as on other points, I must say that time will not suffice to permit a detailed discussion. It is not my purpose to answer everything that has been said about Turkey. Briefly I shall give you some of my own impressions and reasons why I favor including Turkey in the present loan. In passing, it might be well to say that I am familiar with the general feeling which has prevailed in this country about the Turkish Nation. All recall most vividly the massacre of the Armenians. We know that Turkey was an ally of Germany in the First World War. Contrary to popular opinion, however, it should be said that the position occupied by Turkey in World War II was of direct aid and assistance to us and our allies, and this aid and assistance was in more ways than merely remaining neutral.

It should be said in fairness that in the past 25 years Turkey has made great strides in progress and advancement. The Turkish Government of today is not the Government of the "Terrible Turk." It is today the one strong nation in that section of the world. It is a nation which is definitely opposed to communism and in which communism has not as yet gained any substantial foothold.

Notwithstanding her strong position, and notwithstanding her will and desire to oppose the forces of communism and prevent it from obtaining a foothold within her country, Turkey does stand in need of aid today.

Presently she is maintaining a standing army of anywhere from 500,000 to a million men. Various are the reports as to the size of the army. But certainly it is not less than a half million men out of a nation of about 20,000,000 population. The maintenance of this army constitutes a heavy drain upon the resources of Turkey. The best men of her country are in that army. They should not be there. They should be engaged in peaceful pursuits of agriculture and of industry. Her economy, instead of being depleted, should be strengthened and her production should be increased.

The funds proposed to be advanced to Turkey—and I speak with utter candor and without concealment of a single fact—will be used to purchase modern military supplies in our country. The direction of the purchases, the expenditure of the funds, will be under the supervision of our Ambassador to Turkey. Mr. Wilson, our Ambassador, is a man whose testimony before our Committee on Foreign Relations was so forceful and strong he convinced every one of us who heard him of Turkey's great need for this assistance. My only regret is that every Member of this Senate—no; I wish every American citizen—could have heard his testimony. I deeply regret all could not have seen the strength of character and the broad vision of intellect which he displayed. Many doubts raised here would have been removed.

But, naturally, the question arises: Why the need for the large standing army? Why does not Turkey demobilize and put her men back into productive labors? The answer is obvious. It is known to everyone. The forces of communism—not necessarily military but

they may become militaristic—are a constant threat to the peace and security of the Turkish nation. Propaganda through five daily broadcasts from the Soviet Union is directed into Turkey. Infiltration processes are going on daily. The fear of a possible military operation is always present in Turkey, although the Turkish people are not afraid. In fact, they do not actually believe a military operation will begin; but when a great, strong nation refuses to renew a friendship pact, when the war of nerves is continued until the smaller, weaker nation feels compelled to maintain an army far beyond her financial strength to support, a deadly process of weakening is going on which, if continued, can ultimately bring about complete economic collapse of the whole country. And it is on such economic collapse that those who would spread the doctrine of communism throughout the world rely most strongly. By giving this aid to Turkey now, it is believed by responsible officials in that country they can so modernize their army that with far less men in numbers they can have greater strength and can return to industry and agriculture thousands and thousands of needed men, and in the end be strengthened both militarily and economically.

From my standpoint, these are some of the strong reasons why we should aid Turkey to maintain her present position. Is it necessary to say that, if Turkey should fall and become communist, not a single barrier against communism will remain in that part of the world? Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, eventually India and China, will certainly fall within the orbit of Soviet influence.

But what concern is that to us, is repeatedly asked. Are we out to stop communism everywhere and to destroy it in all lands? The answer to that is "No." We establish but one single precedent in granting aid to Turkey in this instance, and it is a precedent for which our Nation has always stood and one for which we have fought in two world wars, that is the right of every nation in the world, large or small, to determine for itself and without outside interference what kind of government it shall choose. We give Turkey aid in order that Turkey may determine and maintain for herself her own type and form of government. To that principle this country has been dedicated almost from the day of its foundation. From that principle I shall not depart when I cast my vote on this measure today. In voting aid to Turkey, we give to Turkey that assistance necessary for her to determine for herself whether she chooses her own form of government or whether she is compelled to accept one she does not want. Whichever course the Turkish people pursue it is for them and for them alone to determine. We make no demands upon them. We do not ask her to change her form of government to suit our whim or fancy. We ask only that she have the privilege of choosing for herself.

But it is said that in pursuing this course we may give offense to the Soviet Union. The able Senator from Florida argued this at length the other day and compared our giving aid to Turkey as though the Soviet Union should suddenly go into our sister republic on the south and grant military aid to Mexico. Eloquent he said, "We would not like that." But, let us examine that argument a moment and see whether there is any such point or force or analogy in our giving aid to Turkey.

May I make this suggestion: If we were doing in and to Mexico what the Soviet Union is trying to accomplish in Turkey; if we were sending broadcasts and propaganda and infiltration processes into Mexico, trying to destroy her form of government, and substitute one which we chose for them; if we were trying to make Mexico a mere satellite of ours, under our domination, influence and control, then I would say, under such circumstances the Soviet Union should send

aid and assistance to Mexico, and though we might take offense we would have no right to be offended, for, under such circumstances, we would be wrong and the Soviet Union would be right. She would be right in aiding Mexico to protect her own sovereign integrity and her right to choose her form of government and to resist our own wrongdoing—for such it would be.

Regardless of the Monroe Doctrine or any other doctrine, whenever my country adopts a course which would destroy the sovereignty of any government in this or any other hemisphere and any nation comes to the aid of the weaker country resisting our wrongful course of conduct, I say without hesitation that aid and assistance given the weaker country under such circumstances would be amply justified. The integrity and sovereignty of all nations, strong or weak, must be protected and preserved if there is to be any safety and security in the world for any nation. So long as the safety and sovereignty of any nation is endangered the safety and sovereignty of all nations is in danger.

It is said this is a dangerous course for us to pursue. I frankly admit the truth of that statement. We live today in a dangerous world. Every step taken is a step fraught with danger. There isn't enough wisdom in all the Senate of the United States, or for that matter, in all the country, to foretell where there may be danger and where danger does not lie. But of this one thing there is not a shadow of a doubt: The most dangerous course of all is to take no stand at all—to do nothing. Backing and filling, going forward and then retreating, assuming responsibility today and refusing to discharge it tomorrow, strong in time of war but weak in time of peace—these are the dangerous ways, these are the ways which will lead inevitably to war, perhaps to death and destruction. We have but one thing to determine today and it isn't whether the course is dangerous; it isn't whether someone is going to be offended. The thing we must determine is what is right. Let us be convinced that we are right and nothing else matters. In defending the principle of any nation to determine its own internal affairs, its own form of government without interference from outside sources, we are right. On this issue there can be no difference. Turkey needs our aid. It is right that we give it.

Is it necessary to speak of Greece, that valiant, gallant country—a country which has contributed so much throughout the generations past to all the world? I think the story of Greece is fairly well known. If present conditions are not known or understood, one need only read the testimony of our ambassador, Mr. McVeigh, who appeared before our committee, another brilliant man, able and courageous, who thoroughly understands the conditions not only in Greece but in all that part of the world. The story he told was a pitiful one. It was a story of long years of an unfortunate dictatorship, of five long years of enemy occupation, of deliberate attempts to destroy the country, its resources, even the morals of its people, and yet it was not altogether a hopeless story. The picture of Greece is of a country that has the possibility of rebirth, of revitalization, and of a strength to come back, a strength which will enable her to recover from all the ravages of war and strife.

Of course, it has been argued that the Government of Greece is corrupt, monarchical in form and character, and that we should not aid such a government. Ambassador McVeigh believes otherwise. Given our aid, and with the courage and strength that will come to the Greek people and to her Government, a state of peace and tranquility within Greece can be established within a comparatively short time, he emphatically asserts. With the return of peace and tranquillity, with the return of some small degree of prosperity, the Greek

people, Ambassador McVeigh says, will be amply able to and will determine for themselves the type of government they choose and desire. Can we do less than to give to this people the opportunity to have that peace and tranquillity which will enable them to build their own country, to make it safe and secure from the outside pressure which everyone knows is bearing heavily upon the maintenance of any kind of government save one within Greece? Dare we profess to believe in the principle of sovereignty and integrity of small nations and do less than give Greece the chance to mold her own destiny?

What is the alternative if we refuse aid to Greece? The collapse will come so suddenly and swiftly that Senators who vote against this aid will be appalled, for Greece has absolutely no chance against the pressure from the outside if we refuse the aid she so desperately needs in this fateful hour. These are not alone my own thoughts, but my utterances are based upon information gathered and gleaned from every responsible source at my command.

Now I must pass on to another subject which I do not like to discuss, one which I deplore has ever entered into the consideration of this proposal. It is said that when we give aid to Turkey and Greece we pursue an imperialistic pattern. These charges are currently made against us by nations who are opposed to our giving such aid. It is a part of the propaganda that is hurled daily into Turkey. That we might well expect. At it I would be neither shocked nor surprised, but, Mr. President, when these self-same charges are made on the floor of the United States Senate, when they are made in other countries by men who have held high and responsible positions of trust in the United States, I am not only shocked and surprised, but I am deeply disappointed and grieved. I shall not criticize former Vice President Henry Wallace, a man for whom I have always held the highest regard and in whose sincerity and good purposes I have always believed. Today I shall neither question his sincerity nor his purpose. I shall not inquire into motives. Those things are not for me to determine about Mr. Wallace or any other man. None of us can look into the secret recesses of a man's mind and conclude and say what motives inspire any course of action. Today I shall grant to every man the right to whatever opinion he may choose to hold for himself and shall not question his purpose or his motive. But when any man, Mr. President, says that my country pursues an imperialistic course, that statement I stoutly dispute and deny. In so doing, Mr. President, I do not have to rely upon my own views. I am not compelled to advance theories, beliefs, or opinions. I look only to my country's history. I look to the record she has written on the page of world affairs, and, as I look at it, I am not ashamed. I do not apologize; rather I steadfastly affirm that the record of our country, so far as imperialistic design and purpose are concerned, is as clean and clear as the record any country has ever written or ever will write.

In answering this charge of imperialism, I choose today to use the words of a man who was fighting the battles of the common man, the little fellow, long before those who now so loudly protest against imperialism were known in public life. This man of whom I speak wrote an article on this very subject which appears in the March issue of Harper's magazine. I wish the gentleman who now advances this argument had read that article. Mr. Norman Thomas, many times candidate for President on the Socialist ticket and who by no stretch of the imagination could be called an advocate of

imperialistic power nor of aggressive advancement of capitalism, has, in part, this to say in the article to which I referred, and which is entitled "What is Right With America," and I quote from this article:

"I do not retract my criticisms of American foreign policy or lack of policy since Pearl Harbor when I say that I know no remote historical parallel to the fact that a Nation has emerged victorious in two world wars, unequaled in economic and military might, with so little desire for aggressive, imperial power as America has yet shown.

"Consider the record. We not only raised and equipped enormous forces as they never were equipped before, while at the same time we fed our civilians on an average better than in peacetime; we also gave to our allies in lend-lease, according to the latest figures, fifty and a half billion dollars and received back less than seven and a half billion in reverse lend-lease. Now—and here is the point—our Government has not demanded in return either from its former enemies or its debtor associates any territory or special trade and economic concessions. (Even the Pacific Island bases now in controversy are only partially an exception to this statement, since they were held by Japan only on mandate or by occupation, and the United States has proposed some recognition of the trusteeship of the United Nations. The problem would disappear under the universal national disarmament with international supervision which I have advocated.)

"So far from demanding material rewards for victory we made a further \$3,000,000,000 loan to Great Britain and extended generous credits to France. Not too graciously or adequately we have carried the main burden of allaying famine. The record is not all that the highest wisdom or the most enlightened humanity would have dictated, but when in history has it been remotely paralleled by any tribe, state, or nation in ancient, medieval, or modern times?

"It was not thus that mighty powers from ancient Rome to modern Britain and France gathered and held their empires. It is not thus that the Soviet dictatorship has utilized victory. On the contrary, Stalin has annexed some 270,000 square miles of territory, mostly at the expense of nations with which he had treaties of nonaggression; established his rule through puppet states from the Baltic to the boundaries of Greece and the Adriatic Sea; quartered his armies on starving peoples; stripped them of machinery; extorted more than the Czar's imperial 'rights' in Manchuria; and taken from this territory more than \$2,000,000,000 worth of machinery necessary to any recovery of Chinese economy.

"Nor is this all. We carried through our promise of independence to the Philippines and seem likely to correct the just grievances of Filipinos at the conduct of American troops still quartered in unnecessary numbers in the islands. In Japan MacArthur enjoys a respect and popularity heretofore unheard of in the temporary rule of a conqueror over a defeated foe.

"After the First World War America showed a similar disinclination to aggressive imperialism, but also in disappointment over the results of the war it refused to accept the responsibility of membership in the League of Nations. After World War II there was no such attempt at isolation. America fostered and joined the United Nations and all its subsidiaries. Our Senate ratified the Bretton Woods agreement. Most remarkable of all, our Government voluntarily proposed to turn over to a properly constituted international authority its temporary monopoly of atomic energy, the greatest physical force in the world. Say, if you will, and so I do, that we ought also to have suspended the making of bombs, and that our action is only what wisdom dictates.

So rare is such wisdom in politics that it should count as unprecedented virtue. There was never, of course, a situation remotely like our monopoly of atomic energy, but I could safely offer a reward far beyond my ability to pay for a citation of any action by any other nation since the dim dawn of history which might have suggested such a sharing of power."

Thus does Mr. Thomas answer the charge of imperialism laid against our country by both the Soviet Government and some statesmen of America. With this quotation I might well conclude, but to it I must add and I do it without boasting but simply from a sense of fairness and justice to America and her people. True it is we have had some lapses in our dealings with other nations, but, on the whole, they have been of minor character.

While we did fail to ratify the League of Nations and we did more than once refuse to adhere to the International Court, and we did, following the last war, withdraw from the rest of the world, for which follies and mistakes we have paid a terrible price, nevertheless the purpose of America has been only to live in a world of order, one of peace and not of war. We have no designs upon any nation or upon any people. If permitted, we can live at peace in a world where every nation determines for itself its own form of government, whether that form be democratic, republican, monarchical, or communistic. I repeat, if permitted, we can and will live in that kind of world and live in peace with all nations everywhere. It was for that purpose that we fought in two world wars. It was to achieve that objective that we took the lead at Dumbarton Oaks, that more than any other nation, perhaps, we sponsored the charter adopted at San Francisco. We have passed the necessary legislation to implement an international police force; we have adhered to an international court of law. Some of us are now willing to give to that court compulsory jurisdiction. And, if the other nations of the world will join with us, we will resolve every difference by arbitration, by submission to a court of law or by amicable decision. We have offered to set up an international control for the atomic bomb and are more than willing to forego the use of that terrible weapon, provided only that we may be made safe and secure against its use by other nations against us.

We do not like to boast of our wealth and should not do so, but, as a matter of fact, we are contributing more financial aid to the distressed peoples of all the world than any other nation. In honesty and in good faith if complete disarmament of all nations can be provided and all the world be made secure against any attack by an aggressor nation, the United States will not fall behind any nation in the world, in providing whatever means are necessary to achieve this great aim. We will this day adopt the amendment to the legislation, offering to place with the United Nations the full responsibility, the full program of carrying out the promised aid to Turkey and Greece whenever that organization can carry that responsibility and burden.

To show our good faith we have offered to and will waive any right of veto, a magnificent step of which I am proud. I am proud of its author, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who conceived the thought, proud of our committee which adopted it, and equally proud of the Congress which will incorporate that great gesture into this measure.

Mr. President, I have spoken earnestly. With 100 percent of the people of America, I have but one wish and one desire, and that is to live in a world of peace, where each nation, no matter what may be its strength or its size, may determine its own

way of life, that the terror and horror and fear of war may be eliminated from the world, that law and order be substituted instead of the rule of force and might, that peoples and nations may live together in one true brotherhood, cemented and bound together by ties of friendship, good will, peace, and understanding.

Such a world, Mr. President, can be accomplished. To achieve it, I would gladly reach out the hand of friendship from our own country across the vast expanses of space to the Soviet Union and gladly sit down with them and say: With you and the other great powers of the world we will bring about a world which will not be the tragedy of our generation. On the contrary, it will be a sublime drama in which all the aims and objectives of men of good will can be realized. Mr. President, it is eternally true that there is room in the world for all of us. There is room for understanding, growth, and development. There is not room for hatred, for fear, for dispute, for discord, or for war. By working together earnestly and honestly, all differences and disputes can be removed and dissipated.

Finally, Mr. President, I conclude by presenting the issue squarely in the words of Mr. Walter Lippmann, writing in the *Washington Post*, April 1.

"Thus intervention in the Middle East is one of the means to an end. It is a strategic operation to check and reduce Soviet military expansion. Its complement is a comprehensive political and economic operation to release Europe so that it may unite, and to help finance Europe so that it may recover.

"This is a policy of which the risks and the costs are large. But they can be borne because the policy itself is directed without obscurity or equivocation to a settlement in which the vital interests of all are recognized, the security of all, including Russia, established.

"The alternative is a stalemate and increasing chaos, rising tension and animosity, and in the end civil strife and a catastrophic world war."

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I yield 15 minutes to the senior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. McKELLAR].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, after very careful thought and deliberation, and after giving the pending bill as much study as it was possible for me to devote to it, I have concluded to vote against the bill giving \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey at this time, and changing our long-established foreign policy of not interfering in the internal affairs of other nations.

I shall make only a short speech, and shall content myself largely with merely summing up my reasons for my vote.

First, Mr. President—and this will be surprising news to a great many—we have not the money with which to embark upon this plan. I repeat, we have not the money with which to embark upon the proposed plan. Whatever surplus money we have had in days gone by we have long since expended, including a comparatively small proportion in carrying on World War I, and a simply enormous proportion in carrying on World War II, and thereafter giving lavishly to every nation asking for enormous sums of money, aggregating, I am advised, in lend-lease and UNRRA, \$55,000,000,000, giving away in lend-

lease and UNRRA \$55,000,000,000 for the protection of our own Government, of our own people.

I am here talking in favor of America today; not in favor of other nations. I took an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States and the Government of this country, and that is what I propose to do. This \$55,000,000,000 was appropriated for the protection of our Government and our own people, and of our own prosperity and happiness. We must put a stop to the lavish generosity we have been engaged in toward our neighboring nations since the close of the great war.

The United States Government today owes \$257,847,453,151.15, to be exact, according to the last figures. This is the greatest debt ever owed by any nation in the world's history, and probably a greater debt than is owed by all the going nations of the world today.

Mr. President, in this connection let me say that there are two things imperatively necessary for the United States to do during the course of the present Congress. First, we must cut down expenditures and appropriations so that beginning July 1 we will live within our means. Second, we must begin, in the fiscal year beginning July 1 next, paying on this \$257,000,000,000 indebtedness, and arrange to continue reasonable payments until the debt is not dangerously large.

To my mind—and I ask Senators to listen especially to this—it is a thousand times more important for us to make and to live up to those two policies than it is to continue to give bounties to other nations, or to establish a new policy of interfering in the internal affairs of any other nation.

To attain these ends, as a member of the Senate Committee on Appropriations I am doing my best to cut down every appropriation consistent with good government, so that we can begin to live within our means and begin to pay on the stupendous national debt.

My first reason for voting against the pending bill, therefore, is that we are not in a financial position to make this great change in our foreign policy and enter upon a new program of giving great sums of money to other nations.

Let me digress here long enough to say that we have indulged in two giving activities since the beginning of the last war. One was lend-lease, the other was UNRRA, and the Congress has abolished both, in one way or another. Now here is a third attempt to establish another giving proposal.

As certainly as that the sun shines in the heavens, if we begin this new policy of interference in other nations' local affairs, accompanied by rich gifts of money to Greece and Turkey, we will soon be called upon by practically all the other nations of the world to do the same thing for them.

I repeat, Mr. President, that we have not the money with which to indulge in such prodigality.

Second, Mr. President, we must not enter upon a career of interfering in the affairs of other nations. Our Government's old foreign policy of not interfering with the internal affairs of other na-

tions is too just a policy, too fine a policy, too honest a policy, too successful a policy, too profitable a policy, too tried-and-true a policy to be forsaken at this time, when we are now at the very zenith of success in our history.

Such a change cannot be productive of permanent good to those upon whom we bestow these rich gifts, and it cannot have any other result on us except to create trouble and perhaps to lead us into war.

Third, President Truman has very outspokenly and fairly announced his purpose in making this change in American foreign policy, and he is entitled to great credit for being outspoken and frank about it. That he honestly and sincerely believes it will be best in the future for our country, as well as for Greece and Turkey, and perhaps other nations, I have not a doubt. But, Mr. President, I do not believe with the President that we should make this change in our foreign policy, even if we were able to make donations to the various countries of the world, and were financially able to conscript our young men—for that is what it is going to mean—for army service, and perhaps go to war in carrying out such a policy. I still do not believe that it is a part of our duty or within our province or within the limits of our form of government to make donations to the various governments of the world and to set up our Army or Navy in order to give them a better or more secure government. I am utterly opposed to such a change in our foreign policy.

Again I say, Mr. President, that we have not the money to make such a change.

Fourth, some say the President's reason for changing this foreign policy and for going to the aid of Greece and Turkey at this time with large sums of money is that he fears that Communist Russia is getting ready to move over and take Greece and Turkey in, as Russia has already taken in many other countries near her; that she will then have an open southern seaway from the Black Sea through the Dardanelles and out to the Mediterranean, and then out to the oceans to the world; and that the President thinks this would be unwise and hurtful to all the world except Russia.

Fifth, Mr. President, heaven knows—and I could call on the Senate to approve what I say—heaven knows that I do not want to help Russia or the Russian Communist form of government. I am utterly and unalterably opposed to doing anything that would help communism or a government of Communists.

I especially oppose the present Russian Government. It is the most despotic government on the face of the earth, and it is the most ungrateful government on the face of the earth. It has been and is most ambitious to extend not only its territories but its communistic influence and to extend its power over other nations.

A few years ago Germany had overrun the main portion of Russia. She had defeated the Russian armies and had taken over European Russia. She had driven the Russian armies beyond the Caspian Sea, as we all recall.

Under President Roosevelt the United States went to the succor of Russia and sent arms and ammunition, funds, clothes, ships, and materials of all kinds all the way around by the Indian Ocean and the Caspian Sea for the help of the Russian Army and at enormous expense saved that army and the Russian Government from the then victorious Hitler. Whether it was wise to have done so is a matter of opinion. Bad as Germany was under Hitler, I very seriously doubt, whether the present Russian oligarchy is much better. In the meantime, since and before the war, Russia had taken over in addition to her European territory, Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, Albania, and perhaps other smaller territories—the very cream and heart of Europe—and all are now attached to Russia. She was enabled to do all this and establish her present strong government only by the help and aid of America, whom she now despises and with whom she agrees on nothing.

I believe Russia admits she owes us approximately \$11,000,000,000 of lend-lease, and, including UNRRA, some \$2,000,000,000 more. But in all the long negotiations which have taken place since the war and in all the various meetings which have occurred, there has never been a suggestion from Russia to the effect that she has returning the money we had expended and given to her to save her from the German attack or that she intended to return us the money. Did anyone ever hear of any suggestion of that kind from Russia? In my own judgment she will never pay it back. She has demanded the lion's share of everything since the war, has actually taken to herself more than all the other nations put together, apparently with our consent and certainly without our protest. She has taken probably two-fifths of Germany, of the very best of Germany, and we are told on good authority that she has robbed the Germans in her division of practically everything they had. Nor has she said anything about giving back any of the vast territories she has acquired from Germany or others, or about setting any of them free.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I allot the Senator 5 minutes more.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McKELLAR. I thank the Senator.

Mr. President, Russia is apparently opposed to agreeing to a peace with us or anyone else, and at the present moment our splendid Secretary of State, General Marshall and other excellent representatives associated with him are, sitting around at Moscow, begging for a fair peace and receiving not an encouraging word. Secretary Marshall was in Moscow some 6 weeks without ever seeing Stalin, and when he did see him he apparently received no encouragement from him. In my humble judgment, President Truman is making a great mistake in keeping Secretary Marshall in Moscow

under these circumstances. I sincerely and prayerfully hope he will soon recall him, and our representatives with him. I am sorry they were ever sent there. They must be working under the most humiliating and mortifying circumstances. Therefore it is easily understood that when I vote against the giving of this money, this \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey, and vote against changing our foreign policy in respect to such cases, it is not because of any sympathy whatsoever that I have for Russia, or the Communist government. In thus voting I feel that my first duty is to America and not to Greece or Turkey or any other nation.

Mr. President, my sixth reason for voting against this bill is that we are ignoring the lessons of history—and I want to call the Senate's attention particularly to this—and especially of recent history, if we take this course. In this connection I want to discuss some of the large indebtednesses of the world.

The facts of history demonstrate that all governments, except our own, which have inordinately built up and increased their foreign indebtedness have failed.

Italy and her colonies, now all on the brink of ruin, at the end of the war owed \$34,228,483,000.

Japan and her empire at the end of the last war owed \$39,848,990,000.

Germany upon her late demise owed the astonishing sum of \$138,847,960,000.

In like manner, it has been ascertained that the bonded indebtedness of France and her colonies is \$35,452,752,000, and France has slipped, and is slipping, financially in a tremendous way.

Likewise, Mr. President, it has been ascertained that the bonded indebtedness of the British Commonwealth is \$133,464,434,000. We see Great Britain no longer moving forward and in the lead of the great nations, but rather we see her seeking to get from under the many burdens which she has been carrying.

Therefore, it is easy to see, Mr. President, that the bonded indebtedness, as above set out, of these former great nations, when compared to our own bonded indebtedness of \$257,847,453,151.15, and especially when compared to the assets or wealth of each of those countries to our own assets or wealth, tells a remarkable story.

These figures make the danger perfectly plain to any nation with a great bonded indebtedness like ours. They stare us in the face and show us the absolute necessity of our not following the fiscal example of these former great nations of the world.

These figures show us beyond the shadow of a doubt that we must live within our means, spend not more money than we receive in income, and that we must take immediate steps to reduce our enormous indebtedness.

They show beyond the question of a doubt that we must decrease our bonded indebtedness rather than enter new enterprises or increase it a single cent.

The bonded indebtedness of Germany, Italy and her colonies, and the Japanese Empire, together amount to the enormous sum of \$212,224,443,000. Their

bonded indebtedness, as we all know, has little or no value. We must not follow the example of these other nations, and we must not adopt any new policy that will increase our bonded indebtedness.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Tennessee has again expired.

Mr. McKELLAR. Will the Senator yield me a few more minutes?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield five more minutes to the Senator from Tennessee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized for 5 minutes more.

Mr. McKELLAR. As my seventh point I want to call the especial attention of the Senate, Mr. President, to the bonded indebtedness of the United States and of Russia. I want to compare them. According to the best figures available, our indebtedness, as I have said before, is \$257,846,453,151.15.

It has been rather difficult to obtain the figures of the bonded indebtedness of Russia, but from the best sources I could consult I find that the Russian bonded indebtedness is only \$27,985,461,000—as compared to our bonded indebtedness of more than \$257,000,000,000. It is true that Russia owes us \$13,000,000,000 by way of lend-lease and UNRRA, but she is not going to pay it. Everyone knows she is not going to pay it. In other words, the United States owes \$257,000,000,000. Russia, a great nation, with all the new territory which has accrued to her, has a bonded indebtedness of only \$27,000,000,000.

We must remember also, Mr. President, that Russia has in addition to her own territory taken over at least two-fifths of Germany, all of Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and today is mania, Bulgaria, Albania and today is snatching at Austria, and perhaps other smaller and richer territories. Under these financial and political situations in the world, and especially with these great accessions of territory and wealth to Russia, we must not put ourselves at a disadvantage by the reckless giving of our wealth to others. Such giving, as we have all seen, is wholly unappreciated and may bring about our great misfortune.

Suppose we had a contest with Russia. I believe we could win. But when she owes in the neighborhood of only \$28,000,000,000 not including her lend-lease indebtedness to us, and we owe \$257,846,543,151.15, what a fight we would have.

Mr. President, we do not have the money to embark upon the new policy proposed in the bill and we should not take further chances.

I am against this bill because I believe its effects will be extremely hurtful to our country and to our Government and to our Constitution. When I became a Senator I took an oath of office to uphold our Constitution and our Government and our country. I have tried to keep that oath, Mr. President, until now and so long as I am a part of this Government I shall continue to try to keep that oath.

Fortunately, Mr. President, American bonds are owned almost entirely by her

own people; our material wealth is large and our capacity to produce more is almost unlimited. Fortunately, in case of attack we are well located geographically for defense; and, fortunately, at present in any event we still retain the secret of the atomic bomb. These things make us not afraid, but we must not trifle with fortune and we must not take chances that are unnecessary.

Mr. President, it is charged that Henry A. Wallace is opposed to the bill and therefore no man of discretion or good sound mind or ordinary sense should oppose the bill because Wallace opposes it. I frankly admit that it may be that Mr. Wallace is opposed to it and it may be that he is opposed to it because of attacks upon communism and the virtues of the Communist government. If those are his reasons, of course, they are childish and senseless. I will not say more, except perhaps I might add that, in my opinion, they are exceedingly foolish. I have no view of that kind at all.

As before stated, I am utterly opposed to the Russian Government and to communism practiced under it and I am opposed to the views of anyone who is in favor of the Russian Government or communism. I am against this bill for entirely different reasons, as I have attempted to point out. I am against the bill because of its effect upon our own country. I am opposed to it because we do not have the money to give away. Our Government is today operating at a loss, and we must live within our means. We must begin the payment of our debt.

Mr. President, I thank the Senate for its attention, and I thank the Senator from Colorado most cordially for yielding additional time to me.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 20 minutes to the senior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BALL].

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, I am supporting the bill.

Much has been made here of the charge that we are bypassing the United Nations, and that our action here will destroy it. I believe the Senator from Michigan, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, when he made his opening statement on the bill, disposed of that charge completely.

The United Nations is in no position and is not organized today to do the job which we are trying to do in the eastern end of the Mediterranean even if it were functioning, it would probably be very difficult for the United Nations to deal with this particular type of fifth column aggression so long as Russia uses the veto in that organization the way she has been using it.

I think it would have been much better if our Government had informed the United Nations first of what we intended to do, and consulted perhaps with its leaders. But that is water over the dam, and I think the amendments inserted in the bill by the Foreign Relations Committee have made it abundantly clear to our own people and to the whole world that we intend no slight to the United Nations; that we are perfectly willing to abide by its judgment; that we even waive the veto in giving the Security Council the right to terminate this as-

sistance any time the Security Council is willing to take over the job itself.

But speaking of the United Nations as one who has always supported international organizations for peace, I believe that sooner or later we and the other democratic peoples will have to face squarely the issue which has arisen with respect to the United Nations and determine whether we want to go on with an organization designed to maintain peace in the world but which is virtually impotent to enforce peace against aggression, or indirect aggression, by a great power because of the use made by one of the great powers of the veto, or whether we will either force a modification of the veto in practice, or in the Charter itself, and if that cannot be done, then proceed to organize the nations of the world who really want peace and want an organization which can keep the peace, and let those who insist on using the veto, not as an instrument of unity among the great powers, but as an instrument of unilateral obstruction, go by themselves. I am afraid if Russia continues to use the veto as she has used it in the past, as an instrument of obstruction, that the people of the world will be fooled into thinking that the United Nations can maintain peace, when as a matter of fact it is completely impotent to attain such a result.

Mr. President, I do not believe that the proposed assistance to Greece and Turkey is intended to give democracy to the peoples of those countries. I happen to be one of those who believe that the only way a people can ever get democracy is by going after it and finding it themselves. I do not think it can be given to a people from outside. It is true that our financial assistance may help to create an economic situation in which democracy will stand a better chance than it might otherwise stand.

I do not believe that this bill is imperialism, as has been charged; but I do believe that it is power politics. I would define "imperialism" as one nation seizing power in another country for the purpose of exploitation. If spending \$400,000,000 in Greece and Turkey, which most of us know we shall never get back, is exploitation, then I do not know what the word means. It is not imperialism, but it certainly is power politics. We are using our economic power to stop Russian Communist aggression in the eastern Mediterranean in what we now regard in this foreshortened world as an area vital to our security. Viewed in that light, as a measure to stop and contain Russian aggression, certainly it would be the height of folly to adopt the amendment proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] and to strike out of this bill assistance to Turkey.

From all the information we have, we can be relatively certain that Turkey will not succumb to communism. If the worst comes to the worst and there is a struggle between the tyranny of Communism and the freedom of the western world, Turkey will fight. Therefore we can be sure that our money spent there will not be wasted. It is much more of a gamble, I believe, in Greece, because for

many decades the Greek people have been deeply divided politically, and it is questionable whether they will be able to build a strong and stable government capable of resisting the indirect, insidious fifth-column aggression of Russian communism.

Of course, power politics always involves the risk of war. If the objective of a nation's policy is important enough, in the final analysis it seems to me that any nation must be prepared to fight at a certain point, or the policy does not mean very much. But, as the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] has said, this is not merely a question of the risks involved in this particular policy. It is a question of those risks calculated against the risks involved in doing nothing. If we should do nothing and Communists should take over the Greek Government, as we have been reliably informed they would do, and Greece should become another satellite of Russia, like Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland, the result would probably be to topple over Italy and perhaps France, and in the final analysis all of Europe would become a part of the Russian dictatorship. It seems to me absolutely clear that if that should happen, the United States would be headed inevitably toward a war with Russia—a war in which we would fight virtually alone.

I do not believe that this measure represents the final cost if we really follow through on this policy. I believe that each case will be decided on its merits, and that we shall decide the type of action we wish to take. However, if we really intend to stop Russian Communist aggression where it now is, we must stop it at other points in the world which are vital to our security. There are a great many such points. When a plane can fly around the world in a few days, as was done recently, the world is foreshortened.

I do not believe that this is an absolutely new policy for us. In the past when we have considered situations outside our own borders as vital to our security, we have not hesitated to take action, as we did in Panama, Cuba, and the Philippines. This is the first time that we have gone quite as far as the eastern Mediterranean, but the world has shrunk a great deal in the meantime.

Throughout the consideration of this legislation, I have been struck by the similarity to the lend-lease bill, which we passed in 1941. I cannot help but regard the Russian policy today as almost identical with that followed by Nazi Germany in the middle 1930's. The Russians are following the same type of war of nerves, pressure on their immediate neighbors, bloodless conquest, if possible, and fifth-column infiltration. The only difference is that they have a fifth column in the Communist Party, which is organized in virtually every major country in the world, which is about 100 times as effective as anything the Nazis ever had.

It seems to me that the only great difference between this measure and lend-lease, which aligned the strength of the United States against Axis aggression,

is that Russian aggression is not yet fully committed to war. So far the Russians are using the war of nerves and fifth-column tactics. There is hope that if we can contain Russian aggression for a few decades, perhaps they will realize the folly of trying to conquer the whole free world, and their policy will change. Frankly, I believe that is our best hope, if not our only hope, of avoiding eventual war with Russia.

But if the Russian dictators, acting through their own people and through their Communist Party fifth columns in other countries, are determined not to permit the peoples of the world who want to enjoy freedom and have their own free government instead of a dictatorship, to have it except at the cost of war with Russia or civil war, then, Mr. President, we are headed for war inevitably, and nothing that we do here today can alter that fact.

But if we pass this measure, if we save an independent Greece and Turkey, and the horrible eventuality of a war between Russia and the western countries comes about, at least we shall fight with allies at our side, rather than alone.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALL. I yield.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. Does the distinguished Senator contend for a moment that Greece is an independent, free country?

Mr. BALL. No; I would not say that Greece is completely independent, but it has been so in the past.

Mr. BUSHFIELD. I understood the Senator to say that it was.

Mr. BALL. I think Turkey is independent and free. I believe that the Greek Government is much closer to a democratic government than any other country in eastern Europe among the Russian satellites.

It is true that this program will cost us \$400,000,000 at a time when we can ill afford it. However, I have sat in this Chamber and seen passed a bill appropriating 100 times that amount—more than \$40,000,000,000—for the expenses of the War Department for 1 year during a world war. If spending \$400,000,000, or 10 times that amount, in this way can contain Russian aggression and avoid a third world war, then I think it is the best expenditure of funds that we can make.

Finally, Mr. President, I become a little tired of the apologists for Russia who are always telling us that any firm policy on the part of the United States, any firm support of the principles of freedom in which we believe, will be regarded by Russia as an unfriendly act. They become convinced that we are planning an aggressive war on Russia and that our course will make war inevitable.

Mr. President, it seems to me that those who make that kind of an argument—and too many are making it in the United States—do not give the Russian dictators credit for very much intelligence. Let us look at the record. What nation was it which made the deal with Hitler in 1939 which started the Second World War? Was it the United States? No, it was Russia. What nation wantonly attacked her neighbor,

little Finland, gobbled up the Baltic States and held on to half of Poland's territory, all as the partner of Nazi Germany? That was not the United States; that was Russia. Which nation looted Manchuria and Austria of all their factories, is blocking any kind of a stable government in Korea today, has set up its own puppet regimes in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, and is trying now to overthrow any one opposing communism in Hungary? What government was it that attempted by almost identical tactics as those being used in Greece to take over northern Iran? That was not the United States; that was Russia. What nation has consistently exercised a veto in the United Nations to block any constructive action? Again, not the United States; it is Russia. Russia is the one great power, except China, which got Formosa and Manchuria, which has gained any real territorial aggrandizement out of this war.

What did the United States get? A few barren islands out in the Pacific for which our Marine Corps paid very heavily. Even so, I think the United States, so far as I am concerned, would be glad to turn them over to an international organization as international bases to maintain peace if we had the kind of an organization which could use them.

No, Mr. President; international co-operation and international understanding and good faith are not a one-way street, but a two-way street. Any time Russia wants to convince the United States that she really wants peace with justice, not peace at her own terms or at "any price" for us, she can do so very easily by disgorging some of the territory she has grabbed during the war, by liberating some of the peoples she has enslaved in the war.

This debate has shown very clearly how distasteful to the American people and the Congress is even this minor venture into power politics. But, Mr. President, if power politics is the only way we can stop Russian aggression with some hope of avoiding a third world war, then I am in favor of power politics, and I am most certainly in favor of the expenditure of \$400,000,000 for that purpose.

Mr. TOBEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BALL. I yield to the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. TOBEY. Does the Senator feel, with me, that what we are really doing in the last analysis in passing this legislation today is to put a sign up over the borders of Greece and Turkey which, in effect, says to Russia, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther?"

Mr. BALL. That is my interpretation. I think we are telling the world that any further aggression in that particular area means trouble with the United States.

Mr. TOBEY. I so interpret it.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I now yield 20 minutes to the junior Senator from Texas.

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I intend to vote against this Greece-Turkey gift-loan bill just as I voted against the British gift-loan bill. I believe my position is well taken because I am standing

on the same principles approved and laid down by our first President, George Washington, in his immortal Farewell Address. Here are some warnings and some advice handed down by him to posterity in that memorable document:

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

I believe, Mr. President, that in giving consideration to President Washington's Farewell Address we should bear in mind that it was in this address that he announced he would not be a candidate for reelection. By placing himself in that position nobody can truthfully charge that he was looking to the next election instead of looking after the welfare of the people of this Nation.

In addition to opposing this Greece-Turkey gift-loan because of the advice and warnings given to posterity by the Father of our Country, I oppose it also because George Washington and his colleagues gave us something stronger than advice and warnings. They gave us the Constitution of the United States, and, Mr. President, every elected public official since its adoption has taken a sacred oath, under God, to support and defend that Constitution. Mr. President, I fail to find any provision in the Constitution of the United States permitting the citizens of this Nation to authorize any of their public officials to tax the citizens, or borrow money on the taxpayers' credit, and lend or give away the proceeds to any foreign nation.

I cannot vote for this Greece-Turkey gift-loan bill, Mr. President, because I have no constitutional authority to do so. If I had the constitutional authority to vote this \$400,000,000 away, I would not do it, because I am opposed to the spending spree this Government has been engaged in for the past 14 or 15 years. During this spending spree the New Deal dynasty has, by legislation and Executive orders, tax-sapped the earnings of our people to almost the vanishing point and

gotten rid of every dollar of that tax money, and on top of that has borrowed against the credit of this and future generations of taxpayers around \$260,000,000,000 and gotten rid of every dollar of that borrowed money.

Mr. President, I believe this taxing, spending, borrowing, and lending program has led our Nation to the brink of economic disaster, and unless we stop it now, turn right-about face immediately, and proceed in the opposite direction rapidly, we will go over the brink of economic disaster and land squarely in the bottomless pit of national bankruptcy and governmental chaos.

And again, Mr. President, in viewing reckless spending, excessive borrowing, and crushing public debt as dangerous and threatening to the welfare of our Nation, I find myself in company with the good and sound philosophy of President George Washington. In that same Farewell Address he gave the following advice and warning:

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belong to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate.

So, Mr. President, I have stated my reasons for opposing this Greece-Turkey gift-loan bill. My opposition as expressed so far is based on one little sentence of 25 words, tucked away in section 4, paragraph b, reading as follows:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this act.

That one sentence, Mr. President, constitutes about the only real meat there is in the bill that can be intelligently discussed. The rest of the bill consists largely of implications, suppositions, and theoretical ifs, ands, and buts, with a few whereases thrown in for embellishment. After listening to and reading much discussion, pro and con, I gather the impression that there is some hidden motive and altruistic objective involved in the plan. It is, indeed, difficult to intelligently discuss any subject which is as elusive as an implication or supposition, but I shall attempt to perform this difficult task in order to try to make my position clearly understood.

Mr. President, one of the implications suggested is that the plan contained in this bill pretends to counteract communism abroad, and prevent its spread. Nobody has a better long-time record than I have for opposing communism and all other foreign "isms." I have fought this menace ever since, and long before, I came to this Senate. I am not only in favor of eradicating communism in foreign lands, but I am more particularly and more insistently in favor of eradicating communism in our own Na-

tion, and especially running all the Communists, fellow travelers, and communistic sympathizers out of the Federal bureaus and departments right here in Washington. While we are about it, I also favor repeal of all communistic legislation that has been placed on the statute books of our Government during the past 14 or 15 years. I am in favor of cleaning up our own Government first, and making such a shining example of our own Government, that foreigners will have more confidence in our sincerity of purpose when we talk about attempting to rid other countries of communism.

Mr. President, I want communism abolished everywhere on earth, but when the plan which is proposed to abolish communism is the identical plan that brings on communism, I do not care to adopt it. The plan proposed in the pending bill undertakes to abolish communism by borrowing \$400,000,000, increasing our enormous public debt, and giving the money away. The main objective of communism is to overthrow democratic or capitalistic forms of government. The easiest way to overthrow democratic or capitalistic governments is not by sending invading armies, but by bringing about financial collapse. What can bring on financial collapse more quickly and definitely than continually going into debt deeper and deeper?

Mr. President, this initial \$400,000,000 is only the beginning. It is the beginning of a new world program.

The President in his address before the joint session of Congress on March 12 said, "This is a serious course upon which we embark." He also said, "I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey." He must have envisioned the possibility that additional funds might be needed when he made this statement:

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress.

I can also imagine seeing the slimy hands of Joe Stalin setting the stage in Greece and Turkey to entice us into this action. He no doubt figures that he can keep up a disturbance on the Greek-Turkish frontier until the United States, like England, will be forced to withdraw from the scene of action because of the unbearable cost.

England started out bravely to stem the Communist tide in the Balkans. She poured millions into the area. She maintained an army in Greece. She sustained a vast force of civilian government employees throughout the Mediterranean area. But finally England came to the end of her financial rope. She no longer could stay the assassin's knife from severing the jugular vein of her trade lane through the Mediterranean. Russia by psychological maneuvering lured England into dumping her money by the hundreds of millions into Greece, until finally England's weakened financial condition at home opened the doors of Parliament to a socialistic government. So, now the socialistic government at London turns to the United States for pro-

tection from the consuming fires of communism, and attempts to shunt the financial responsibility from her shoulders to our broad back. Thus, we take up where England leaves off. By following the same course, how can we expect to reap a different fate?

Mr. President, one of the implications is that this is only the beginning. Loans to China, loans to Japan, loans to the Philippines, loans to Germany, loans to every country where there is communistic encroachment, are the order of the day. This is exactly as Stalin wants it. This is the way Stalin has planned his world—loans to be made by the United States, and not loans to be made by Stalin. Four hundred million dollars is but a tiny start which will soon soar to four hundred billions. Mr. President, we simply cannot eradicate communism by spawning it.

Another implication in this bill is that this plan will ward off war with Russia, at least, for some time. I do not profess to know when the next war will start, or what nation or nations will be against us. I do feel certain that we shall not start the next war, because we do not start wars; we end them. So if Russia and the United States ever engage in war against each other, Russia will start it, and Russia will therefore make the decision as to when it will start. One thing is certain: Russia is not as well prepared to go to war right now as we are. But every day and every month and every year that the start of the war, if one comes, is delayed, it enables Russia to become stronger. She is increasing her war strength all the time. So the more we help to delay the start of the war between Russia and us the more we are helping to strengthen Russia for the conflict.

Mr. President, by this reasoning it is apparent that the plan proposed by the pending bill plays right into the hands of the enemy, providing it is true that Russia intends to go to war against us. It also plays right into the hands of any other nation that might go to war against us at any time in the future. This is true by reason of the fact that carrying out this plan will weaken our financial and economic structure at home. Certainly there is no greater guarantee of security for our people than a strong domestic economy.

I would strengthen our domestic economy by not giving away any more borrowed money as proposed in the pending bill.

I would also strengthen our domestic economy by cutting our budget this year to \$25,000,000,000, and next year to \$20,000,000,000, and then reduce it drastically each following year until we get it down to a sound level.

I would cut income taxes by 50 percent effective immediately, and thus reduce the cost of living for our people by reducing the cost of producing consumer goods.

I would retire 50 percent of the civilian employees on the Government pay roll, and would permit them to go back home and engage in the production of useful goods.

I would free the laboring people of this Nation from the domination of labor-leader racketeers by repealing all the

labor laws that banished their rights as free American citizens.

I would put the Federal Government on a diet until it would fit comfortably into the clothes prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. I would return the federally usurped power to govern the people back to the State capitols and the county courthouses, and I would let the people of this Nation enjoy a little old-fashioned American freedom.

I would then send a chaplain to the United Nations to open each session with prayer to Almighty God for divine guidance, and leave the convention doors open so that the representatives of any nation who did not like the procedure would have no difficulty in finding their way out.

If Russia still remained in the United Nations, I would honor her by making her the leader in a world disarmament program. I would guarantee her against foreign aggressors for the next 100 years in return for having her completely disband the Red army within 6 weeks. I would rip out the iron curtain, so that news reporters of all nations might enjoy freedom of the press throughout her domain.

I would guarantee all the other members of the United Nations freedom from foreign aggressors in return for their cash contributions on a proportionate basis to defray the expense of maintaining our American military forces at sufficient strength to carry out our obligations.

Then, Mr. President, all disputes between member nations could be settled by the United Nations or adjudicated by the World Court. The appalling cost of sustaining competing armies throughout the world could be saved, or diverted to improving the living standard of the peoples of the world.

This, Mr. President, is my suggestion for bringing peace to this war-torn and war-weary world.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I yield myself 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Ives in the chair). The Chair recognizes the senior Senator from Michigan.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I wish to speak only briefly, and particularly about the pending amendments. There is a large sheaf of amendments on the desk. I do not know how many of them will actually be offered. In most instances the amendments have been passed upon by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and have been rejected.

One amendment which was submitted was not passed upon by the committee. It is the only one to which I personally am prepared to give my support, and in doing so I do not speak for the committee. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] submitted an amendment reading as follows:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments or between American oil companies and nationals of foreign governments.

Obviously nothing of the sort is contemplated in connection with the proposed program. In my opinion, the lan-

guage is not remotely needed or required. In my view, the protection sought is quite unnecessary. But inasmuch as the proposal has been made, I prefer to take it into the bill, rather than invite any remote implication to the contrary by rejecting it.

With that single exception, Mr. President, I wish to submit very earnestly to my colleagues that the other amendments to the bill should all be rejected. The bill contains a pattern leading toward a central objective, and that objective was described in the first two sentences of the message of the President of the United States when he appeared before our joint session. He said:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

Mr. President, the bill must be taken as a whole for the purpose of serving the foreign policy and the national security of this country. I beg Senators, even though they are opposed to the bill as a whole, to permit a fair and square showdown on the fundamental purpose and pattern of the bill, and not to undertake to attack it by flank movements which merely emasculate its purpose to produce a net result which is entirely worthless.

There are a few general classifications under which these amendments fall. Some of them seek to remove Turkey from the bill. Some of them seek to confine the bill to relief.

If we remove Turkey from the bill, we might just as well pass no bill at all, insofar as the program and the address of the President of the United States are concerned. If we confine the bill exclusively to relief, and eliminate the military aid contemplated, particularly in Greece, we might better pass no bill at all, and rely upon the relief bill which is to follow, because relief in Greece without adequate peace assurance behind it is nothing but transient bounty, which would mean the same ultimate loss that occurred always before.

I repeat, Mr. President, what is proposed must be taken as a pattern. This is infinitely more than a relief bill, and no one has pretended otherwise. This is a bill, in the language of the President of the United States, involving "the foreign policy and the national security of this country." I beg Senators to permit a fair and square vote on that fundamental challenge, the challenge of the foreign policy and the national security of this Nation.

Mr. President, I repeat, this is infinitely more than a relief bill. If we were thinking in relief terms, there should be no bill of this nature at all, because the bill is to be followed by a direct and specific relief bill, which is a relief bill in fact.

The only other amendments which are pending, generally, fall into the classification of seeking to turn over to the United Nations, in total fashion, the responsibilities contemplated by the pending bill. Again, I respectfully suggest that we fairly and squarely and honestly meet the issue.

There can be no question on earth that the fact is that the United Nations cannot accept this responsibility in the form contained in the request of the Greek Government and the Turkish Government to the Government of the United States. Under the plan which is contemplated in the bill, we propose to take advantage of every possible function the United Nations can exercise. We are proposing that just as soon as the Border Commission reports, if we can avoid a veto, the United Nations will take jurisdiction over that section of the problem in northern Greece.

We are proposing that just so soon as the World Bank can be qualified to take over any phase of the financial burden subsequently, that shall be done.

We are proposing, in textual language within the bill, that the jurisdiction and the final and paramount priority in respect to jurisdiction shall remain in the United Nations, through the adoption of an amendment which gives the United Nations unlimited and unqualified power to speak in its united name whenever it pleases in respect to what we are doing.

I beg Senators, I repeat, to help us keep this issue clear. I beg of them to permit us to submit to a yes-and-no showdown in the Senate whether or not the Senate of the United States, in response to the recommendation of the President of the United States, in response to a message from the Secretary of State in Moscow that this action is indispensable to the United States—I beg of my colleagues to permit a square yes-and-no answer in the Senate to this challenge.

Mr. President, it is needless for me to debate the issue further. I have debated at great length during the intervening days. Every Senator knows what is involved. Every Senator knows what he intends to do about the matter.

I have said many times in the last 10 days, and I repeat now, that I completely respect the good conscience of every Senator's decision. No man has a right to be dogmatic in such trying and uncharted times as we confront. No man can say "I know." The best that any of us can do is to say "This is my honest conviction." The best that any of us can do is to say "I would vote as I shall vote if I knew I was casting the deciding vote."

The Senate knows what my own convictions are. I am content, in this final hour of the debate, to summarize my own attitudes. It is my conviction that the bill must pass for the following epitomized, strategic reasons:

First. Heroic Greece, pleading for American aid, will almost inevitably become a totalitarian satellite within a few months if the bill shall fail. Her independence will disappear. It is her independence—her right of self-determination—not her monarchy which is at stake.

Second. Neighboring Turkey, the only independent country left on the immediate perimeter of Soviet Russia from the Baltic to the Black Sea, has been sturdily resisting a "war of nerves." If Greek independence fails, Turkey will be exposed upon every side. Her independence may well be the next sacrifice.

Third. From such key impulses, if the bill shall fail, we cannot ignore the probability of a Communist chain reaction from the Dardanelles to the China Sea, and westward to the rims of the Atlantic. All independence may disintegrate. We cannot ignore the enormous effect of our attitudes everywhere.

Fourth. America, though free herself of any imperialistic or expansionist designs, cannot escape a primary self-interest that America shall not be stranded in a totalitarian world. An ounce of precaution is worth a pound of cure. And please remember, Senators, I repeat, that our Secretary of State, in a message from Moscow within the last 24 hours, says to you that the passage of this bill is indispensable to the United States.

Fifth. If we act, we "hold the line" for the United Nations until such times as the United Nations can progressively take over these responsibilities—an evolution which we not only crave but openly invite. If we do not act, the United Nations soon may face responsibilities which it never can take over.

Sixth. We act in the name and in the hope of peace, seeking nothing for ourselves or for the world except peace. But if we fail to act, we present the Communist sectors of the earth with an encouraging spectacle of divided American policy on this vital, basic issue. We sacrifice our moral and spiritual leadership in behalf of democracy and independent peoples. We may never again be able to make our viewpoints and ideals persuasive short of the very war which we all abhor and would prevent. If we fail to act, aggression gets the green light; and the rest of the world, including America, gets the red.

Mr. President, I deeply regret that any Senator should say upon this floor today, as the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON] repeatedly said, that this bill is a declaration of war on Russia. Any such statement is an invitation to alien misunderstanding, which otherwise would have no possible basis whatsoever. Any such statement is an invitation to the precise disaster which this measure is intended to prevent. Any such inflammable statement is in my opinion a grave error. I deny the accuracy of any such statement. I deny any such intent. I deny any such purpose in the heart of any Senator who today supports the President of the United States in respect to this proposed legislation. In my opinion if war should ultimately come between two great countries, neither of which wants any part of war, it will come from such tragic misunderstandings as are, Mr. President, invited by just such statements as I here categorically repudiate.

I say again, as I have from the first, that I would encourage no illusions. We must choose the better "calculated risk." In my view, the "risk" is greater if we desert the President of the United States and his Secretary of State in Moscow. In my view, the risk is less if we stand up for traditional American ideals of self-governing independence in these areas; if we stand up for the human rights and fundamental freedoms to which all of us are wedded in the United Nations. In my view, the risk is less if,

in friendly firmness, we indicate the dead lines which we cannot compromise; and then, in equally friendly firmness, seek prompt and equitable treaty arrangements to settle and stabilize these areas of immediate controversy, and seek a total survey of our relationships with the Soviet Union in pursuit of an over-all agreement under which these rival ideologies shall "live and let live."

I profoundly believe, Mr. President, that the passage of the bill would be in the interest of peace with justice for us and for freemen in a free world, and would afford a better chance of reaching that consummation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Colorado.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I allot 25 minutes to the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD].

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, an adequate discussion of the pending bill providing for military aid to Greece and Turkey makes it necessary to define its scope, purpose, and methods.

The President established its scope in his message to Congress on March 12 when he said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

The President recognized that the \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey was only the first installment on this global venture by adding:

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress.

We intend to bypass the United Nations and undertake this venture single-handedly. We will be without an ally, if our acts provoke war, and without a partner to share the cost, which, in time, will be huge and, I believe, overwhelming.

Are the American people, acting alone, ready to "support"—so called—"free peoples"—everywhere—"who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures"? Since the Greek-Turkish bill is offered in this context, that is what its passage will mean to the world, unless some reservation is made in the text. Any effort to do this would be strongly opposed by the proponents of this bill.

Approval by Congress of this bill will be approval of this new world-wide policy as American doctrine. I shall cast my vote in this light.

Nobody knows the cost of such a program or whether we are capable of carrying it. Its proponents have not estimated the cost, or even discussed our ability to pay. There has been no discussion on this floor of whether we are able to pay the cost of the program we are about to undertake. Under such a policy we, alone, will determine who is aggrieved, who is pressured, and thereby—as long as the money lasts—who is to become a member of our own world power bloc.

By this same token, it also must be expected that the recipients of our bounty will become bitter converts to some other bloc if our pipe line of money

to them should run dry. One makes enemies of those to whom he gives money for a while and then withdraws it. We are not only taking over the burdens of the British Empire but are extending its commitments. Great Britain has been financially crippled by doing the things we now propose to do on a larger scale.

If and when this America-alone plan should falter, because the financial burden is too heavy, there will be none to whom we can throw the torch of democracy and freedom. We ourselves may, by then, have dissipated the sources of our strength necessary to our own defense against outside pressures and aggressors. If we then fail, no one remains to take over from us.

Let us never forget that the real strength of America is our strength at home—our fiscal solvency, our productive capacity under the free-enterprise system, and our ability to finance our obligations without crushing taxation. Upon our financial security depends our capacity to protect our defense if another war should come. Can we afford to jeopardize that security by immense and continuing foreign expenditures? That question has not been answered either by the President or any proponent of this bill. In fact, as I have said, it has not even been discussed, although it is a most serious objection to this world-wide assistance to other nations. As one of America's leading businessmen recently expressed it:

One of the greatest responsibilities of our world leadership is that we maintain financial stability in this country.

On less than 3 weeks' notice we were asked to adopt a new foreign policy which establishes as American doctrine military and economic intervention by the United States in any and all places on the globe where so-called free peoples are threatened by aggressors or outside pressures. Every effort has been made to emphasize that the emergency was acute and that Congress must act in haste. England has been in Greece for 100 years, yet we were asked to take over the British failure in Greece, make our decision and, in effect, establish a new foreign policy within 20 days.

Every effort has been made to cloak the passage of this legislation with an atmosphere of a great impending crisis, but in Greece it was never alleged that more than 9,000 Communist bandits threatened the Greek Government of more than 7,000,000 people. I dare say the 7,000,000 Greeks could hold out against these 9,000 bandits long enough for the people of the United States to get the facts and to give proper consideration to legislation which is certain to open a new, costly, long-range policy with war implications, and later embrace areas of the world far beyond the borders of Greece and Turkey. It certainly may include China, Korea, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, Spain, France, Italy, Palestine, and there are other nations which could qualify.

In Turkey it has never been alleged that any danger from foreign invasion was imminent, but that Russia was conducting a war of nerves against Turkey. That, however, is no new reason for precipitate action. In the end, this haste

and lack of complete candor may defeat its own purpose, for here in America, under our democratic processes of government, a foreign policy is only as strong as an enlightened and supporting public opinion. A policy approved without due consideration by Congress under the stress of emotion and high-powered propaganda may become very distasteful when the financial impact of these new foreign burdens is reflected in increased taxation on an already overburdened people.

Certainly this great global venture should not be undertaken without some plans or programs in order to achieve the objectives outlined in the President's message.

I cannot escape the conclusion, Mr. President, that the effort to dramatize this as an imminent crisis has been over-emphasized and exaggerated. And I say further that the Congress and the people have not been told all the facts as to the extension of aid to other countries, so that a true picture of its cost and extent can be appraised.

The news comes from Korea through Dr. Syngam Rhee, a Korean leader, that President Truman has promised a loan of \$600,000,000 to Korea. If such a pledge has been made by the President, Congress should be told of it. If Dr. Rhee has made an inaccurate statement, it should be corrected. What other commitments have been made? The Congress has the right to know what the plans are before we vote on the pending legislation. Surely a bill of particulars can be furnished to give some general idea of the commitments we may be asked to undertake. In dealing with a matter of such vital consequence, frankness with the American people is the only course to a continued support of a long range foreign policy, the cost of which is certain to grow rapidly through the years.

Many in Congress, and millions of American citizens, are thinking of this issue in terms of aid to Greece and Turkey alone, and limited to \$400,000,000. The President, inadvertently I believe, gave this impression when in his speech he said: "The assistance I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of the cost of World War II." "It is only common sense," he said, "that we should safeguard this investment and make sure it was not in vain." If this were both the beginning and end of the program, it would be another story. In fact, however, the Greek-Turkish gifts are only the beginning—a tiny rivulet in the mighty stream of American dollars that will flow to foreign countries to make effective this new policy.

In our first installment to Greece we are appropriating \$40 per capita to be spent in a 15-month period. I predict that within 12 months, or sooner, another appropriation will be asked for Greece and Turkey and for the other nations that will be subsequently included, and such appropriations will become regular items in our Federal appropriation bill for many years to come. Add up the population of the various countries that could come under this global policy, then

multiply the number by \$40 per capita annually, and we may form some rough idea of the cost which may be involved in this undertaking.

I do not say that this expansion will come overnight, but I do say with all confidence that our foreign commitments and expenditures will grow and grow under this policy, because it is certain that once we begin giving aid to a country we will not dare to withdraw, for then we will admit failure and encourage our enemies.

I say again, because it cannot be repeated too often that an American internal collapse would be the best weapon for the advocates of expansion of world communism. The financial strength of America is the chief bulwark in the world today against autocracy and totalitarianism. Weaken the financial security of America at home, and you have made the whole world defenseless to the assaults of communism.

The New York Times, on April 5, published a dispatch from its responsible and very accurate correspondent, Raymond Daniell in Athens, indicating that the conditions in Greece will make the sum now proposed a very small payment on the amount finally required. Mr. Daniell reports that Greece has a budgetary deficit of at least \$175,000,000 for this year, and that the imports for Greece in 1 year will be \$316,000,000 as compared to \$8,000,000 in exports. He stated that:

Greece is probably one of the few countries where there is no budgetary control over the ministers, who are relatively free to raise wages in their departments or spend more than is allocated to them. The British, who have been acting in an advisory capacity, say they have failed utterly to control the use of more than £80,000,000 they have put into Greece.

More than \$800,000,000 has been spent in Greece by the United States and Great Britain combined since the end of hostilities, with the result that Greece is in more desperate condition today than she was before the expenditure began. To rehabilitate Greece economically and militarily will be a long and costly undertaking.

The \$150,000,000 designated for military aid in Turkey cannot be expected to go far toward effectuating in that country "that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity," which the President proposed. This means that United States money will be used to modernize the defense of Turkey so that country can preserve its national integrity from aggression by Russia. A mere \$150,000,000 will be hardly a dewdrop toward the attainment of that goal.

No investigation or survey has been made to determine how much we can increase our expenditures and still survive as a free Nation under the system of private enterprise. Let us be warned by the example of Great Britain, whose Ambassador, Lord Inverchapel, speaking recently in Richmond, said:

I am prepared to concede that we (the British Empire) may have overdone our expenditure abroad. In fact, we have. That

is why we have come here to ask your Government to take over our financial responsibilities in Greece and Turkey.

There are those who appear to believe that America is immune to financial difficulties; that our wealth and resources are so great that we can continue to spend and spend and borrow and borrow and still remain solvent. There is a bottom to every pocket. There are those who believe the American dollar is all-powerful; that all we have to do is to send our money abroad and everything will be fine and dandy. To those who think that American dollars are a panacea for all ills it is well to ponder the words of Winston Churchill, uttered just a day or so ago, that the Socialist British Government "is living upon the American dole and squandering with profligate rapidity" the loan from the United States. Despite all the extraordinary aid that the Government is receiving, conditions in Britain "are in almost every respect worse than they were even in some of the wartime years, and incomparably worse than before the war," Mr. Churchill said.

It is well worth considering that the per capita debt in Great Britain is only a little more than the per capita debt in America. In England, it is \$2,152 and ours, including the debts of the States and localities, is over \$2,000 per capita, nearly as great as Britain's—and it may soon be greater, as the British are reducing their obligations, while we are increasing ours.

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, who has performed such notable service to the American people, said some time ago: "Before we decide domestic and foreign problems confronting us, we must get an over-all picture of the balance sheet of the country—a kind of inventory that would show the facts." This inventory should show how much we can increase our public debt without the danger of insolvency; how much we can collect in taxes without destroying the profit motive; the extent of our national resources; what will happen when our present inflated tax revenue declines. These and many other questions are pertinent to such an inquiry, and Congress and the people should have the facts.

If Mr. Baruch were appointed by the President to conduct such a survey of America's assets and obligations, it would do much to clear the minds of millions of Americans who are asking themselves the question: Where are we going and can we pay our way?

We do know that we have a Federal debt of \$258,000,000,000, and a State, county, and city debt of fifteen billion, making a total of two hundred and seventy-three billion. This compares to a debt of one billion before World War I and about forty billion before World War II. We are not in a position to make new experiments in world-wide spending. Who can say that communism can be wiped out with American dollars?

We do know that World War II consumed vast amounts of our natural resources, especially copper, oil, iron ore, and timber. We do know—and I regard

this as one of the most serious objections to this new adventure—that here at home there is not the slightest spirit of sacrifice to deny ourselves luxuries to finance this burden of cost for our foreign operations. I can see no such spirit. The President says his budget of \$37,500,000,000 should be approved without the reduction of \$1, although in the year before the war the Federal Government expended \$9,000,000,000. If we undertake these new expenditures abroad, it is very obvious that our Government expenses at home should be cut to the very bone.

Those who labor are asking higher wages and shorter hours. The taxpayers are asking reduced taxes and greater services. Not one single official of the Government, or advocate of this legislation in Congress, has indicated to the American people the sacrifices at home which will be necessary to carry these new burdens abroad. England made such sacrifices. She went so far as to reduce the living standards of her people and effected every possible economy, and,

notwithstanding these hardships and efforts, she stands today before the world acknowledging her present weakened financial condition.

Between July 1, 1945, and the present, the United States Government has embarked on foreign assistance programs totaling nearly \$16,000,000,000, exclusive of all military costs, and largely exclusive of aid to Latin America and the Orient; yet we are told that we have done nothing in Europe to correct the conditions which exist there. While this figure represents the value of gifts, grants, loans, credits, goods, and so forth, it is my opinion that a very small percentage of the total will ever be repaid. These expenditures and commitments are summarized as follows:

Direct assistance to civilians from military-civilian supplies	\$842,000,000
Government relief in occupied areas	1,450,000,000
British loan	3,750,000,000
Export-Import Bank loans	2,011,700,000
Surplus-property transfers	1,030,000,000

Lend-lease aid (postwar)	\$1,848,000,000
Maritime ship transfers	107,000,000
Philippine aid	695,000,000
Post-UNRRA relief	350,000,000
Greek-Turkish aid (pending)	400,000,000
Assistance through international organizations—UNRRA (United States share)	2,617,000,000
International Bank (United States share)	635,000,000
International Refugee Organization (pending)	75,000,000
Total	15,970,000,000

Of this amount, \$1,525,000,000 went to Russia and her satellite nations.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point as a part of my remarks a table showing United States postwar foreign assistance programs for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction, authorized or pending before Congress.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

United States postwar foreign assistance program for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction, authorized or pending before Congress

[In millions of dollars]

NOTE.—This table covers foreign aid furnished or to be furnished under existing authority plus additional aid for which authorizations are now pending before the Congress. Estimates of aid to be furnished after fiscal year 1948 do not include aid which may be financed from 1949 and later appropriations, except where an authorization extending beyond 1948 contains a specific monetary limit. The table includes both programs involving budget expenditures and nonbudget items such as the transfer of accumulated stocks of goods. Aid is shown in terms of the date the country actually received it rather than the date it was finally recorded in the United States accounts. Therefore, figures for aid in the form of goods and services are on the basis of deliveries or transfer of title. Figures for loan programs, such as the British loan and those by the Export-Import Bank, and for cash grants, are based on cash disbursements.

The table excludes: (1) Items transferred to China and Latin America under military lend-lease programs; (2) payments by the U. S. Government for procurement of strategic and other materials abroad, including advances; (3) short-term credits such as the Export-Import Bank cotton credits; (4) postwar payments in goods or cash for supplies, services, and currencies furnished by foreign countries to the United States as a phase of military operations during and after the war, such as payment for currencies acquired for pay of troops; (5) postwar payments for supplies and services furnished to foreign countries during the war, such as bills for foreign war relief furnished through the Red Cross and for wartime lend-lease; and (6) aid for currency stabilization, including a 1946 advance to China and the United States subscription to the International Monetary Fund.

Because reporting of expenditures usually lags considerably behind deliveries or transfers of goods and services, the amounts shown in this table are not the same as those shown in the President's budget or in fiscal reports for the same periods.

Category of assistance	Total	Assistance already given, July 1, 1945, to Feb. 28, 1947			Projected further assistance				Sources of funds for further assistance			
		Fiscal year 1946	July 1, 1946, to Feb. 28, 1947	Total	Esti- mated, Mar. 1, 1947, to June 30, 1947	Esti- mated, fiscal year 1948	Estimate after 1948	Esti- mated total	Available, Mar. 1, 1947		To be made available	
									Com- mitted	Uncom- mitted	Amount	Method
Direct assistance:												
Military civilian supply ¹	842	741	51	792	30	20		50	50		300	1947 deficiency appropriation.
Government and relief, occupied areas ²	+1,450		330	330	226	645	+249	+1,120	95		725	1948 appropriation.
British loan ³	3,750		900	900	600	1,200	1,050	2,850	2,850			
Export-Import Bank loans ⁴	2,011.7	469.6	598	1,067.6	313.5	530.6	100	944.1	944.1			
Surplus property transfers ⁵	1,030	192	631	823	107	100		207	207			
Lend-lease aid ⁶	1,848	1,626	197	1,823								
Maritime Commission ship transfers ⁷	107		34	34	(?)			73	73			
Philippine aid ⁸	695		32	32	127	196	340	663	345		462	Appropriation.
Post-UNRRA relief ⁹	350				100	250		350			350	Do.
Greek-Turkish aid ¹⁰	400				100	300		400			400	Do.
Assistance through international organizations:												
UNRRA ¹¹	2,617	1,184	881	2,065	552			552				
International Bank ¹²	635	159	317	476	159			159	159			
International Refugee Organization ¹³	75					75		75			75	Do.

¹ Best available estimate of that portion of United States supply program for liberated and occupied areas which was included in general military activity appropriations rather than as a separate appropriation.

² Financed from specific appropriation for occupied areas. Expenditures are a charge against each area's economy. Does not include appropriations beyond fiscal year 1948.

³ Total loan available for withdrawal until Jan. 1, 1952. Repayment to be made in annual installments thereafter.

⁴ Does not include commercial-type and ordinary developmental loans nor \$500,000,000 earmarked for possible future credit to China. Incorporation of Bank under Federal charter by June 30, 1948 is assumed. Repayment period in loans varies up to 30 years.

⁵ Figures are for actual or estimated sale value rather than original cost. The difference represents a cost of the war. The total excludes property delivered in settlement of debts owed to foreign governments or in exchange for real property or similar benefits. The figures are based on credit agreements made through Feb. 28; the amounts of future credit agreements cannot at present be accurately predicted.

⁶ Includes post VJ-day nonmilitary shipments plus VJ-day foreign-held inventories of civilian-type articles, less cash received; excludes unshipped portion of lend-lease

supplies to Russia and Russian VJ-day inventory, for which no settlement exists; repayment terms vary with country settlement and include dollar credits, local currency, real estate, and other benefits.

⁷ Based on credit agreements reached and transfers made through Dec. 31, 1946. Extent of future credits and rate of use of remaining \$73,000,000 of existing credits is uncertain.

⁸ Amount to be made available includes \$144,000,000 in recommended appropriation for 1948 and \$318,000,000 which may be included in 1949 and later appropriations under existing authorization. Includes: Philippine Rehabilitation appropriation; Philippine War Damage Commission; RFC loan; and free transfer of surplus property.

⁹ Proposed, pending congressional action.

¹⁰ Proposed, pending congressional action. Includes an indeterminate amount of military aid.

¹¹ Completes United States contribution to UNRRA.

¹² Completes basic United States cash subscription to the Bank. Further payments on our subscription will occur only if calls are made to members to make good any defaults by borrowers.

¹³ Proposed, pending congressional action.

Assistance given and to be given, as shown in this table, totals \$15.8 billion. This amount is a measure of the value of United States postwar relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction aid to foreign countries, but it is not a measure of the ultimate cost to the United States, which will be considerably less than \$15.8 billion. Repayment is scheduled in case of the British loan, Export-Import Bank loans, surplus property, lend-lease, and Maritime Commission credits, and the RFC loan to the Philippines. In addition, relief furnished to the occupied areas is a charge against each country's economy. The proposed legislation authorizing aid to Greece and Turkey provides for loans and credits, as well as grants. The United States contribution to the International Bank is in the nature of an investment. Only the UNRRA and post-UNRRA relief programs, the contribution to the International Refugee Organization, and a portion of the Philippine and Greek-Turkish aid program are grants. Because the extent to which repayment will be required for such programs as aid to occupied and war-devastated areas is still uncertain, it is impossible to estimate at this time what part of the \$15.8 billion will be a final net cost to the United States.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD as a part of my remarks a table showing a break-down of United

States postwar foreign-assistance programs for all countries as of March 31, 1947.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

United States postwar foreign assistance program for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction, authorized for U. S. S. R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria

[The data in this table constitute a break-down, in millions of dollars, for the above countries of data furnished on Mar. 31, 1947, for all countries, and should be read in terms of the explanatory material on that table]

Category of assistance	Total	Assistance already given, July 1, 1945, to Feb. 28, 1947			Projected further assistance				Sources of funds for further assistance			
		Fiscal year 1946	July 1, 1946, to Feb. 28, 1947	Total	Esti- mated, Mar. 1 to June 30, 1947	Esti- mated, fiscal year 1948	Estimate after 1948	Esti- mated total	Available, Mar. 1, 1947		To be made available	
									Com- mitted	Uncom- mitted	Amount	Method
U. S. S. R.:												
Export-Import Bank												
Surplus property transfers												
Lend-lease aid ¹	231.5	197.2	34.3	231.5								
UNRRA ²	203.1			173.3	29.8			29.8	29.8			
Total	434.6			404.8	29.8			29.8	29.8			
Poland:												
Export-Import Bank	40.0		6.4	6.4	1.6	32.0		33.6	23.6			
Surplus property transfers	40.0	1.6	30.8	32.4	1.0	6.6		7.6	7.6			
Lend-lease aid	.09	.06	.03	.09								
UNRRA ²	383.5			336.2	47.3			47.3	47.3			
Total	463.59			375.09	49.9	38.6		88.5	88.5			
Czechoslovakia:												
Export-Import Bank ⁴												
Surplus property ⁴	8.4	3.7	4.7	8.4								
Lend-lease aid	.18	.06	.12	.18								
UNRRA ²	193.7			180.6	13.1			13.1	13.1			
Total	202.28			189.18	13.1			13.1	13.1			
Finland:												
Export-Import Bank ⁶	65.0	10.6	32.2	42.8	10.2	12.0		22.2	22.2			
Surplus property transfers	25.0	7.2	7.7	14.9	2.0	8.1		10.1	10.1			
Lend-lease aid												
UNRRA ²	2.1			2.0	.1			.1	.1			
Total	92.1			59.7	12.3	20.1		32.4	32.4			
Hungary:												
Export-Import Bank ⁷												
Surplus property transfers	15.0	3.4	7.7	11.1	2.0	1.9		3.9	3.9			
Lend-lease aid												
UNRRA ²	3.6			2.6	1.0			1.0	1.0			
Total	18.6			13.7	3.0	1.9		4.9	4.9			
Rumania:												
Export-Import Bank												
Surplus property transfers												
Lend-lease aid												
UNRRA ²												
Total												
Albania:												
Export-Import Bank												
Surplus property transfers												
Lend-lease aid												
UNRRA ²	17.6			13.4	4.2			4.2	4.2			
Total	17.6			13.4	4.2			4.2	4.2			
Yugoslavia:												
Export-Import Bank												
Surplus property transfers												
Lend-lease aid	.04	.03	.005	.04								
UNRRA ²	296.8			274.6	22.2			22.2	22.2			
Total	296.84			274.64	22.2			22.2	22.2			
Bulgaria:												
Export-Import Bank												
Surplus property transfers												
Lend-lease aid												
UNRRA ²												
Total												
Grand total	1,525.61			1,330.51	134.5	60.6		195.1	195.1			
Recapitulation by program:												
Export-Import Bank	105.0	10.6	38.6	49.2	11.8	44.0		55.8	55.8			
Surplus property transfers	88.4	15.9	50.9	66.8	5.0	16.6		21.6	21.6			
Lend-lease aid	231.81	197.85	34.455	231.81								
UNRRA ²	1,100.4			982.7	117.7			117.7	117.7			

¹ Excludes unshipped portion of lend-lease shipped to Russia and Russian VJ-day inventories for which no settlement exists.

² For UNRRA figures, data for "Assistance already given" is through Jan. 31, 1947, instead of Feb. 28. Estimate for the remainder of fiscal 1947 is from Feb. 1 rather than from Mar. 1. Break-down between fiscal 1946 and first 7 months of fiscal 1947 is not available.

³ The remaining credit of \$10 million available after fiscal year 1948 is not expected to be used because of a low priority and difficulties of collection and delivery.

⁴ Excludes short-term, commercial-type loans of \$24 million authorized for export of cotton (\$22 million) and for tobacco (\$2 million).

⁵ Remaining credit of \$41.6 million is not expected to be used; new sales have been suspended since September 1946.

⁶ Excludes short-term, commercial-type loans of \$14.5 million authorized for export of cotton (\$7 million), for private American exporters (\$5 million), and for private Finnish traders (\$2.5 million).

⁷ Excludes short-term, commercial-type loans of \$7 million authorized for export of cotton.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, if spending American money is the answer, then we cannot be accused of a do-nothing policy in the foreign field.

BYPASSING THE UNITED NATIONS

Millions of Americans are asking themselves: Will unilateral military intervention by the United States in Greece and Turkey result in bypassing the United Nations and repudiate the covenant we as a signatory nation solemnly promised to obey and respect? It cannot be denied that the pending bill does provide for the undertaking of unilateral action, without either approval of or consultation with the United Nations. This is the purpose, and this will be the result.

In the hearts and minds of a war-weary people everywhere, the United Nations has become the symbol for world peace—a movement in which 55 nations have joined for the holy purpose of keeping the peace of the world through collective measures. Collective action, in fact, is the very foundation stone upon which the United Nations is buildied, just as the Constitution of the United States is the foundation of our representative democracy. To emphasize this point, I hope I may be pardoned for quoting from the magnificent speech delivered by the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] on July 29, 1945, in reporting to the Senate on the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, page 6982 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The Senator from Michigan said:

Here, Mr. President, are 50 sovereign nations each one of which is under the most solemn pledge that can be made under God among the peoples of the earth—under pledge to do what? Listen:

The Senator then quoted the first section of the first chapter of the charter of the United Nations, which reads as follows:

To maintain international peace and security; and to that end: to take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international disputes or situations which may lead to a breach of the peace.

In the same speech the Senator from Michigan said further:

It is my conviction that the great hope is here held out to humankind stems largely from the solemn formula which the San Francisco charter creates for the pacific settlement of disputes before they ever reach a fighting state.

Again, on July 23, 1945, at page 7956 of the RECORD, the Senator from Michigan said:

My faith is in the council table. There was no force at San Francisco, yet there was unanimous agreement at the council table. This is the primary and paramount endowment of this United Nations Organization. In my view, Mr. President, that is the hope of the world.

I emphatically, categorically, and utterly agree with the distinguished Senator from Michigan that every one of the signatory nations to the United Nations "is under the most solemn pledge that

can be made under God to maintain international peace and security" by collective measures, as set forth in the language of the Charter of the United Nations.

I quote from another speech made by the able Senator from Michigan, before the Variety Club in Detroit on February 5, 1945, delivered after Dumbarton Oaks and before San Francisco. In this address, had he been gifted with a prophetic vision, he could not have described more completely the situation confronting us today. After quoting the late President Roosevelt as saying that—

The nearer we come to vanquishing our enemies the more we become inevitably conscious of differences among the victors.

The Senator from Michigan went on to say:

How do these dangerous differences disclose themselves? Usually by unilateral decisions in which one or another among the United Nations makes its own announcement, pronounces its own interpretation upon its own rights regardless of the fact that these rights, for all of us, flow from our common effort. I assert that all vital decisions should also flow from the same sort of common effort.

Is not this a vital decision which should "flow from the same sort of human effort"? Indeed in all of its implications and future commitments, it is a decision so vital as to well determine the future destiny of the world.

In the same speech the Senator from Michigan summarized his three dedications to peace, which he said were:

First, the inexpressibly vital need to prevent World War III through collective security.

Second, the paramount importance of a just peace if it is to be a permanent peace.

Third, the hazard to these objectives if each of the United Nations starts going its own way even before we have clinched total victory.

What are we doing except going our own way?

I have quoted the Senator from Michigan at some length, because in this year 1947 I agree completely with all he said in 1945. I have shown this faith by supporting, until now, the lead taken by him and the distinguished Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] in all matters relating to the establishment of the United Nations for the purpose of preventing war by collective action.

The Senator from Michigan is so right in speaking of the hazards to peace "if each of the United Nations starts going its own way" that his warning strengthens my conviction of the wisdom of my vote in opposing the pending bill.

The United Nations was not consulted either before or after the President proposed this action to the Congress. The matter was not discussed at the council table. Sixteen days after the President's address to Congress, our representative merely gave notification of a course the President had already decided upon and had already asked the Congress to approve. It is little wonder that this action called for the following warning from Secretary General Lie, the official head of the United Nations, who said:

A willingness among nations to give and take and to make sacrifices, an insistent seek-

ing after agreement, a determination to find a meeting of the minds, a readiness to resort to the United Nations even when the most vital national interests are at stake—always on behalf of the solemn principles and purposes of the United Nations—this is the bedrock on which alone the United Nations can build solidly and securely for the future.

The preamble to this proposed legislation which attempts to justify our bypassing of the United Nations is merely window dressing, a lot of pious words without effect or legal validity.

Let me discuss now the Vandenberg amendment from the standpoint of whether it conforms to the Charter provisions of the United Nations, "to take collective measures to remove causes of war."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Virginia has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. BYRD. This much-discussed amendment does not in any way answer the challenge that we are taking unilateral action, as unilateral action means affirmative, direct, and independent action, while the Vandenberg amendment is negative, providing a veto procedure for withdrawal after the action is taken. It will take practically a two-thirds majority of the Security Council to ask the United States to withdraw after our operations in Greece and Turkey have actually been undertaken. Then the General Assembly of Nations can also ask our withdrawal, but this can only be done by a two-thirds vote, or 37 out of 55 nations so voting.

It is inherent and basic, as I have said, in the Charter of the United Nations, that affirmative, collective action was the principle upon which the world relies in the hope of preserving future peace. Such a back door and negative procedure as now proposed was not envisaged by the framers of the United Nations.

Is the United States willing to take the position that any and all members of the United Nations can undertake military interventions subject to a subsequent veto of two-thirds of the member nations? If so, in the name of candor and consistency, let us agree to an amendment to the United Nations Charter providing for such a procedure. A test of the sincerity of the United States would be to support an amendment somewhat as follows:

Upon receipt of a request, any member nation can give military equipment, material, or money to finance the purchase of such, and send military personnel to train the military forces of any requesting nation, providing such intervening nation agrees to withdraw if requested to do so by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has again expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I yield 2 minutes more to the Senator.

Mr. BYRD. Such a provision in the Charter of the United Nations, of course, would make it a farce and turn the clock of peace back to the time and conditions which sowed the seeds of World Wars I

and II. We ourselves cannot take unilateral military action without setting an example which would invite other member nations to do the same. The veto provocative action already taken by a member nation is vastly different from affirmative action, whereby the United Nations not only would approve of the proposed military intervention in Greece and Turkey, but would actually be a party to it, and this, I submit again, is the concept of collective action adopted as the underlying principle of the United Nations.

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], in his able speech opening this debate, said that the United Nations is not a relief organization, and the answer to that, of course, is that this is not a relief bill. It is a bill which provides for military intervention—for arming the Greek and Turkish Armies and training these armies with American military personnel.

If our unilateral action in arming other nations is provocative of war, upon what ally can we depend? If we act independently and arm nations to oppose communism, can we assume that Russia will not follow our lead and establish a counterpolicy? In that event, who will stand by us? Have we the assurance of a single ally? We have not. We have undertaken this course alone, and we must take the consequences alone.

In my speech in the Senate on April 1, I stated my views with respect to the future of the United Nations. I shall not elaborate on my statements made then except to say that the question of arming Greece and Turkey and all other like matters should come before the United Nations, in accordance with the direct mandate of its Charter. If the United Nations is not strong enough for the task, then let us take steps to make it strong. For myself, I will go the whole way in enabling America to perform her responsibility within the framework of the United Nations to preserve world peace.

In that address to the Senate I proposed a show-down with Russia within the framework of the United Nations, and I repeat it now. We should not act single-handedly and alone. It is, of course, important to have Russia remain a member, but the time comes when patience ceases to be a virtue. If Russia continues to sabotage every effort toward world peace, then the only thing to do is to recognize the realities and to establish a group of nations who will cooperate effectively and act together. A Russia sabotaging the United Nations from within is even worse than a Russia outside of the United Nations.

I make the confident prediction that shortly the necessities of the situation will force a show-down with Russia within the United Nations. If this show-down has to come, it is better to do so now than later. I believe that all America wants to work cooperatively with Russia in the United Nations, but we must insist upon two parties to this. Russia has deliberately and arrogantly used the veto power in 11 instances to stymie the constructive actions of the United Nations. It is significant that

most of these vetoes were directed against even the investigation of conditions which other nations believed to be desirable in the cause of peaceful relations.

The veto power is now absolute. It would seem reasonable to me to amend it so that the veto power by any one of the Big Five would be subject to being overridden by a two-thirds vote in the General Assembly of 55 nations. Thus, the members of the so-called Big Five would have protection but not the absolute power to stymie essential action. This would provide a workable and fair procedure.

Let us say a word as to the statement that has so frequently been made in this debate: That it is either this bill or nothing; that a do-nothing policy will bring more dire results than to do something. If we are doing nothing in foreign affairs, then why has America in less than 2 years—since July 1945—spent and obligated herself to distribute money, credit, and goods in foreign countries, exclusive of military expenditures, aggregating the sum of \$16,000,000,000, to which I have already referred? Out of this \$16,000,000,000 the sum of \$1,525,000,000 has been, or will be, given to Russia and her satellites. Again I ask, Can we nourish communism with our left hand and crush communism with our right?

Our expenditures and commitments to Russia and her satellite nations since July 1, 1945, are as follows:

Russia.....	\$203,000,000
Poland.....	463,000,000
Czechoslovakia.....	202,000,000
Finland.....	92,000,000
Hungary.....	18,000,000
Yugoslavia.....	296,000,000

More than 10 percent of this amount was not distributed as of March 1, 1947, but is being daily expended.

In view of our program abroad, which already amounts to nearly \$16,000,000,000 since the war, it cannot be said that we are doing nothing. We are doing all and more than we can be expected to do within the framework of the United Nations. We have met every obligation that has been imposed upon us by the United Nations. Right today the State Department is urging the Congress to approve \$17,000,000 to Russia for the purchase of machinery to develop new processes for aviation gasoline, which will result in strengthening communism, yet, at the same time the State Department requested the Congress to approve \$400,000,000 to resist communistic aggression in Greece and Turkey. Such a contradictory foreign policy certainly requires clarification and adjustment.

In this connection, it is interesting to examine the details of the \$11,729,000,000 that the United States has furnished to Russia as lend-lease aid since 1941. Of this total, nearly five and one-half billion was not for military assistance but for agricultural, industrial, and other commodities, including commercial vessels. This emphasizes the great amount of aid given to Russia by the United States, outside of military equipment, to strengthen the Russian form of government.

It is significant, also, to note that of the more than \$11,000,000,000 in lend-lease to Russia, only \$10,000,000 has so far been repaid, including what is known as reverse lend-lease. Under the terms and conditions of lend-lease, it is very doubtful that even a small part of the nonmilitary aid to Russia will be recovered. So this again indicates the extent to which this country has helped to establish communism in Russia, which it is now preparing to oppose. Surely now, in the light of our proposed actions, Congress should demand that all aid to Soviet Russia and her satellites be stopped immediately.

Before I take my seat, let me say that no Member of this body is more anxious than I for the United States, wholly and without reservation, to discharge its obligations in world affairs. In the past I have supported all measures to this end. This is the first time that I, as a Senator, have voted against a foreign policy proposed by the Executive. I do this now out of the depth of my convictions that the United States should not violate the Charter of the United Nations and start out alone on a venture impractical in its operations and fraught with the greatest dangers. I want to strengthen the United Nations—not destroy it.

I am firmly convinced that the only road to world peace is by the collective action of all peace-loving nations. If the definition of a peace-loving nation does not embrace Russia, then the sooner we know the better, for in that event it would be essential for us and other like-minded nations to take united measures necessary for our future security.

I thank the Senator from Colorado.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 8 minutes to the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. BALDWIN].

Mr. BALDWIN. Mr. President, it seems to me that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD] has spoken as forcefully as anyone has in the Senate on the basic reasons why this measure should not be passed. I hesitate to attempt to answer the Senator's arguments because of his great experience, his tremendous ability and his long service here. But, humbly and as a new Senator, it seems to me that there are answers to the arguments he has advanced, and that they are most potent and forceful ones. They have already been expressed on the floor of the Senate.

This program will cost us a great deal of money; it will constitute a tremendous drain upon the American economy; it will require much thoughtful attention and care; it will require speeding up our production and strengthening our economic life, and that will require sacrifice on the part of all of us.

When, Mr. President, shall we be better able to meet the threat which the bill is designed to meet than now? When shall we be stronger? When could the opportunity be more propitious than now?

I am reluctant to see American money spent for this purpose when I know it could be very usefully spent for the benefit of our own people; but it seems to me that the choice is one which we

have inevitably to make in favor of spending the money as is proposed in the bill, for our own security, for our own safety, and for the peace of the world.

Mr. President, the Congress, as well as the President of the United States, has a very definite part in the administration of this particular part of our foreign policy, and because of that fact I have proposed an amendment which would give to the President pro tempore of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives the right to appoint as representatives of the respective branches of the Congress members of the mission which will go to Greece and Turkey to administer the funds provided for in the bill.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the adoption of such an amendment would not be a manifestation of lack of confidence in the President or a lack of confidence in the State Department. It would indicate, perhaps, a new turn in the administration of American foreign policy. Since the Congress is directly responsible to the people for raising the \$400,000,000 provided for in the bill, it appears to me that the two Houses of Congress should have directly on such missions representatives of their own choice who could come back and report to the respective branches of the Congress concerning the administration and handling of this particular money for the purposes set forth in the bill. In that way we probably could obtain a more effective administration and a more economical administration of the funds, and certainly, Mr. President, the Congress would know more directly and more completely how the matter was being handled by our representatives in Greece and Turkey.

The other argument which has been advanced in opposition to this bill is the argument that it bypasses the United Nations. In my opinion, Mr. President, it is a very fortuitous circumstance that this question has been raised and that it has been met by an amendment which demonstrates as well as could possibly be demonstrated, our sincere interest and our earnest intention to support the United Nations. The statement, Mr. President, that the United Nations is at this time incapable of assuming and unable to assume this obligation has not been successfully controverted.

It has been stated, and not disputed, that Greece and Turkey have asked us directly for help, and that we, in turn, must make some reply. That reply cannot be to deny their requests and refuse our help.

But in the amendment proposed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], we have set forth our good faith in unmistakable and completely understandable terms. In that amendment we say that if so requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, the President is directed to withdraw any or all of this aid. That leaves it in the hands of the people of Turkey or in the hands of the people of Greece to say if and when they want us to get out. What can be fairer than that?

Moreover, the amendment contains the provision that we will withdraw—

if the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly find that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

There is the expression of our will and our purpose to leave to a majority vote in either of those bodies in the United Nations the determination as to whether the aid which we now offer should be withdrawn. It seems to me that is the most forceful help and the most significant thing any nation has yet done, since the adoption of the United Nations Charter, to show its good will and to show its earnest intention to support the United Nations to the end that there may be peace in the world.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Connecticut has expired.

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, many other Senators have received from their constituents, as I have, letters expressing doubt and anxiety as to certain phases of this bill. Among the letters which I have received is one expressing certain objections and doubts on the part of a Rhode Island lawyer. After receiving it I wrote to Dean Acheson, the Acting Secretary of State, sending him a copy of the letter, and asking for his comments thereon. Under date of April 18, he wrote me a letter which I should like to present to the Senate, because it clears up some of the doubts. I should like to read the entire letter, but time will not suffice for that, so I shall read only excerpts from the letter; and I now ask unanimous consent that the entire letter, together with the letter to which it is a reply, may be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit A.)

Mr. GREEN. Dean Acheson wrote me as follows:

I have received your letter of April 9, 1947, enclosing a copy of a letter dated April 7 from Mr. I. H. Strasmich. It appears that Mr. Strasmich is disturbed by the proposal to extend American aid to Greece and Turkey, and that his concern in this regard arises over the following considerations.

Then he summarizes those considerations. Thereafter he wrote as follows:

First of all, I want to assure you emphatically that the proposed program of assistance to Greece and Turkey is in no way inspired by any concern for American oil interests nor any desire to obtain American military bases in Greece or Turkey. As I stated before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, our policy would have been exactly the same in this instance if there had not been a single drop of oil in the Near East. Our policy is based solely upon the desire to assist in the preservation of the independence of the two nations which have requested that assistance. In the testimony before the House and Senate committees and in other public statements, the Department of State has made it abundantly clear that we do not intend to send combat forces of any kind to either Greece or Turkey, and that, therefore, no question of the establish-

ment of American bases in those countries can arise.

With respect to the possibility of utilizing the United Nations to provide assistance required by Greece and Turkey, I would refer you to my statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24, reading in part as follows:

"The situation of Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives: We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United Nations.

"This becomes clear when we consider the specific problems that confront Greece today and the specific kinds of assistance that Greece has requested from the United Nations on the one hand, and from the United States on the other.

"If Greece had applied to the United Nations or any of its related organizations, the essential element of time would have been lost and the end result would have been the same. The funds would have to come primarily from the United States. The United Nations does not of itself possess funds. The Economic and Social Council is an advisory body that recommends economic, financial, and social action to member states. The International Bank, which is just now completing its organization, is set up primarily to make self-liquidating loans for long-term reconstruction purposes. It has not yet made any loans whatsoever. The Economic Commission for Europe is still in its early organization stage.

"In the longer range, the United Nations may be able to take over various parts of the economic and financial problem in Greece and Turkey. We are giving serious study and consideration to ways in which the United Nations may take hold of this problem after the present emergency is past."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, may I have one more minute?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator may have one more minute.

Mr. GREEN. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I wish to read a further portion of the letter from Dean Acheson, as follows:

Finally, I wish to repeat what I have previously said in both the Senate and the House with regard to the extent of the proposed American commitment. The President, in his message to the Congress on March 12, made it very clear that our program of assistance at this time is limited to Greece and Turkey. Any other cases in which American assistance may be requested will be carefully considered on their individual merits, and it is not to be assumed that our Government would necessarily furnish the same kind of assistance to any other nation. If, however, a similar situation should arise elsewhere, the Congress will have full opportunity to consider whether financial aid should be extended in that case.

On the contrary, I am convinced that it is an essential measure to protect our security and our way of life.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. President, I think it will be a satisfaction to some Members of the Senate who themselves have some doubts

about the pending proposal, similar to those which have been expressed by my correspondent, to find that the Acting Secretary of State has expressed himself so clearly in reply to those questions.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Rhode Island has expired.

EXHIBIT A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 18, 1947.

MY DEAR SENATOR GREEN: I have received your letter of April 9, 1947, enclosing a copy of a letter dated April 7 from Mr. I. H. Strasmich. It appears that Mr. Strasmich is disturbed by the proposal to extend American aid to Greece and Turkey and that his concern in this regard arises over the following considerations:

1. He believes that the proposal is really just a mask for military objectives, namely, the preservation of American oil interests in the Near East and the utilization of Greece and Turkey as American military outposts.

2. He feels that if the motives of the United States had been strictly humanitarian, our objectives could have been obtained from the United Nations, since the veto does not exist in the General Assembly or the Economic and Security Council. He suggests that the United States could have provided the necessary funds for use by the United Nations.

3. Mr. Strasmich thinks the United States is "writing off the United Nations as an instrument for waging peace," and is therefore guilty of a breach of its agreement in signing the United Nations Charter.

4. He feels that the United States, in undertaking the projected assistance, would be forcing the Greek and Turkish people to submit to oppressive governments, and he asserts that we cannot form democracy by bolstering undemocratic governments.

Mr. Strasmich feels that the economic and military drains of the proposed program would force the United States into fascism.

I believe that most, if not all, of the considerations raised by Mr. Strasmich have already been dealt with in the testimony given before congressional committees and in the answers furnished by the Department of State to the series of questions formulated by Members of the Senate and published by the Committee on Foreign Relations. For your convenience, however, I am glad to restate the Department's views in this regard.

First of all I want to assure you emphatically that the proposed program of assistance to Greece and Turkey is in no way inspired by any concern for American oil interests nor any desire to obtain American military bases in Greece or Turkey. As I stated before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, our policy would have been exactly the same in this instance if there had not been a single drop of oil in the Near East. Our policy is based solely upon the desire to assist in the preservation of the independence of two nations which have requested that assistance. In the testimony before the House and Senate committees and in other public statements, the Department of State has made it abundantly clear that we do not intend to send combat forces of any kind to either Greece or Turkey and that, therefore, no question of the establishment of American bases in those countries can arise.

With respect to the possibility of utilizing the United Nations to provide assistance required by Greece and Turkey, I would refer you to my statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24, reading in part as follows:

"The situation of Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives: We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United Nations.

"This becomes clear when we consider the specific problems that confront Greece today and the specific kinds of assistance that Greece has requested from the United Nations on the one hand, and from the United States on the other.

"Let us consider first the problem arising from outside Greece's borders. Greece has charged before the Security Council that armed bands operating within her territory are partly supplied, trained, and given refuge in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, and that these bands are moving back and forth across the border. Greece has asked the United Nations for help in dealing with this situation, and the Security Council has appointed a commission which is at the present moment investigating the Greek charges on the spot. It is expected that this commission will begin writing its report early in April, and that report should be ready shortly thereafter.

"We do not know what the report will contain or the action that may be taken by the United Nations upon it. We hope and believe that United Nations action in this matter will result in the cessation of disturbances along Greece's northern borders. Such a result would be a most vital contribution to the situation in Greece and make possible the task of stabilization and rehabilitation. It would not be a substitute for the assistance which Greece has asked from the United States. More is needed to deal with internal disorder and economic break-down.

"The second problem confronting the Greek Government is the need for supplies and funds to enable it to cope with its internal difficulties, namely, the restoration of order in the country and the averting of economic collapse. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the British Government have been helping Greece with those particular problems, and the present crisis has arisen because those two supports must be withdrawn.

"To whom was Greece to turn? The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which recently sent a mission to Greece, recommended that the Greek Government request the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the United States and the United Kingdom to extend aid to it in securing funds for the continuation of essential food and other imports to cover the period after UNRRA's withdrawal until expanding exports, international development loans, and expanding production should enable Greece to balance its international accounts.

"If Greece had applied to the United Nations or any of its related organizations, the essential element of time would have been lost and the end result would have been the same. The funds would have to come primarily from the United States. The United Nations does not of itself possess funds. The Economic and Social Council is an advisory body that recommends economic, financial, and social action to member states. The International Bank, which is just now completing its organization, is set up primarily to make self-liquidating loans for long-term reconstruction purposes. It has not yet made any loans whatsoever. The Economic Commission for Europe is still in its early organization stage.

"It may be that at some future time the United Nations will be organized and equipped so as to render emergency aid to member states of the kind now needed in Greece and Turkey. But, as the President

said, the United Nations and its related organizations are not now in position to extend help of the kind that is required. Even if some organ of the United Nations should decide to recommend assistance to Greece and Turkey, it would have eventually to turn primarily to the United States for funds and supplies and technical assistance. Even if the project were not blocked by the objections of certain members of the United Nations, much time would have been lost, and time is of the essence.

"In the longer range, the United Nations may be able to take over various parts of the economic and financial problem in Greece and Turkey. We are giving serious study and consideration to ways in which the United Nations may take hold of this problem after the present emergency is past."

There is nothing in the letter or the spirit of the United Nations Charter which forbids one member of that organization from extending assistance to another. On the contrary, it is the firm belief of the Department of State that action of the kind we have proposed is completely in accord with the principles of the Charter and constitutes a positive contribution to the strengthening of the United Nations. The UN can be no stronger than its members, and their sovereign independence is an essential condition to the proper functioning of the Organization.

It should also be pointed out that the United States has shown its full respect for the United Nations not only by the active role taken by this Government in the creation of the Investigating Commission on border difficulties in Greece but also by the provision of the pending Greek-Turkish aid bill, which offers the United Nations an opportunity to take over the task of assisting Greece and Turkey at any time it desires to do so and is in a position to provide the necessary assistance. I should like to say once more that this Government remains firmly devoted to the principles of the United Nations Charter and intends to continue its policy of full support for that Organization.

In undertaking the projected program of aid, the United States does not propose to support any particular regime in either Greece or Turkey. Our assistance is designed to preserve the independence of those countries, to establish and maintain conditions which will relieve them of fear for their security and so permit their continued development on the road of democracy. It is essential to remember that both countries have already made great progress on that road but that this progress is gravely imperiled by alien influences which menace their whole way of life. If they are not relieved of this threat, all possibility of democracy will disappear in both countries. It is the firm conviction of the Department that the Greek and Turkish people are fully capable of working out their own destinies if they are given the opportunity, and that the proposed American assistance would provide them with this opportunity.

Finally, I wish to repeat what I have previously said in both the Senate and the House with regard to the extent of the proposed American commitment. The President, in his message to the Congress on March 12, made it very clear that our program of assistance at this time is limited to Greece and Turkey. Any other cases in which American assistance may be requested will be carefully considered on their individual merits, and it is not to be assumed that our Government would necessarily furnish the same kind of assistance to any other nation. If, however, a similar situation should arise elsewhere, the Congress will have full opportunity to consider whether financial aid should be extended in that

case, and it would of course take into account the extent of the drain of such aid upon American resources. I need hardly assure you that the executive branch of the Government would also take this question into account before formulating any proposals. Consequently, I do not believe there is the slightest reason to fear that the Greek-Turkish aid program would so strain the resources of the United States that our way of life or our form of government would be in danger. On the contrary, I am convinced that it is an essential measure to protect our security and our way of life.

Sincerely yours,

DEAN ACHESON,
Acting Secretary.

PAWTUCKET, R. I., April 7, 1947.

The Honorable THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR GREEN: Although you must ultimately make up your own mind about issues arising in Congress, I know that in times like these you are most anxious to have the considered views of such of your constituents as have thought matters through and are willing to take the time to write you. The following is written in a spirit of the utmost helpfulness and with a grave concern for the welfare of the United States.

I ask you to take the initiative to defeat the Truman doctrine and all proposals unilaterally to uphold the Governments of Greece and Turkey with our money, supplies, and men. I ask it in the name of the United States, for these compelling reasons:

Because the Truman proposal (including the Vandenberg amendment or other variations) as presented to the American people wears a disguise. What purports to be the extension of aid to suffering peoples in Greece and to a Turkish Government hampered by large military expenditures really masks United States military objectives, namely, oil concessions in the Near East and advance military bases. If the Government's professed humanitarian aims were sincere, it would have been a simple matter to accomplish them through the United Nations (the veto exists neither in the General Assembly nor in the Economic and Social Council, whose problem it is to handle such assistance). The President could have requested Congress to make available to the UN such resources as he now asks Congress to furnish unilaterally. That he chose not to invoke the UN strongly indicates his unwillingness to inform the American people of these facts:

1. Oil reserves in the United States are ample for peacetime use, but our military wishes to preserve such reserves for war by the device of using Near East oil now. The military feels our "life line" to the Near East oil is in danger.

2. As long as the British were in Greece, our military felt we had advance military bases in the Near East for use against the U.S.S.R. With the British withdrawal, our military is seeking to bolster up the present Greek and Turkish Governments to use those countries as United States outposts.

Because the Truman proposal is a shocking repudiation of the United Nations. Our signature to the UN Charter (Senate approved with but two dissenting votes) irrevocably committed us to the policy of collective security. Henceforth, the resort to war as a means of settling disputes between nations would be held in as much abhorrence as a resort to murder where individuals are disputing. The world forum provided by the UN, together with the economic and, if necessary, military sanctions which could be levied against an aggressor were considered realistic guardians of peace. The techniques of negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, and judicial settlement (which are not taught at West Point) are the processes by which in-

ternational disputes were to be settled, after the strong spotlight of world public opinion had been focused upon them. Referring to our real objectives in the Greco-Turkish situation and our Government's reluctance to apprise our own citizens of these matters, one can see why our Government prefers to disregard the UN. One can see that disregard has been deliberate, based upon an ill-considered and unworthy writing off of the UN as an effective instrument for waging peace. Our military still puts its trust only in our military forces and the atomic bomb, even though it was the UN which succeeded in making the USSR remove its troops from Iran. If the Truman doctrine and any proposal based thereon prevail, the United States will be guilty of a flagrant breach of its solemn agreement—a breach of good faith holding the probability of incalculable harm to this country and the civilized world—a breach as completely unforgivable as it is unnecessary. There are no differences between the United States and other nations which cannot be settled within the instrumentalities of the UN Charter, if we invoke the UN in good faith, honestly set forth our legitimate demands and beliefs, insist that peaceful settlements be arrived at, and fully support UN decisions. If we scuttle the UN by our unilateral action, there is nothing that can prevent a world divided into armed camps and a civilization-destroying war.

Because the Truman proposal reeks with the taint of failure. Short of annihilation there is no permanent way to force peoples to submit to tyranny. King George made us suffer at Valley Forge, but the United States stands today as a monument to his ultimate defeat. The people of Greece, no less than the people of China, have their sufferings aggravated by a graft-ridden, corrupt, reactionary government—for conservative indictments of the present Greek Government I refer you to the April 5 edition of the Saturday Evening Post, for Ernest O. Hauser's "Something Rotten in Greece," and the magazine section of the April 6 New York Times. No fair person would even suggest that Turkey is anything but a dictatorship. We cannot promote democracy by bolstering up undemocratic governments; we cannot stop communism by supporting fascism. Surely, that lesson ought now to be clear to all but the willfully blind. We can help democracy spread by insisting through the United Nations that peoples everywhere should have the benefit of the "four freedoms," by assisting downtrodden peoples everywhere with economic aid channeled through the UN, by supporting the liberal and progressive forces throughout the world which are fighting for political and economic democracy—like the New Deal—those forces which at the present time are being squeezed into either the reactionary or Communist camp because we have not supported them. In Spain and China, to name two outstanding examples, our policies encouraged reaction. We failed in both instances to bring about either political or economic democracy. If we back reaction in Greece and Turkey, we will be doing more to spread communism in the Near East than anything Stalin might invent. And we will be underwriting an unlimited unilateral program which will dissipate our resources, earn us the just hatred of all progressive forces, and cause us to become a totalitarian state ourselves, for the economic and military drains of this program must force us into fascism.

You will have my heartfelt thanks if you give the above your most serious and sympathetic attention.

Kindest personal regards.

In the utmost sincerity,

I. H. STRASMICH.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 20 min-

utes to the Senator from Illinois [Mr. LUCAS].

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President—

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, if the Senator from Illinois will yield for that purpose, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LUCAS. Will the time for the calling of a quorum be taken out of the time allotted me?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It is the opinion of the Chair that the Senator from Colorado would have to consent to a quorum call, because the time required would have to be charged to both sides alike. So far as the Senator from Michigan is concerned, the time remaining to him is not sufficient to permit of the calling of a quorum.

Mr. LUCAS. Then, Mr. President, I do not yield for the suggestion of the absence of a quorum.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Very well.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, when the President of the United States came before a joint session of Congress recently he was not asking just for a loan to Greece and Turkey, not just for aid to people who were struggling to keep their independence, not just for enforcements in the effort to check the spread of an ideology which is contrary to all our beliefs—he was asking America to see clearly and assume the role in the world which destiny has chosen for her. He was asking America to take the necessary steps to protect her safety and security from aggressors everywhere.

Mr. President, when the first settlers cleared the forests and turned the soil of this land, so rich in all the good things of life, the first step was taken on that road which destiny pointed out. When the founders of this blessed system of free government wrote into the Constitution the principles by virtue of which this country was to develop, America was on an inevitable course. For more than a century and a half generations of Americans applied their genius and their brawn to the utilization of our immense natural resources, and in a way that could be possible only under our system of government this Nation accomplished spectacular development. I doubt that those past generations always knew where they were going; they simply forged ahead, making their country the wonder of the world in its power and its potentialities.

I do not believe that even a few years ago all of us realized how far we had come on that road, and the future which destiny was pointing out to us. It took World War II to make us feel our might in material things, and make us realize our responsibility in the defense and protection of spiritual values. I doubt that we fully sensed these things even as we grasped victory, after having concentrated every thought and every effort on bringing the awful conflict to a quick and successful end. But we are realizing these things now. America has become of age. We have passed beyond the adolescent period in world affairs.

Whether we like it or not, our victory in World War II has thrust upon us the mantle of world leadership, and it will require all of our ingenuity, our patriotism, and our industry to wear that mantle successfully. It may be, Mr. President, that this duty has confronted us before but because of our youth and our inexperience in dealing with the nations of the earth, we were not spiritually and politically equipped to discharge it. In our meteoric rise we could not see, and perhaps we did not try to see, that far-away place in the road when America would be out in front of the other members of the family of nations with the smaller and weaker members looking to her for help in the journey of life. But we have reached that place in the road on which destiny set us so long ago, and from here on we must chart our course with that responsibility for leadership, world leadership, if you please, always in mind.

That is what the President was telling all America when he spoke to us in a solemn joint session recently. It took courage for the Chief Executive to make the Nation face the facts. It is taking courage today for the Members of this body to enact into law this step America is taking in assuming her newly acquired leadership. It will take courage for every American to adjust his thinking and his living to fit his new role in a troubled world.

Mr. President, I think we are meeting the challenge in the way America could be expected to react. I am impressed with the courage and the vision of the President of the United States. I am proud of the high spirit of nonpartisan patriotism with which the Congress is dealing with this legislation. I am glad that there has been so little evidence of selfishness and prejudice as the people of this country face the situation.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is to be commended on the manner in which it handled the proposal before us. They held open meetings. Every United States Senator was free to come and voice his opinion, cross-examine the witnesses, and make his own record before the committee, if he so desired. In addition, the able presiding officer, who is chairman of that important committee, went out of his way to obtain from Members of the Senate questions touching on every conceivable phase of the proposed loan. I recall no time since I have been in the Senate when a committee of this body went so far in attempting to obtain all the facts relating to a proposal upon which fair and prudent minds could intelligently base final judgment.

The candid and forthright testimony of Dean Acheson and Will Clayton and other high officials of the State Department was enlightening and heartening. Nothing was suppressed by the committee. Nothing was suppressed by the State Department. Nothing was suppressed by any other branch of the executive. The facts and the implications of the program were laid on the table and discussed, and as a result the Amer-

ican people are thoroughly informed today on the entire program.

Mr. President, I repeat what I have said before in colloquy with other Senators in this debate. With all the facts before us, we can follow the President, the State Department, and the unanimous recommendation of the Foreign Relations Committee, or we can do nothing, as suggested by some. We all know there is danger in either course. Every United States Senator must search his soul and call upon his best and most impartial judgment in choosing the course he feels it is best for his country to take.

I have done this, and I am convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that the less dangerous, and the wisest, of the two courses before us, is to follow the proposal of the President of the United States. I believe that this road will lead America and the world to freedom and peace. I fear that the other road, narrow in its short-sighted, political, and economic isolationism, threatened at every turn by the danger of the spread of communism, will surely lead us at some future time to World War III.

This, of course, is only one man's opinion, but I am confident it will be sustained today by a great majority of United States Senators. It is sustained by the leading businessmen of this Nation. It is sustained by the great majority of the press of the country in its editorial policy. It is sustained by columnists and radio commentators, all of whom both mold and reflect public opinion in America and the world. Yes, it is sustained, Mr. President, in my humble opinion, by the great majority of the American people.

Mr. President, I repeat, I am deeply grateful for the non-partisan spirit in which the Congress and the country have dealt with this extraordinary proposal. The able senior Senator from Michigan reminded us long ago that politics in our foreign policy should stop at the water's edge, and, sir, so long as I remain in this body, regardless of the political complexion of the Chief Executive, I shall use whatever power is at my command to keep active and inviolate that bi-partisan policy upon all international problems. When I say international problems, I mean just that. I am convinced that there are few great issues arising in foreign countries, in this atomic age, which would not be the concern of the executive branch of the Government, as well as that of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate and all the Members of the Senate.

I am convinced that whether a problem is large or small, whether it arises in Cuba, China, Germany, Greece, or any other country, if it will have an effect on other nations in the world, the American people, through their Chief Executive who is responsible for our foreign policy, and through their chosen representatives in this body, have a right to and should take cognizance of it. In so doing we keep a united front in America on our foreign policy. Mr. President, just so surely as the American people divide on important foreign

questions as they did in the days previous to Pearl Harbor, sooner or later, as old Ben Franklin said, "We must all hang together or assuredly we shall all hang separately." God forbid that we should ever suffer the same fate so many helpless, yet one time brave and heroic people, are suffering in European countries today. Let us look for a moment at the tragedy of Poland. Torn and divided for many years, first by one power and then another, Poland has during World War II been dealt almost fatal blows first by the Nazis and next by the Russians. But Poland's greatest catastrophe is the loss of her independence. Her people suffer more as a result of that loss than they have suffered from all the cruelties and hardships of bitter warfare.

Mr. President, in the hearts of all Americans is a profound prayer of thankfulness that we have not suffered the fate of stricken Poland, and we pray that we never shall. As we look out over the rest of this weary, tormented world, that prayer of gratitude swells to a paean; but as we compare our blessings with the destitution and the dejection, the enslavement and the hopelessness elsewhere, America cannot and will not turn away with only a feeling of self-satisfaction and self-indulgence. What I have in mind is that smug complacency, that organized selfishness which so frequently exists in mankind. Humanitarian reasons as well as our own security tell us we cannot turn away from human misery at this hour, Mr. President. We must face the fact that the deplorable conditions which exist today in almost every country of the world are the breeding places for the germs of communism. We must face the fact that out of that mire can come a poisonous growth which will some day spread its tendrils around the globe, entwining and choking free America. We must face the fact that America in its new role is the only nation which has the means, and the strength, and the invincible vitality which freedom gives to stop that insidious growth and prevent its spread. Mr. President, we can no more shut our eyes to these facts, and retreat from our position, and maintain our integrity, our honor, and our decency throughout the world and at home than we can accept communism as a philosophy which should govern the daily lives of our people.

We cannot, even though some should desire to, ever again retire into an economic and political shell, stick our heads in the sand like the ostrich, and ignore the other nations of the earth in whom the spark of freedom is kept alive only by the hope that some day through the leadership of this great country they too may rise again and call themselves free and independent people.

Mr. President; I like to think always of the sentiment expressed by Stephen Decatur in the toast he gave at Norfolk in 1816:

Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong.

And when I see, Mr. President, men like our good President of the United

States, men like the great George Marshall, Secretary of State, who is recognized by all as the greatest military genius in history, recommend this program; when I watch able men from the Department of State come before the Senate Committee, sir, to present facts, as they did, in such a capable and serious fashion; when I note that men like yourself, Mr. President, and Senator CONNALLY, of Texas, along with all other members of the committee, of which you are the chairman, presented to the Senate and to the country a unanimous report as to what should be done in connection with the Greek-Turkish loan, all this is of material aid in helping me to reach an honest conclusion as to what I should do.

Mr. President, America achieved a united front in the waging of a global war. How much more vital to ourselves and to the world that we maintain a united front in waging a battle for freedom and peace. I believe that America should give solid and enthusiastic backing to this program on which we are launching, not only in the interest of her own future, but for the preservation of the fundamentals which have made us what we are and which we so fervently desire to protect.

In conclusion, Mr. President, let the world understand that there is no imperialistic policy in this Greek-Turkish loan. We do not seek to conquer the world, as has been portrayed at home and abroad, I regret to say. Nothing could be so far from the truth. We ask for nothing. We covet nothing. In fact, we give and sacrifice in order that we may have safety, security, and peace on American soil.

[Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The occupants of the galleries are admonished that demonstrations of any kind are against the rules of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I allot 10 minutes to the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. Buck].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Delaware is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. BUCK. Mr. President, today the United States Senate is called upon to make a great decision, the effects of which will be fundamental in shaping the future peace and welfare of the world. It is a decision which each of us must make, not from cold statistics, not from personal likes and dislikes, not on the basis of political partisanship, but from the best foresight and judgment which each may have, keeping in our mind's eye the obligation we have to this and future generations.

From the day when the President presented his request for military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey until now I have pondered the possible consequences in the light of past and present international developments. I have listened to the debate here in the Senate and have read many pages of public expressions pro and con. I have reviewed in my mind events of the past few years. I have tried to look realistically at the world situation as it exists today. After weighing all factors at my

command, I have concluded that I cannot support the proposed program and wish to state my reasons for that conclusion:

First. The United Nations Organization should be given a chance to carry out its major purpose, namely, to prevent aggression of one nation against another. When I voted for our affiliation in the UN, I determined that it should be given every opportunity to function as it was intended. Only by such an attitude could it succeed. In the present instance an investigation by a UN commission has been made and a report is being prepared. I charge that the United States, by sending military assistance to either one of the parties involved before the UN report and recommendations are made, can be guilty in the eyes of the world of violating our allegiance to the principles of world peace through international cooperation, principles which we originally championed. If one of the nations is condemned by the UN, then our path is clear for action. But should we act without that sanction, we, not the primary aggressor, are subject to condemnation from all sides. To those who contend that the UN cannot work in carrying out the objectives for which it was established, I say give it a fair chance or forthrightly abandon our membership in it. I want it to work, I feel it can work, and I do not wish to be guilty of not giving it every opportunity to do so.

Insofar as loaning or giving money to assist starving and homeless peoples, I have no objection, but rather wholehearted support. Let us aid the destitute in Greece and Turkey, but when we enter the field of armed force, we liken ourselves to those whom we so recently condemned and defeated in the name of world peace.

Second. The United States cannot purchase the defeat of communism. I abhor communism, and I want no other conclusion drawn concerning my attitude. If we could defeat the spread of that philosophy by building strong Greek and Turkish armies and navies, there would be little doubt in my mind of the soundness of such a program. But with the finest equipped military possible, short of the atomic bomb, which I am sure we do not propose to turn over to them, how could Greece and Turkey defend themselves against a mass attack from Russia? If it is contended that it is premature to consider such a possibility, let me remind Senators that Greece and Turkey are not the only countries into which communism is moving. What are we going to do in Korea, Italy, China, France, and even England if communism begins to rear its horrid head in these countries, whether or not we are successful in our aims in Greece and Turkey? Even without a \$258,000,000 debt and depleted national resources, our economy could not support such a program. And will we continue to garner the support of other nations whom we ignore when they call for help as did Greece and Turkey? Or will we suddenly find that our \$400,000,000 has bought us two friends and a host of enemies? I believe a world-wide police program against communism by ourselves is

economically impossible and will bring nothing but ill returns in the future.

Third. Our present State Department policy is inconsistent. Continued shipment of materials, supplies, and even a proposed loan to Russia are not consistent with a program to prevent a spread of communism. Two hundred and thirty-three million dollars in aid has gone to Russia since VJ-day. Twenty-five million dollars for oil refineries is requested. A billion-dollar loan is being held in abeyance. I cannot follow the lead of the State Department, the President, or anyone else who advances such a program. Should I be charged with weakening the President's hand, this type of diplomacy fully justifies my stand.

Fourth. Gloomy and depressing as the statement may be, communism here at home can suddenly become a greater problem than communism abroad. Continued strikes, lack of production, high taxes, shortage of housing, racial intolerance, and dependency of the people upon the tax collector for a living can destroy basic Americanism and our republican form of government. Scattering our wealth and general interest everywhere but at home, can assist in the spread of communism right here, while we nobly fight it elsewhere. To be of help to weaker nations, to be an inspiration for other nations to adopt our philosophy of free government, we must present a smooth working, well integrated, happy people for inspection. This we cannot do today. Our first task, therefore, is cut out for us, not in Greece and Turkey, not in Korea or Italy, but here in the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 20 minutes to the Senator from Utah [Mr. WATKINS].

Mr. WATKINS. Mr. President, I have listened with increasing interest to the debates on the bill before us. As the hour grows near for a decision, I am deeply impressed with the fact that throughout the entire debate there has been expressed the sincerest regret that we should be compelled to make the decision which we are now about to make. There has run throughout the speeches and comments on the floor of this body an earnest criticism of the policies which have brought us to our present position. Frequently in the corridors, in conferences, and on the floor of this Senate, the statement has been made that we are not free, that we do not have freedom of action, that there is not anything left for us to do but for us to pass the bill as requested. We have been told by the distinguished senior Senator from Michigan that we must face the facts, that we must say what we mean and mean what we say. I believe that has been the attitude of those who have spoken for and against this measure. In this brief statement I wish to speak in that same spirit of utter frankness.

The question that comes into my mind as I listen to or read these discussions has been this: Why are we not free to act? How did we lose the freedom of choice?

If we were to follow this query back through the history of World War II, we

would inevitably come to the declaration of principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter. There sometime early in August 1941 the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister adopted the principles, as follows:

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

Commenting on that statement in a message to Congress on August 21, 1941, the then President of the United States declared:

The Congress and the President having heretofore determined, through the Lend-Lease Act, on the national policy of American aid to the democracies which east and west are waging war against dictatorships.

The portion of the sentence which I have just quoted is a recognition of the fact that we had joined the democracies in their war against dictatorships. Later on we implemented that declaration and the principles upon which the Lend-Lease Act was based by entering the shooting war. I know it will be said that we fought only when we were attacked, but I believe that any fair-minded historian or student of history will admit that regardless of the attack on Pearl Harbor the United States would have joined the conflict. Our actions under the Lend-Lease Act and our conduct in other respects would have been designated in normal times under international law as acts of war, and all of this was prior to Pearl Harbor.

I proceed now in my quest to the declaration of the United Nations adopted January 1, 1941, in which the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, among other nations, declared that they had subscribed—

To a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

From these statements it should be clear beyond all doubt that we committed the United States to a policy which recognized "the right of the people to choose the form of government under which they will live"; and "to a

restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." And as a part of that commitment we were bound to see established "a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." Incidentally, it should be remembered that Russia joined in that commitment.

Our declaration of war affirmed these principles and these commitments. We had adopted a policy which committed us to the maintenance of high standards of human liberty, and our ideological war against the dictators became a shooting war on December 7, 1941. Without going into detail, let us trace the high spots of history which follow with reference to the maintenance or abandonment of these principles.

With no attempt to place the events chronologically, these things happened: In the Baltic states when Germany was driven out there was a semblance of a plebiscite to decide if these countries should become a part of the U. S. S. R. But there was no freedom of choice in the way we understand freedom. Russia absorbed those countries. We and Great Britain, who had announced the Charter, did little if anything to restrain our ally. On the contrary, by our failure to act, we acquiesced, we appeased, we retreated, from our stand on the Charter. Later at Tehran and at Yalta we again appeased our ally Russia. Stripped of all verbiage, we acquiesced in her taking part of the territory of our ally Poland as her own without the consent of Poland. Thus we once more retreated from the stand we had taken in the Atlantic Charter.

At these same historic meetings, without the consent of China, Korea, or the people of Manchuria, we promised as a reward either a part of the territory of these countries or a zone of influence therein if Russia would join us in the war upon Japan. And when victory over Japan came, our ally quickly gathered to herself all the rewards, and more, that we had offered. Again we appeased Russia, and in doing so retreated from our stand declared in the Charter. Technically speaking, these appeasements and these acts were the acts of the President without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States as required by the Constitution, but for all practical purposes the appeasements became consummated and our ally received the spoils we promised.

Other events during the war demonstrated that we were also appeasing Russia in other ways. We were urged by the Prime Minister of Great Britain to wage our campaign for the defeat of Germany through the Balkan States. Russia demanded otherwise. All the Communists and fellow travelers in our own country joined in the demand and we attacked the enemy from the west. Again we appeased Russia and by adopting her plan of campaign, we put that Nation, as she had deliberately planned would happen, in control of all of the Balkan countries except Greece. By adoption of her plan of campaign we also firmly established

Russia in eastern Germany, Austria, and Hungary. At the demand of Russia we deserted our one-time allies in Yugoslavia, thus clearing the way for the execution of their leader in one of the great tragedies of the war.

In the heat of the war and moved by the hatreds engendered by the war, we turned a deaf ear to all entreaties for peace except for unconditional surrender of our foes. We thus discouraged the underground movement in Germany, which might, with our help, have overthrown the dictator Hitler and his cohorts. As a result, when the war ended and we had completely smashed our foes, we had no one to deal with, and have been forced with our allies to take over the government of Germany. We now find ourselves in utter and complete disagreement on many fundamentals not only on the future of Germany but on present occupational policies.

In preparation for the making of the peace and for its preservation, we planned the United Nations Organization, which was to be made up of all of the peace-loving nations of the world. We adopted a charter, and that charter, among other things, declared that one of the principal duties of the Organization was—

To maintain international peace and security, and, to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting the encouraging respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

With these lofty purposes, the league came into being. It had its first test in the dispute over the withdrawal of troops from Iran. It succeeded in that case in preventing an immediate breach of the peace.

When VE- and VJ-days came, we thought the war was over, but we have found as a matter of fact that while the shooting stopped, the war of ideologies goes on apace as it did before the days of the Atlantic Charter. Instead of dictatorships of Germany and Japan, we now have standing entrenched not only in central Asia but in Europe and the Far East a dictatorship which by its past history has been shown to be as ruthless and as despotic as those we destroyed in World War II.

We find that partly as a result of the errors and blunders we made in the field of diplomacy and strategy as the war progressed this dictatorship is now a menace to world peace and our own security. It has been said that what we

are to do now in Greece and Turkey will lead to war. I think it can be truthfully said that war is now being waged between the democratic concept of government and the dignity of man as exemplified by the democracies, and the concept of government and its attending philosophy as represented by a communistic dictatorship.

In our past history we have lived peaceably with absolute monarchies and dictatorships of various types and kinds, and possibly we could do so again if the one we now face were an ordinary monarchy or dictatorship. But the Politburo of Russia is no ordinary dictatorship. It is not content to keep its ideologies and philosophy of government at home, but it conceives its mission to be the promulgation of this philosophy and ideals of government throughout the world. It has mistakenly assumed that the capitalistic or private enterprise system is a direct challenge to its way of life and that one or the other must succumb.

The Politburo and its auxiliary organization, the Third International, implement this mission by subversive activities throughout all the nations of the world.

It is now a fact, which I think will not be denied, that the United States as the principal representative of the democracies clashes at every point of contact throughout the entire world with communism and its proponent, Russia. Great Britain has stood in the path of the expanding totalitarianism of Russia. Weakened by the war, with her treasury depleted, she has told us that she can no longer hold the bastion in Greece and Turkey. The President has asked for authority to take her place and to make a loan to those countries so that they may maintain themselves as independent nations and repel the aggressions of their neighbor which are brought to bear either directly or indirectly. In such a situation the United Nations should act, but neither Great Britain nor the United States has asked it to act.

These nations take the view that because of the veto power of Russia the United Nations is powerless to do anything in this case. It is also said that the task to be accomplished is beyond the purpose of the organization and that it has no funds or machinery with which to prevent the aggression and save the peace. It is asserted that it needs more time to become organized, but is it not a fair conclusion that if the veto power now prevents it from taking over the present situation, the same veto power will prevent it from accomplishing its stated purposes even 10 years from now? The weakness is not in the youth of the organization but in its failure to agree on a covenant which would give it the power to stop aggression no matter from which source it came.

Mr. President, in my campaign last year for election as Senator from the State of Utah, I pledged my full support of the United Nations to give it every opportunity to succeed in its purposes. This I should like to do now. I favor strongly the resolution introduced by the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and his accompanying speech, in which he proposed in substance that this entire matter be referred to the United Na-

tions; that the United States and Russia lay all of the facts before that body; that we have a show-down between Russia and the democracies; that in the event Russia will not agree to a policy which will prevent war, we oust her from the United Nations. But from the way the matter has developed here, I shall probably not have the opportunity to vote for that resolution.

I believe very strongly that the United Nations should have at first been given an opportunity to handle the Greek-Turkish situation. I believe we should have offered to loan to the United Nations money and personnel sufficient to have accomplished the same results that we now expect to accomplish through loans to the two nations by unilateral action.

That we bypassed the United Nations seems to be an accepted fact. To correct the error and to put it more mildly, the oversight, we attempt to recognize the United Nations by inviting it to step in at any time by a majority vote and have us stop action on our activities in Greece and Turkey. We are very ingenious about this—very much like we were when we called our gifts and our direct help to the Allies in World War II lend-lease.

We now propose, by coming in the back door of the UNO, to recognize that Organization. But we came in on our own terms—that is, we want the veto vetoed. It may make us feel better to say we now have placed the matter in the hands of the United Nations. We have now given the United Nations authority to have us stopped. It is like asking ourselves to stop ourselves. We are the backbone, the main support of the democracies in the United Nations Organization, and unless we propose the action by this body, it will never be taken because without our support it would fail.

Without a hope of having the Byrd resolution or others similar to it, adopted, I am compelled to come to the next choice, and that is to vote for the pending bill with its amendments. We must either do that or take the position that we should get completely out of Europe and Asia. But, if we should do that, we confess that we have lost the war because we would be right back where we started from, with a ruthless dictatorship in both Europe and Asia dominating the lives and liberties of its peoples and a constant threat to our own security.

Mr. President, we made commitments in the Atlantic Charter and in our declaration of war which, together with the repeated blunders and errors of diplomacy and strategy during the war, have placed us in a dangerous situation, from which we dare not retreat any further unless we are willing to confess that we have lost the war and that our future defense will take place entirely from the Western Hemisphere.

Mr. President, I am voting for this bill with the belief and the hope that this is only the first step; that we shall now come back to the first principles as set forth in the Atlantic Charter not only in Greece and Turkey but in China; that we will reverse the action we took in that

nation recently when we decided not to take sides as between the Nationalists and the Communists, but decided to get out; that we will redeem our promise made to the Koreans that they shall have their independence; that we shall refuse to make any more agreements with Russia until she gives some evidence that she is willing to honor and respect the agreements she has already made from the days of the Atlantic Charter down to the present time; that as a logical outgrowth of that stand we shall not ratify the treaty with Italy which renders Italy defenseless for a long time to come against a constant threat of the Communist Tito and his government which is a satellite of Russia; that with respect to Germany we make no further agreements of any kind with Russia respecting that nation until such time as Russia honors her past agreements; that we lay all of the facts on the table before the United Nations.

Let us also declare it as our policy that we expect to honor all our agreements and expect other nations to do likewise; that we shall be glad to help Russia attain any of her legitimate ambitions and her necessities by peaceful means. In fact, let us declare to her that as we are a Christian Nation, we shall be willing to abide by the doctrine of the Christ, known as the Golden Rule.

By taking this stand, Mr. President, I sincerely believe we can stop the present ideological war and prevent a shooting war of World War III. Half-way measures, in my opinion, will not do. We must go the full distance. This is a case which requires the boldest of action. By any other methods I believe we court disaster, and I say this notwithstanding the fact that we have the atom bomb. It should be clear that we cannot in any warfare in Europe use the bomb indiscriminately against any nation because we may in doing so have to destroy millions of innocent people who have had no part in the bringing on of the struggle.

From England only a few days ago, Mr. President, came a message from some of its common people, inspired, no doubt, by some of the utterances of government officials and our wandering missionary, Henry Wallace, that in the coming struggle between the United States and Russia England will necessarily have to be neutral. She is weary, it is said, without funds, her industrial production machinery practically worn out, and in all ways in no position to fight. Not only that, but this message stated that England would be the receiver of the bomb attacks, the super propelled missiles, and would always bear the brunt of the battle while the United States, the principal in the fighting, would be some 3,000 miles away.

Mr. President, unless we act promptly and resolutely and with firmness we are in grave danger of losing our friends among the other nations. The passage of this bill will be but the first step. From here on, no matter what the cost in money may be—and I believe it will be less if we act firmly—we must proceed to do everything in our power to win the war we are now waging to bring about a just and lasting peace.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Michigan yields 2 minutes to the Senator from Ohio.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I intend to vote for the Greek and Turkish loans for the reason that the President's announcements have committed the United States to this policy in the eyes of the world, and to repudiate it now would destroy his prestige in the negotiations with the Russian Government. On the success of such negotiations I believe ultimate peace depends.

I do not regard this action as a commitment to any similar policy in any other section of the world, or to the continuation of the same policy in Greece or Turkey when peace negotiations are completed. Insofar as the loans are for reconstruction and rehabilitation, we are only doing in Greece what we have done elsewhere. Insofar as they help to preserve order, I think they must be justified as a means of maintaining the status quo during the period while the sound basis for peace in Europe is being worked out. I am in thorough accord with the Vandenberg amendments proposing that we withdraw whenever a government representing the majority of the people requests us to do so, and whenever the United Nations find that action taken or assistance furnished by them makes the continuance of our assistance undesirable. I believe that we should, in any event, withdraw as soon as normal economic conditions are restored.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. I yield 10 minutes to the senior Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Florida is recognized for 10 minutes.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, on Saturday last, I was one of a group privileged to listen to a young man speak the sentiments of his heart and mind. His name is Cord Meyer. He was wounded in World War II. He was adviser and consultant to Governor Stassen, at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. That young man spoke as a scientist of the horrors of the next war, of the futility of trying to avoid war by armament for war. He spoke, Mr. President, of the necessity of preventing war by strengthening the United Nations Organization, of building toward a world government which might effectively promote the welfare and preserve the peace of the nations and the peoples of the world.

I became convinced in my heart, Mr. President, that that young man was pointing to the future, and that those who were advocating this measure were pointing to the past, to the old ways and to the old wars. I determined, therefore, Mr. President, that, contrary to a previous announcement which I had made, and which I had sincerely made, I could not square with my conscience support of this measure unless the amendments which have been offered in the Senate and are now pending, stripping it of the provisions authorizing the sending of military missions and freeing us of the obligation to support foreign armies, were adopted by the Sen-

ate. In that case, and if all that were involved was economic aid to Greece, however strongly I feel that such aid should be extended through the United Nations, I would still vote for the measure.

But, Mr. President, I would prefer at a late hour to make the right decision rather than to continue in error because I was afraid to have someone make against me the charge of inconsistency with a previously announced course and position.

Mr. President, I take my position squarely behind the United Nations Organization. I hold in my hand excerpts from the Charter of the United Nations Organization. I submit it to my colleagues. The very declaration of purposes contained in that Charter provides as follows:

The purposes of the United Nations are—

Mr. President, I am quoting from the Charter itself—

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: To take effective collective measures—

Not unilateral measures—

to take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Mr. President, we solemnly committed the good faith of this Government and this Nation to that obligation.

That charter also provides:

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

I am still quoting from the Charter of the United Nations, Mr. President:

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

I continue to quote:

The members of the United Nations agree—

And we are a member of the United Nations Organization; therefore, we agreed—

to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

I continue to quote:

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

I quote again:

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures.

Finally, Mr. President, I quote again from the Charter:

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in article 41 would be inadequate, or have provided to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Mr. President, I charge that this unilateral action on our part is a breach of our solemn covenant assumed to the United Nations Organization. It is a breach of our moral commitment to observe the Charter of that Organization. Mr. President, this proposal means in substance that the nation which was the chief creator of the United Nations Organization will now depart from it, and will seek to preserve the peace of the world by single-handed, unilateral United States action.

Mr. President, I say that the Vandenberg amendments, coming with all the authority that they have from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, also are in violation of the Charter, for there is no provision in the Charter of the United Nations Organization which would permit any nation to assume the right of unilateral action, relying only upon the subsequent veto of the United Nations Organization if it does not like such unilateral action.

Mr. President, I say that the Vandenberg amendments are to be commended, for the bill as thus amended is better than the proposal originally was. I honor the able chairman and the distinguished committee. But, Mr. President, to make half of a correction of a wrong does not make it right. Giving the United Nations the veto power over what we do does not discharge our obligation to work collectively with other nations in the United Nations Organization in trying to keep the peace of the world.

Mr. President, the proposed step will be a precedent which this Nation will rue in the years ahead. For the first time we are proposing to send military missions outside the Western Hemisphere. For the first time, we are, in time of peace, after hostilities have ended, beginning with American money to equip, support, train, and maintain foreign armies. Once that precedent is established, Mr. President, once we are entered upon that dangerous course, where will there ever be a turning back until the United States shall have to encircle the globe in the embrace of its might and conquer mankind to keep it at peace.

Mr. President, I say, therefore, that our rendezvous with peace is in the United Nations Organization. We can make it succeed if we will put our mighty strength to its side. The United Nations can meet this present challenge if we assert our majesty and might.

But, Mr. President, if we, its defender, shall be the first to disparage and discredit it, if we shall strike at it a mortal blow which may mean its destruction and ruin, I ask what hope is there for all the young boys now growing to manhood, in the public schools of America? What hope is there for a citizenry which faces annihilation from atomic and biological warfare? I ask, where is peace to be

kept, if not in the strength and might of the United Nations Organization, Mr. President?

Mr. President, the present proposal launches this Nation upon a tragic course in international relations. I hope that, before it is too late—even now—we shall turn back, and that America will lead the world in the way that it was destined to lead: as a great democracy, valiantly leading peace-loving people everywhere toward keeping the peace of the world; resisting, if need be, by force, but in the unity of the United Nations Organization, any aggressor, whoever it be; and spending our substance, not upon armies for destruction, but upon trying to eradicate tuberculosis and to restrain all disease and to lift up the standard of living and to increase the inheritance of health and happiness in peace to all the nations and the peoples of this torn earth.

Mr. President, I proclaim that for nations as for man, as Brutus said to Cassius—

There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune:
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

On such a full sea are we now afloat, and we must take the current when it serves, or lose our ventures. Our ventures, Mr. President, are democracy and peace. That is the full tide of challenge to the leadership of this great American Republic.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from Florida has expired.

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, the purpose of the pending bill is to stop the spread of the ideology of communism. We entered World War II to stop the ideology of nazism. I have always been opposed to the ideology of communism, nazism, fascism, and all other isms, because I believe wholeheartedly in the American system. I love our form of government. I have been fighting communism for years. For at least the last 10 years I have recognized the threat of communism.

I shall vote for the bill because of my abhorrence of communism, but there is one thing which rather confuses me. I shall indicate what it is by the question I am about to ask. I dislike to ask the question, but I shall do so any way. Six months ago where were those who in the last 2 or 3 months have discovered that communism is a threat to the world? Where were they a year ago; where were they 2 years ago? The administration, which now, all at once, overnight, discovers that communism is a threat to the world and to this Nation, was building up the very robot which it now tells us we must tear down.

While I was opposed to communism 10 years ago, where were these people? I was opposed to it 6 months ago; where were they? The Republican Party has been opposed to it, and it has expressed its opposition in its platform for many years.

Mr. President, I shall vote for the pending bill in the hope and in the faith

that the administration which is now proposing this measure, which is now admitting that communism as an ideology is a threat, is serious and sincere about its declarations. I hope it is prepared to go through with its announcement, because I believe today, as I have for many years, that the threat of communism within and without this Nation is our greatest danger.

There are many things about the bill which I do not like. I regret exceedingly that we today must do things in direct opposition to a nation which only a few months ago, at least a year ago, was one of our allies. Two years ago I did not think there was any good in communism; indeed, I have never thought so. I am opposed to the ideology, and I propose to fight communism whenever I find it in the United States or any part of the world.

The very administration which has told the world that Russian communism is a liberty-loving ideology, that the Communists are a liberty-loving people, that they believed in freedom, are now telling us that they were wrong. They are admitting they were wrong. In other words, they are following those of us who for 10 years have been fighting that ideology. They are following the Republican Party. I shall vote for the bill.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] for 7 minutes.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, before we vote on the question of aid to Greece and Turkey, I should like to express some thoughts that have been on my mind as I have listened to the debate on this subject.

I shall vote to aid these countries on the distant shores of our diplomatic frontiers. However, in assuming this responsibility in the realm of foreign affairs, I am not forgetting my responsibility to our people here at home.

I hope that my colleagues may be mindful also of our responsibility to provide adequately for the development, growth, and strengthening of our own country.

It is well and good for us to aid our fellow men across the seas. It is well and good for us to mend the dikes of our foreign policy. But while we do this, let us not say that because we cannot afford it we cannot go forward with the development of our own country, our own resources, both human and natural, or the promotion of the welfare of our own people.

I shall not take the time to review the financial assistance to foreign countries for which we have voted for in the Seventy-ninth Congress or the present Congress. I am neither criticizing this action, nor implying that we should have acted otherwise. My sole purpose in speaking now is to stress the fact that security, like charity, begins at home.

I dare say, Mr. President, that there are some Members of the Congress who will vote for the aid to Greece and Turkey in the belief that this will serve the best interest of our country, but who will oppose important domestic legislation designed and urgently needed for the growth and strengthening of our Nation. As a matter of fact, the surest way

to fortify our foreign affairs is to strengthen and expand our own economy here at home. We cannot achieve this unless we are willing to continue to make a reasonable investment in our present and future well-being.

In casting our votes on the aid to Greece and Turkey, I am sure that we shall rise above party affiliations and above class and special interests. My concern, then, is that we show the same brand of statesmanship in voting on such domestic issues as the soil-conservation program; the development of our natural resources, such as the St. Lawrence seaway and power project, requested by the Joint Chiefs of Staff; the rural electrification program; an adequate development of transportation facilities, including highways, airways, railways, and waterways; Federal aid to health and education; and on other matters directly affecting the welfare and security of our own people here in the United States of America.

As I see it, Mr. President, in the Greek-Turkish-aid issue, we are facing the choice of taking a positive, calculated risk now or the alternative of possibly greater risks that may come later as the result of negative action now.

We are confronted with the same situation with regard to our home front. We face the choice of taking bold, progressive action now in matters relating to the development of our human and natural resources, or the alternative of defaulting now and suffering the consequences of a stagnant economy; a disillusioned, restless people; a nation stalemated and withering on the vine—all because we lacked the courage to go forward, or because we were too shortsighted to invest in the future of our own country.

Let us not sow the seeds of class disunity at home.

Let us strive toward racial peace and economic democracy, and stamp out bigotry and intolerance.

The best foundations for unity here at home are jobs, education, comfortable homes, better health, productive land, and developed resources.

We have been prodigal in the use of our resources. The time has come for sound conservation in this field.

I cannot imagine that any other country in the world in our position would sacrifice the transportation and power we are permitting to go to waste through failure to develop our rivers.

We have shown in the past what can be accomplished by a free people. We cherish our form of government, based on the dignity and freedom of the individual.

The best defense of our American way of life lies in the spirit of the Nation. That spirit is the bulwark of our democracy.

It is believed that through aiding Greece and Turkey in a military sense we are preventing the spread of an alien ideology over the world. It is frankly conceded that this step may either involve us in war with Russia, or be the means of averting such a war.

Should such a terrible consequence as war ensue, we would learn that we cannot destroy communism by military

might alone. An ideology can filter through the strongest military defenses.

In this atomic age, requiring enormous expenditures for the establishment of military defense, we can impoverish our Nation and break the morale of our people if the burden of war proves excessive. If that comes to pass, then communism is more likely to seep through and find fertile ground behind our lines.

Hence, only the road to peace and disarmament can finally protect us. That is the only salvation for mankind. As nations, we must either learn to live together, or commit national and international suicide.

Let us now bind the wounds of bleeding and desolate nations. Let us help them to gain true economic stability and political freedom; let us help restore the courage and health of their people; and let us call on all nations to join in a real and lasting peace effort, exerting all our power to make the UN a united nations in fact, dedicated to the principles of peace and freedom throughout the world.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I allot 5 minutes to the senior Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Idaho is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. President, I recently spoke on this subject, and in the course of my remarks I quoted from a document prepared by the Office of Naval Intelligence of the Navy, distributed to members of a Senate committee by W. John Kenney, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I should like to quote a passage from that document, as follows:

Realistically, all wars have been for economic reasons. To make them politically and socially palatable, ideological issues have always been invoked.

It was a frank statement, Mr. President, that whenever it was desired to get the country into a war for economic reasons, or to fight somebody that was not liked, it was dressed up with the heading "Ideology." Certainly that has been done in the present instance.

I should also like to call to the attention of the Senate a statement from the Army and Navy Bulletin of January 18, 1947. Previously I have said in the course of debate on this floor that our Department of State had ceased to function as a civilian branch of Government and that it was dominated by the military. Since that time I came upon this statement in the Army and Navy Bulletin of January 18, reading as follows:

Today the Army has virtual control of foreign affairs, commencing on the home front with General Marshall as Secretary of State, and his Assistant Secretary of State (for occupied areas) Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring, who directs the military commanders controlling our foreign policy in occupied Europe and Asia. The chain of control in diplomatic hot spots, both in the execution of basic policy and in the formulation of ad hoc arrangements, lies almost totally in the hands of the military authorities.

That, Mr. President, is a statement from a military publication. Certainly

our foreign policy has ceased to be a diplomatic policy; it is a military, strategic policy.

I make the charge that those responsible for the welfare of the country have given up hope—I think wrongly—that we can get along with Russia peaceably. We have therefore embarked upon a course looking eventually to a showdown war with Russia. I do not believe the American people want that. I know that the public-opinion polls demonstrate that they do not. Sixty-three percent of those interviewed, according to a Gallup poll, said "Turn this over to the UN." On a radio program the other night, the poll of an audience, in which some 8,000 returns were received, showed that, 11 to 2, the answer was "Turn it over to the United Nations."

This is a strange situation. Never before have I seen so many Members of Congress ignore such an overwhelming voice of the people as in this instance.

I should like to point out another instance, indicating that we are not voting as free agents here. The Associated Press, on March 16, said:

Anyone who stood out against Mr. Truman's request would be in danger of appearing to favor communism.

It was therefore argued that there would be few votes against the measure. The United States News took care of the Republicans especially, by saying that on this issue it was unlikely there would be a Communist-Republican axis.

Mr. President, I hope the Senate will vote to eliminate Turkey from this proposal, and will vote for the other amendments, to make it as palatable as possible, to make it as decent as possible; but I hope, further, Senators will vote against the measure itself, as I intend to do.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I yield the remainder of my time to the junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON]. I understand I have 18 minutes remaining.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 18 minutes.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Wyoming. Mr. President, this debate has continued for many days during which time many very able and sincere speeches have been made.

During this time my mind has been open and receptive, that is, open and receptive so far as a mind can be that believes that communism means the end of the world as we know it, as we live in it, and as we are proud of it.

I strongly object and protest this sudden "must" legislation. President Truman suddenly canceled a trip to the South, came to the Capitol, and before a joint session of the Congress urged the immediate passage of a bill calling for \$400,000,000 to help support Greece and Turkey in their fight against communist infiltration and Russian domination.

The stage was well set to emphasize the must and urgent factors.

The fight communism theme was, and is, popular.

I believe that we must take the lead in this fight; we are the only Nation that can do it; but we must go into the fight

with both hands clean. We cannot hope to get the support of other nations unless our actions are above suspicion.

In the last days of February of this year, just 6 or 7 weeks ago, President Truman advised the congressional leaders of the perilous situation.

How long before that had the State Department and the President known that Britain could no longer carry the load, and that it was up to us to take up the burden?

Did the State Department and the administration know of this approaching withdrawal of Britain in January? Did they know of it November and October? Britain must have known it, and it is inconceivable to me that our Ambassador in London was not advised. And it is equally inconceivable that the State Department did not know.

In spite of this spurious must and rush policy, to which we have become accustomed to in the last 15 years, I was, and I am determined to do everything in my power to fight this Communist cancer. Creeping through the world body, largely unseen and in many cases unsuspected.

I said that we must go into this fight with both hands clean. In other words, we must be consistent. Our policy must be consistent, and during the debate it seems to me it has become apparent that the attitude of the administration toward this particular question is totally inconsistent. Our policy must be consistent. We are hoping to live at peace with friendly nations of the world. We can only do this if our policy is consistent. The inconsistencies of Yalta, Potsdam, Tehran, and Port Said can not be a part of the permanent policy of the United States.

The Russian policy is entirely consistent and of single purpose. That policy is one of maintaining an iron grip behind an iron curtain of every function and phase of life in their own country, and so far as possible in the satellite countries of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Their infiltration policy is consistent in Greece, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, India, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, China, Italy, France, and in the United States. Theirs is a policy of creating world unrest, knowing full well that a world of unrest, dissatisfaction, hunger, and misery is the hotbed in which the foul weeds of communism thrive.

Are we consistent?

President Truman and this administration have asked us to authorize the spending of \$400,000,000 to help check the consistent policy of communist infiltration into Greece and Turkey, and at the same time it has developed that since VJ-day we have sent to Russia some \$230,000,000 worth of equipment on lend-lease and that today this administration is sending Russia oil-refinery and other equipment to the tune of \$16,000,000. Is this consistent? Is it fair? Is it right? Is it honorable?

I shall be quite candid with the Senate. In order to crush communism I was prepared, and I am prepared, to lend a helping hand to other countries to fight the infiltration of communism there. But I cannot, as a Member of the United States Senate, say to the people of my State that I advised and cast my vote to spend

\$400,000,000, or any sum, to fight communistic infiltration when out of the back door of this country \$230,000,000 has already been sent since the war ended and a further \$16,000,000 is in the process of being sent to help the very nation that is responsible for this infiltration and which this bill is designed to fight. My own conscience would not permit me to do this thing.

I had hoped that when the news of this inconsistency came to light the bill would be recommitted to the Foreign Relations Committee, and that before it was returned to the Senate for further consideration every vestige of aid to Russia, of aid to its satellite nations, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, not to mention Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and all aid to Russian-occupied territories, would be eliminated and ended for all time, and that the United States Senate could then consider this bill consistently and with both hands clean.

I am going to make a motion that will enable such action to be taken, such action as would enable the people of this country and of the world to know that the United States has a completely unified front in its fight against communism, and that we are no longer contributing on the one hand to fight communism and on the other hand encouraging the nation that is promoting it.

Mr. President, I move that the pending bill, Senate bill 938, be laid on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair the Senator's motion is out of order at the moment, because the motion is not debatable, and the unanimous-consent agreement calls for a vote on the bill and all motions in connection with it beginning at 4 o'clock. Therefore the Chair will rule that the motion will be entered and called up when the unanimous-consent process of voting at 4 o'clock starts.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator will state it.

Mr. REVERCOMB. Will the motion of the Senator from Wyoming be the first question to be voted upon at 4 o'clock?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair that is correct.

The Senator from Michigan yields the remainder of his time to the senior Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, and Members of the Senate, the debate upon the present bill has been notable and distinguished by great ability on both sides of the question. I thank God that we have here in the Senate a forum of free discussion, and free speech, and free thought. I am happy that no dictator can cut off discussion in this Chamber—no dictator, unless it be its own dictator, who I trust to God may never appear. No totalitarian master can issue an edict to prevent the Members of the Senate from expressing their thoughts freely and fully, without any question upon matters dealing with the welfare of the people of the United States or in this field that affects the relations of his Nation with other countries beyond the sea.

I trust that this form of free discussion and free debate will be forever preserved and never denied to the people of the United States, because it is not in our own right that we utter these thoughts, that we entertain these emotions; it is because we represent the people of the United States.

Mr. President, I want to say that in my view this is not a bill against someone; this is not a bill against any particular nation or any particular people. It is a bill for aid to Greece and Turkey. If it be against anything it is against aggression. I think there is a distinction to be drawn between communism and aggression. Aggression is charged with a disregard of the rights of others. Aggression means the acquisitive impulse of nations or individuals to seize or to possess those things which are not their own according to right and law. So this measure may be termed a bill against aggression, against aggression toward free and independent nations. Whether they be small or whether they be great they have rights under international law, under human law and under the United Nations Charter, of which so much has been heard in this debate, because they are free and independent. Every subscriber to the United Nations Charter has assumed a solemn obligation to respect the integrity, the sovereignty, the rights, and the territory of every free and independent nation, be it large or be it small.

Mr. President, the chief objections to this measure are two, in my opinion. Many reasons have been urged, but the two outstanding are, first, that we should have gone to the United Nations. I have a great attachment to the United Nations. It was here in the United States that, under the leadership of President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull, the seed for the United Nations was nurtured and where it was germinated. It was here in Washington, under the leadership of those two great Americans that the Dumbarton Oaks conference was held and the framework of the United Nations was drafted.

Before San Francisco, I had a humble part in the work, and I, together with the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG], was a delegate to the San Francisco Conference. The Senator from Michigan and I worked together toilsomely. We hoped to achieve the dream of the people of the United States for peace. We hoped to achieve the ambitions of the great leaders since World War I in the field of peace. We sought to create an agency for the settlement of international disputes, for the arbitration, conciliation, and settlement by peaceful means of all disputes among nations, whether great or small. Under the United Nations Charter the weakest nation on earth has an equality of right, an equality of possession of the pledges made in that instrument, along with the greatest and most powerful nation upon this revolving globe of ours.

Questions coming within the functions with which the United Nations is endowed should always go to the United Nations. But we all now know, if we did not know when this debate began, that the United Nations is not constructed for the purpose of granting relief to various

nations in the world. That is not one of its functions. I challenge any Senator to point out, with the same ingenuity with which he has urged his arguments on the floor of the Senate, where in the United Nations Charter the United Nations is given authority to grant relief and aid of the kind described in the pending bill.

Mr. President, if the United Nations had the power, it does not have the facilities. It does not possess a dime in its treasury that could be devoted to these purposes. It does not have a single soldier to give military training or aid, in the form of a mission or otherwise, to either Greece or Turkey.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. President, does the Senator wish to yield?

Mr. CONNALLY. I have no craving to yield, but I will yield. The reason I answer the Senator in that way is that the Senator asked if I wished to yield.

Mr. PEPPER. I am prompted to interrupt the able address of the Senator from Texas lest my silence be construed as consent to the proposition which he has stated.

Mr. CONNALLY. The Senator from Florida never shines in silence.

Mr. PEPPER. I thank the Senator. Let me say that the golden luster of the senior Senator from Texas was never made distinct in silence, either.

Mr. CONNALLY. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PEPPER. The point was that I wanted to call attention to the fact that the United Nations was the organization which set up UNRRA, which distributed more than \$1,000,000,000 for relief all over the world, with 50 nations contributing. Last year in the Assembly it was proposed that an international relief fund be established, and the record shows that it was the United States which prevented the establishment of an international relief fund.

Mr. CONNALLY. I do not dispute what the Senator from Florida says about UNRRA; but it required legislation. There was no authority under the Charter to furnish such aid. The United Nations, under its general organization, was not authorized to do so. That was not one of its functions. Under the suggestion of the United Nations the various nations pooled their resources, and we furnished 72 percent of every dollar that was spent for UNRRA.

Where did that money go? Part of it went to Byelorussia, a part of the Russian organization. That shows that we are not unfriendly toward Russia. Part of it went to the Ukraine, a part of the Russian dominions. That shows that we were not unfriendly to Russia, and were not discriminating. A large amount of that sum went to Poland, which every one knows is under the finger of Russia and absolutely within her control. We were not discriminating. A part of it went to Yugoslavia. Four hundred million dollars of UNRRA funds, of which we furnished \$230,000,000, or 70 percent, was distributed to the needy—I hope—and the hungry in Yugoslavia. As Senators know, Yugoslavia is an obedient, subservient follower of Russia, absolutely under her dominion and control; but we made no distinction in that regard.

We were giving aid, we thought, to the needy of the world, and we were repaid by denunciation and hate in Yugoslavia. Senators recall the tragic incident of their shooting down our airplane. I make no point of that fact. A needy man who is hungry, regardless of the sovereignty which rules over him, ought to be helped and sustained, in order that when he regains his strength he may think a little and change his views.

What else has happened with regard to the United Nations? Day before yesterday the United Nations Security Council had presented to it a resolution offered by the representatives of the Soviet Union in the Security Council. What was that resolution? Without quoting it all, it provided for the appointment of a commission "to establish a special commission composed of representatives of the member states of the Security Council, the task of which shall be to insure, through proper supervision, that aid which Greece may receive from the outside be used only in the interests of the Greek people."

There was a suggestion by Russia itself that the Security Council supervise the aid which this bill proposes to grant, and that such aid be restricted to absolute relief necessities.

What did the Security Council do? What did the body to which Senators would turn over all of this problem do? Did it show any anxiety to grasp this authority? Did it show any hunger for a function which it did not possess? Poland and Soviet Russia were the only nations in the Security Council which voted "yes." Voting against the resolution were Australia, Belgium, Brazil, and the United Kingdom. China, Colombia, France, Syria and the United States abstained from voting. We had the good grace and the good taste to abstain from voting upon a question which affected our own interest.

Mr. President, this circumstance reflects the fact that the United Nations knows that it has no proper function in connection with a matter of this kind. It further shows that it does not desire to assume the responsibility of administering the aid proposed in the pending measure. Yet Senators would dump the entire question into the lap of the United Nations, when they know in advance that the United Nations would in turn drop it somewhere else and would not assume the responsibility or take on the burden. No, Mr. President; that argument is not valid.

Furthermore, the bill provides, specifically, both in the preamble—with respect to which I was associated with the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG]—and in other portions of the bill, that whenever by resolution of the Security Council or by resolution of the General Assembly, the United Nations shows evidence that it desires to take over the problem in Greece and Turkey, the President of the United States must at that very moment withdraw any aid under this bill or any funds which may be appropriated.

What more generous attitude could we have adopted? Does not that show a

desire to cooperate with the United Nations? Does it not show that we bow to the collective will of the nations with which we are associated in that great organization?

It is said that the proposed action is unilateral. Senators know how few nations in the world, if any, other than ourselves, are able to undertake the task proposed.

Russia granted a loan to Poland. Did anyone want to take that matter to the United Nations? I never heard any suggestion that it should go to the United Nations. We made a loan to France. The negotiators were in Washington over a considerable period of time. Did any Senator rise in his place and say, "Wait a minute, Mr. President. We are about to make a loan to France. She needs it. But let me tell you now, Mr. President, we do not want that loan made unless it goes through the United Nations"? I heard no such voice raised. I heard no quivering tone uttered on this floor in connection with that loan. I saw no breast beaten in an effort to divert that matter to the United Nations.

We made a large loan to Italy. Did anyone demand that it go through the United Nations? Not a voice was raised; not a protest was heard. Why those loans to France and Italy? The purpose was to preserve the integrity of their governments, to let them stand upon their own feet, to maintain their own independence, to protect them from any infiltrated alien doctrines, and to prevent their governments from being overturned and another form of government installed in their stead.

We heard no complaint whatever regarding the United Nations in that instance. The United Nations does not want this job. God knows, if it were equipped, if it possessed the facilities, if it had the funds, I should be among the first to vote to hand the problem over to the United Nations. We would then have the support and the intellectual force of all the members of the United Nations that participated in the adoption of that policy. But in the present state of affairs it is impossible for the United Nations to perform the functions of this bill and assist regarding the obligations which it entails.

Mr. President, I want to say to the Senators who are so much concerned about the United Nations that UNO will have an opportunity later on to busy itself with the problems related to the one now before us. If Russia or Yugoslavia or any other nation purposes to take over Greece, it will have to go to the United Nations. It will have to proceed with armed forces or, under the Charter, and under treaties, it will be forced to go to the United Nations. There is where the jurisdiction of the United Nations will begin. That problem will be on their doorstep to solve. Later on, if Russia or any other nation in that portion of the world should conceive the idea that it wants the Dardanelles, under solemn pledges in the Charter of the United Nations it cannot get the Dardanelles except by peaceful means. What are those peaceful means?

They are either to get the Dardanelles through a treaty or by action of the United Nations.

The Dardanelles is now controlled by treaty. Under the Montreaux Treaty the Dardanelles is recognized as the property, in time of war, of the Turkish Government. In time of peace the ships of all nations are free to pass through the Dardanelles. Even warships may pass through except in time of war.

But the Dardanelles presents the further question of demands being made upon it for the right to erect fortifications on the soil of Turkey, which would be plainly an invasion of her sovereignty, her respect, her integrity, and her own security. That is a question which must go to the United Nations, unless it be bypassed by force of arms by Russia or such other nation as may decide to take over the Dardanelles.

No, Mr. President; the United Nations will have plenty to do when it solves the integrity of Greece as an independent nation, and when it solves the question of the Dardanelles and the independence of Turkey itself.

I am not without trust in the United Nations. I am not without hope that it will grow in strength and in influence and will become a mighty influence in the world. I want it to grow so that no nation, however strong, whatever its military power, whatever its resources may be, dare not disregard the United Nations made up of representatives of more than 50 independent and free nations of the world. When that time comes, I am hopeful the peace of the world may be assured and that peoples may live in security and without the fear of war breaking out among them.

Mr. President, as I have pointed out, the United Nations has not the funds, the facilities, nor the military force to provide the objectives of this bill. As I have suggested, these matters must be adjusted by a treaty for action by the United Nations Organization. When it comes to that question we shall expect them to proceed according to the rules of international law and according to the solemn obligations which they have assumed by their signatures to the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. President, another argument which is urged against the passage of this bill is that it envisions the danger of war. It is really, according to my opinion, a bill for peace and not a bill for war. Oh, I know that that statement will arouse the smiles of those who are opposed to the bill; I know it will be received with a shrug of the shoulders. But let us see. If present conditions continue, war, in that area particularly, is almost inevitable. Yugoslavia already houses the headquarters of the armed forces which are attacking Greece. They are located in a town in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia has a tremendous army. Marshal Tito poses as a military figure and a military master. If war should break out between Yugoslavia and Greece, almost inevitably sooner or later we would, for one reason or another, become involved. I cannot forget, and neither can the Senate, that

World War I began in the small obscure town of Serajevo in Bosnia. World War II was generated and started yonder at Danzig on the Polish Corridor.

So, Mr. President, if we can prevent war in that particular area, if we can bring to the view of Russia, which should not be without reason, that we are acting in behalf of peace between the countries in that area, I believe this measure can fairly be classified as a bill in favor of peace rather than of war.

There is aggression now to an extent which might possibly eventuate in war. If Greece is attacked war may follow. Already there is civil war there, and it does not take civil war long to grow and spread and to attract interests from beyond its borders.

Mr. President, there is not a single dollar provided for in this bill that is intended to go beyond the borders of Greece and Turkey. The funds to be appropriated are for their own domestic tranquillity, for the sustenance of hungry men, for giving them such arms as are necessary—not for war, not for conquest, not for aggression, but to protect their own territory and their own homes from aggression which may be motivated and inspired from beyond their own borders. This bill is confined to the territorial limits of Greece and Turkey.

Why have a war over this question? Suppose we pass the bill: Who will fight us on account of it? It is said that Russia will fight us. Let us see. There is a map here. I ask the Senators to turn their eyes yonder on Greece. Does Greece belong to Russia? If it does not, why should Russia make war on that nation because we feed its hungry people and give them a few arms to protect themselves from aggression from the outside? Does Russia own Greece? I thought Greece was an independent nation standing in the councils of the United Nations upon the same standard of equality as do Russia, Yugoslavia, and the other nations of the world. What right would Russia have to make war on us because we interfered, as she might think, with Greece? Greece is not hers. Greece by no treaty has been awarded to the jurisdiction of Russia. By no edict except her own, if she has one, does Greece belong to Russia.

No, Mr. President; Russia could not justify herself before the world. She could not justify herself in history. She could not stand at the door of public opinion and defend the idea that she would go to war with us because we extended aid to suffering Greece and to Turkey.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired. The Chair yields 2 minutes more to the Senator from Texas.

Mr. CONNALLY. How many minutes, Mr. President?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Two minutes.

Mr. CONNALLY. Two minutes. Mr. President, I thought we were going to vote at 4 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The other side has 8 minutes remaining.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am sorry; I thought I had more time.

Mr. President, the same is true of the Dardanelles. Does Russia own Turkey? She has had many wars with Turkey, but she has never yet brought Turkey within the folds of her dominions. Why should she go to war?

No, Mr. President; where is the treaty that awards Turkey to Russia, as a Russian territory? Where is the mandate from the League of Nations or from the United Nations itself that turns over Greece and Turkey to the control and dictate of Russia alone? Where is the trusteeship that would do that? We have trusteeships under the United Nations. Where is the trusteeship under the United Nations that gives Russia a trusteeship over these lands?

Mr. President, let me say one more word, and then I am done—not willingly, but by force of aggression. [Laughter.]

Mr. President, the United Nations wants friendship with Russia. We have no hatred of her people. If she wants to have communism in Russia, let her have it. It is none of our concern. If she wants a totalitarian dictator, let her have it; that is her business. We want to be friendly with Russia.

This bill is not aimed at Russia. It is aimed toward the relief of Greece and Turkey; and if it is against anything, it is against aggression.

I have never thought that to give a hungry man a crust of bread was to invite war. I have never believed that to give a hungry man a gun to keep out a burglar and to protect his hearthstone was to invite war. Bread for the hungry and a few arms for defense is all this bill contemplates.

Mr. President, we have ample justification to vote for this measure. We are a free and independent Nation. The nations which we seek to relieve are free and independent. I approach the vote on this question, Mr. President, holding my head high, as I believe the people of the United States are holding theirs. We want no territory; we want no reparations; we want no tribute; we want nothing, except we do want peace and we want the free nations of the world to maintain their integrity and their independence. If we achieve that end by simply making a grant of money—not a combat soldier—God knows, Mr. President, that it is on the basis of those principles and with that view that I shall cast my vote for the pending bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado is recognized. Does the Senator desire to yield to another Senator?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I will take the remainder of the time, if the President pro tempore does not object and if the Senate does not object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado is entitled to the remainder of the time until 4 o'clock.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I am glad to have these few minutes, because during this time I desire to withdraw the pending amendment, with the idea of substituting another one.

I now withdraw the pending amendment.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Inasmuch as the Senator from Colorado is in control of his own amendment, of course he may withdraw it, as he has done.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I now offer to the bill a series of amendments which delete from the bill all references and all provisions and everything else pertaining to military assistance and to the military.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Colorado desire to have the amendment stated at the desk?

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. First, Mr. President, let me say that the purpose of the amendments is limited to one matter: namely, to delete from the bill all its military aspects. However, it has been necessary to draft a great many amendments to accomplish that one purpose. So I ask unanimous consent that all the various amendments which are incorporated in this one amendment may be considered en bloc.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the amendments will be considered en bloc.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, it seems to me that the Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] in his very eloquent and his very pleasant style has presented a powerful argument for the amendment which I am offering. He informed the Senate—or, at least, that is what I understood him to do—that what the pending measure proposes to have us do in Greece and in Turkey is nonmilitary, that it is economic aid, that it is help for the starving. If that be the case, my amendment will not change that situation.

What I object to and what a great many other Senators on this floor object to are the military aspects of the pending bill—in short, the sending of our soldiers, the sending of our flag, the sending of our weapons, not only into Greece but into Turkey.

So, Mr. President, this amendment is devised to remove those military aspects and to make the pending bill conform to the presentation which we have just heard from the Senator from Texas.

I noticed that a great hue and cry was raised and many headlines appeared in the newspapers the other day, to the effect that the Governor of New York had endorsed the pending bill. I read very carefully what the Governor of New York had to say about the bill, but I could not find in his statement one word or even a hint that he favored military intervention and military help to either Greece or Turkey.

I think the point regarding military aid should be cleared up. If the present proposal is solely for economic aid, then such a purpose is entirely in harmony with my amendment. If the pending bill is a military proposal, as I contend it is, then my amendment would remove from it all military features, and would make the bill truly an economic proposal, a bill to provide relief for the hungry and the starving.

Mr. President, I wish to make one more unanimous-consent request. I ask

unanimous consent that my amendment, as I have just described it, and which is now the pending amendment, be given priority over the motion which was entered by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON], when the voting begins. In other words, I ask unanimous consent that my amendment be voted upon before the vote is taken on the motion of the Senator from Wyoming to lay on the table.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair desires to state the parliamentary situation. Unless unanimous consent, as just requested by the Senator from Colorado, is given, when the hour of 4 o'clock arrives the Chair will submit to the Senate the motion of the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON] to lay the bill upon the table, although the Chair feels that it is necessary to say that in the mind of the Chair there is a very serious question as to whether the motion is in order under the unanimous-consent agreement. The Chair wishes to point out that there is a conflict in the construction of the unanimous-consent agreement. On the one hand, it provides for the final passage of the bill by continuous voting after 4 o'clock. Obviously there could be no voting upon the final passage of the bill if the bill were laid upon the table.

On the other hand, it also provides for voting at 4 o'clock upon any motion which may be pending.

These two interpretations collide; but it is the purpose of the Chair to give the motion of the Senator from Wyoming the benefit of the doubt, and in the opinion of the Chair it is fair that the pending question should be the motion to lay upon the table.

The Senator from Colorado now has requested unanimous consent that the amendments which he has just submitted shall be voted upon before the motion to lay upon the table is voted upon, although the motion to lay upon the table has the right of way.

Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Colorado? The Chair hears none.

Therefore, the hour of 4 o'clock having arrived, the question now before the Senate is on agreeing to the amendments proposed by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. JOHNSON], which, by unanimous consent, the Senate has agreed to vote upon en bloc. The clerk will state the amendments for the RECORD.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 5, after the word "furnish", it is proposed to insert "nonmilitary."

On page 2, line 9, after the semicolon, to insert "and";

On page 3, line 6, to strike out the semicolon and insert in lieu thereof a period;

Beginning on page 3, line 7, to strike out all down to and including line 20 on page 5;

On page 5, line 21, to strike out "3", and insert in lieu thereof "2";

On page 6, line 20, to strike out "4", and insert in lieu thereof "3";

On page 7, line 9, to strike out "5", and insert in lieu thereof "4"; and

On page 8, line 9, to strike out "6", and insert in lieu thereof "5."

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado will check what the Chair now states. The reading of the amendments does not indicate to the Senate with any clearness what the issue is. As the Chair understands the series of amendments submitted by the Senator from Colorado, upon which a vote is now to be taken, the purpose and effect is to remove all reference to military aid from the pending bill.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. That is correct; and the amendment was prepared by our own legislative counsel.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Very well. Debate is over. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

Mr. LANGER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REED. I have a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. I am informed that, if present, the Senator from New York would vote as I am about to vote. Therefore I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is detained on public business.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

On this vote each of the Senators whose absence I have announced would vote "nay" if present.

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 68, as follows:

YEAS—22

Brooks	Kem	Revercomb
Bushfield	Langer	Stewart
Butler	McCarran	Taylor
Byrd	McKellar	Wherry
Dworshak	Malone	Williams
Ellender	Moore	Wilson
Hawkes	Murray	
Johnson, Colo.	Pepper	

NAYS—68

Aiken	Gurney	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hatch	O'Daniel
Ball	Hayden	O'Mahoney
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Overton
Bricker	Hill	Reed
Bridges	Hoey	Robertson, Va.
Buck	Holland	Robertson, Wyo.
Cain	Ives	Russell
Capehart	Jenner	Saltonstall
Capper	Johnston, S. C.	Smith
Chavez	Knowland	Sparkman
Connally	Lodge	Taft
Cooper	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Cordon	McCarthy	Thye
Donnell	McClellan	Tobey
Downey	McFarland	Tydings
Eastland	McGrath	Umstead
Ecton	McMahon	Vandenberg
Ferguson	Martin	Watkins
Flanders	Maybank	White
Fulbright	Millikin	Wiley
George	Morse	Young
Green	Myers	

NOT VOTING—5

Barkley	Magnuson	Wagner
Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.	

So the amendment of Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question reverts to the motion submitted by the Senator from Wyoming [Mr.

ROBERTSON] that the bill be laid upon the table.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Wyoming. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REED. I have a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. I am informed that the Senator from New York, if present, would vote as I am about to vote. Therefore, I am at liberty to vote. I vote "nay."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is detained on public business.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

On this vote each of the Senators whose absence I have announced would vote "nay" if present.

The result was announced—yeas 23, nays 67, as follows:

YEAS—23

Brieker	Johnson, Colo.	Pepper
Brooks	Kem	Revercomb
Buck	Langer	Robertson, Wyo.
Bushfield	McKellar	Taylor
Butler	Malone	Wherry
Byrd	Moore	Williams
Dworshak	Murray	Wilson
Hawkes	O'Daniel	

NAYS—67

Aiken	Hatch	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hayden	O'Mahoney
Ball	Hickenlooper	Overton
Brewster	Hill	Reed
Bridges	Hoey	Robertson, Va.
Cain	Holland	Russell
Capehart	Ives	Saltonstall
Capper	Jenner	Smith
Chavez	Johnston, S. C.	Sparkman
Connally	Knowland	Stewart
Cooper	Lodge	Taft
Cordon	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Donnell	McCarran	Thye
Downey	McCarthy	Tobey
Eastland	McClellan	Tydings
Ecton	McFarland	Umstead
Ellender	McGrath	Vandenberg
Ferguson	McMahon	Watkins
Flanders	Martin	White
Fulbright	Maybank	Wiley
George	Millikin	Young
Green	Morse	
Gurney	Myers	

NOT VOTING—5

Barkley	Magnuson	Wagner
Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.	

So the motion of Mr. ROBERTSON of Wyoming to lay the bill on the table was rejected.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill is open to further amendment.

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I offer the so-called oil amendment, and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. At the proper place in the bill it is proposed to insert the following:

Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments or between American oil companies and nationals of foreign governments.

Mr. LANGER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Are there any further amendments to be offered to the bill? If not, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was read the third time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. LANGER. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered, and the legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. REED. I have a general pair with the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER]. I am informed that the Senator from New York, if present, would vote as I am about to vote. Therefore I am at liberty to vote. I vote "yea."

Mr. LUCAS. I announce that the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. BARKLEY] and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON] is detained on public business.

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are necessarily absent.

On this vote each of the Senators whose absence I have announced would vote "yea" if present.

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 23, as follows:

YEAS—67

Alken	Hatch	O'Connor
Baldwin	Hayden	O'Mahoney
Ball	Hickenlooper	Overton
Brewster	Hill	Reed
Bridges	Hoey	Robertson, Va.
Cain	Holland	Russell
Capehart	Ives	Saltonstall
Capper	Jenner	Smith
Chavez	Johnston, S. C.	Sparkman
Connally	Knowland	Stewart
Cooper	Lodge	Taft
Cordon	Lucas	Thomas, Utah
Donnell	McCarran	Thye
Downey	McCarthy	Tobey
Eastland	McClellan	Tydings
Eaton	McFarland	Umstead
Ellender	McGrath	Vandenberg
Ferguson	McMahon	Watkins
Flanders	Martin	White
Fulbright	Maybank	Wiley
George	Millikin	Young
Green	Morse	
Gurney	Myers	

NAYS—23

Bricker	Johnson, Colo.	Pepper
Brooks	Kem	Revercomb
Buck	Langer	Robertson, Wyo.
Bushfield	McKellar	Taylor
Butler	Malone	Wherry
Byrd	Moore	Williams
Dworshak	Murray	Wilson
Hawkes	O'Daniel	

NOT VOTING—5

Barkley	Magnuson	Wagner
Kilgore	Thomas, Okla.	

So the bill S. 938 was passed.

The preamble was agreed to, as follows:

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and

other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other, and, if the present emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the charter: Now, therefore

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, because of the lack of time it has been impossible for me today to speak, as I had wanted to do, on the bill just passed. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the statement prepared by me may be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICAN SELF-INTEREST REQUIRES AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

After the President had delivered his speech, urging aid to Greece and Turkey, I commented to the press as follows:

"America is at the crossroads again. I pray God we take the right road."

What has placed us at the crossroads? Was it the President's speech? No. It was the current of swift-moving events—first, our failure to reach basic understanding during the war years, then allied victory, bankruptcy of the nations, Britain's resources cut to the bone so that she no longer could keep troops in Greece, a victorious Russia, ambitious not only to dominate the eastern Mediterranean but to take over all of Europe and fill the earth with her doctrines.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN NONINTERVENTION

In the early days of the Republic, we laid out a pattern of noninterference in the affairs of Europe. That was Washington's heart's desire and in the Monroe Doctrine, we restated our position in this language:

"In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense * * * our policy in regard to Europe * * * is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers."

Jefferson, Polk, and Secretary of State Olney, and even Secretary of State Hull, restated this doctrine time and time again. In 1940, Secretary Hull stated the United States "pursues a policy of nonparticipation and of nonintervention in purely political affairs of Europe."

THE RESPONSIBILITY NOW ON CONGRESS

World circumstances, including two wars, entry into the United Nations Organization, and now this eastern Mediterranean situation, show how circumstances alter cases. We in the Congress are asked to make a decision. The President pointed out what he thought the decision should be, and it is for us of the Congress, with the facts and the judgment that we possess, to accept or reject his suggestion. It is our responsibility. We cannot duck it.

CHOICES BEFORE AMERICA

There are two courses open to America: One is to revert to our doctrine of yesteryear and disregard the tremendous changes that have taken place in the world, the most significant of which is that time and space have been eliminated by the invention and ingenuity of man. The second choice is to recognize that an ideology which is spearheaded by Russia is contesting with the democratic way of life for the occupancy of men's minds and souls everywhere in the world.

It is my opinion that America should take that second choice and extend this aid for these reasons:

(a) In the self-interest of our country in this atomic age.

(b) To uphold the spiritual values which America has always championed.

(c) To come to an understanding with Russia as a means of preventing armed conflict.

(d) As a means of stimulating the UN to revitalize itself so that it will be adequate to its responsibilities.

INABILITY OF UN TO HANDLE CRISIS

It is argued by many that we will be bypassing the United Nations if we pass this resolution. On the other hand, the United Nations has not demonstrated the ability or the vitality to step into a picture such as is presented to us.

Folks are asking why the United Nations has not been made adequate to deal with a crisis such as we now face. The Christian Science Monitor answers the question in this language:

"We of the democracies thought we were adequate, but at Yalta and San Francisco, the two conferences where the heart of the Charter was drawn, Russia put it all over us and we didn't even know it. We thought we were bringing Russia into the arms of the United Nations. It turned out that actually we were putting the United Nations in the arms of Russia."

This arises from the fact that any one of the big powers in the Security Council can exercise a veto and thus block any important action. Thus, we reach the conclusion that in a case like this, the United Nations would have no power to act, because Russia, which is interested in dominating Greece and Turkey, would veto any steps that might be taken to right this situation.

In the bill, S. 938, America waives her right of veto and virtually proffers to the United Nations the opportunity to take over the job.

Let us bear in mind that Greece and Turkey, both members of the United Nations, did not apply to the United Nations, but applied directly to the United States for assistance.

There is, however, a significant fact that brings the United Nations into this picture. The Security Council has had a commission on the Greek border investigating disturbances between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, and that commission will report shortly. It is hoped that a permanent border commission, after the report has been made, will be constituted by the United Nations.

I am sure that every Senator and every person in America would sing Hallelujah if

the United Nations would take over this job and do the job. But from reading the Charter and noting UN's past activities, it is clear that the United Nations is not presently equipped to take emergency action. It hasn't the financial resources; it possesses no international police force; and Russia has the veto power.

On Friday last, April 18, the Security Council of the UN did take action. It voted 4-2 against a Russian proposal to send a supervisory commission to Greece to insure that the proposed help from the United States would be used only in the interests of the Greek people. By its action, UN thus designated clearly it felt inadequate at the present time to handle the situation.

To be adequate, UN must be reborn. This is the opportunity for its rebirth. It certainly is a moment for men to become truly great. I pray God that the representatives of the lands in the United Nations will seize this dynamic moment and make the United Nations what it should be and what the hope of the world is that it will be.

PROVISIONS OF UN CHARTER

We well recall that the Charter of the United Nations starts out with these significant words:

"We, the people of the United States, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" * * *. Then there follows three other paragraphs, and this significant language: "and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and to insure * * * that armed force shall only be used in the common interest and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these ends."

Then, we are told in chapter I, where the purposes of the United Nations are outlined, that among those purposes is to maintain international peace and security, and to that end, to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of the threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

Greece, Turkey, Russia, and the United States are signatories to this instrument—the Charter of the United Nations. Under chapter 7, there are provisions relating to action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression; but up to date the United Nations have done nothing in relation to creating an international police force. The reason therefor is plain. One of the members, Russia, has been actively engaged in pursuing her course of action outside the United Nations.

RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PENETRATIONS

Now, what is that Russian course? Let me cite the language by R. H. Markham, distinguished columnist for the Christian Science Monitor. He says:

"During long, intimate observations I have seen that organized Soviet-inspired communism has come to be the most menacing world force. It is an imperial conspiracy with a global aim. It seeks to set up a system of centrally directed world Soviets. To do that it must destroy established order everywhere, especially in the United States, because America is its chief opponent. It works through confusion, uncertainty, and the undermining of faith. It promotes misery as a preparation 'for the revolution.' One of its mottoes is: 'The worse it is, the better it is.' It seeks a proletariat of uprooted people. It has a morality of its own, employs violence, uses deceit, violates obligations. It scorns compassion and debases the individual. It exalts mass man, belittles individual judgment. It functions as a totalitarian religion, using man and material forces as idols. In its basic teachings and practices, it is opposed to the basic teachings and practices of Christianity."

RUSSIAN-UNITED STATES DIFFERENCES

I believe that any thinking person realizes that America is in opposition to the Soviets policy in Germany, Greece, Turkey, and Korea, in fact, everywhere in the world, due, in turn, to three factors:

1. The broad difference in political, religious, and economic ideology. Russia minimizing the individual and maximizing the state—America struggling to maintain and perfect the democratic way of life.

2. Russia not only desiring to extend her ideological influence but to extend her territorial borders, already covering one-fifth of the earth's surface.

3. America awakening now to the need of seeing that natural resources, such as oil and minerals, will remain in sufficient supply for her.

That is why America must take this step, must take her stand in the Near East at the bridgehead of 3 continents in order to halt Russia's march to world domination. I differentiate, of course, between Russia and her present leaders. I understand that there are no more than 10,000,000 Communists, but they are the iron rulers of 200,000,000 Russians, and these Russians are made up of over 80 different races who speak that many different tongues. All these might well constitute a boiling pot. Thus, the closing of the "Iron Curtain" may well be because of Russia's desire to hide from the eyes of the world the information of what goes on in Russia as well as to hide from the Russian people a clear view of what is going on in the world.

RESPONSIBILITY ON RUSSIA TO COOPERATE

Now, if Ambassador Gromyko means what he has been saying, he might ask America to join with him in asking the United Nations to convene in extraordinary session to consider this situation.

It is time that Russia demonstrates to the world that she wants the United Nations to become vital and dynamic in world affairs. Russia heretofore has used her veto right, right and left. She has refused to have an international police force created. She has continued her communistic penetration in every direction.

UNITED STATES AID REDUCES POSSIBILITY OF WAR

I personally feel that when the leaders of the Communist Party have it finally borne home to them that "this is the end of the road, or else," that there will be more getting together. From evidence that I have been able to obtain, I am reasonably satisfied that Russia does not want war and that war can only come as an overt act on her part, probably in pursuing the European maxim that a foreign war is the solution for internal trouble. When we think of what she has suffered in the loss of lives and the devastation of her homeland, we are sympathetically inclined toward her and we can partially understand her desire to get all she can while the getting is good.

The aid which we are proposing now to render will, I am sure, lessen the chances of an overt act on Russia's part and war.

RESULTS OF UNITED STATES AID

If this agreement is ratified by the action of the Senate and the House, what does it mean? The answer is very simple.

(A) Something like \$250,000,000 worth of war materials will be turned over to these two nations. This will be taken partly from our accumulated supply which will mean that our war plants will use the appropriated money to manufacture new material that is required.

(B) The balance will be in the nature of goods and other needed supplies to rehabilitate Greece.

Those who are voting for this so-called loan do so on the theory that it is the same as when one pays an insurance premium. Some may think it is a large premium. Well, it is

about \$100,000,000 more than we were spending each day during the last war. The purposes of this aid are similar to our purposes during the war: to protect America's self-interest, to champion spiritual values throughout the world, to make for conditions that will lead to lasting peace.

WHY MILITARY AID IS NECESSARY

Everyone agrees that we should provide Greece with food and help so as to get her on her feet. The big question seems to be whether we should furnish Greece out of our war supplies. As was stated in the United Nations Security Council, Russia did not hesitate, after the war, to furnish supplies to Marshal Tito. Russia did not then ask the United Nations. If this were simply a fight between two factions in Greece, as was the case in Yugoslavia, and nothing else were involved, I am sure that America would not be thinking about furnishing war material to one faction. Let's be frank about that. But we know that to the north of Greece there is a communistic army equipped, ready to take over Greece. We know also that Turkey is the underbelly of Russia. If Greece falls and Turkey falls to Russia, we know that the bridgehead of three continents ere long will be in the hands of the Soviet; and should this happen, it would only be another step for the Communists to take over all of Europe. This must not happen.

WHAT AMERICA MUST BE WATCHFUL FOR

This is a moment of great decision for America and the world. I have indicated that America must be vigilant in her aid program:

(a) She should seek in the course of this program a quid pro quo—that is, some form of return—for the resources of the American taxpayers which she is expending.

(b) She should see that the administration of this program is conducted on the highest possible plane and with the greatest efficiency and integrity.

(c) She should seek constant information on the progress of the program. I have urged that as soon as Secretary of State Marshall comes back from the Moscow Conference, he should report in a joint session of the Senate and House on the status of world affairs. I had previously urged that he advise Congress by cable directly from Moscow of his feelings regarding the proposed loans. This Secretary Marshall has now done.

CONCLUSIONS

I conclude as I began. America is at the crossroads again. I pray God we take the right road—the road to peace, to progress and plenty. There comes to my mind, after listening to all the few thoughts expressed in the Senate, a saying out of the Book of Books: "Fear not * * * I am with you always." If our purpose is right and if we have no ulterior motive except to save peoples from Communist slavery and to keep the world as free as it can be, then we should not fear when we are doing good.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a letter from the Senator from California [Mr. KNOWLAND], which the clerk will read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
April 21, 1947.

HON. ARTHUR VANDENBERG,
President pro tempore, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This is to submit my resignation, effective immediately, from membership on the Special Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program.

My work on the standing committees has so absorbed my time that I find it difficult to devote the additional time that will be required to attend further meetings and par-

ticipate in the other committee work of the National Defense Committee. I feel very strongly that a member of a committee should be able to participate fully in the committee work and in its ultimate decisions.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND,
United States Senator.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore, To fill the vacancy thus created on the Special Committee To Investigate the National Defense Program, the Chair appoints the Senator from Washington [Mr. CAIN].

TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following routine business was transacted:

COST ASCERTAINMENT REPORT ON CARRYING AND HANDLING MAIL MATTER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a letter from the Acting Postmaster General, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Post Office Department Cost Ascertainment Report showing the cost of carrying and handling the several classes of mail matter and of performing the special services for the fiscal year 1946, which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Civil Service.

PETITIONS

Petitions were laid before the Senate, or presented, and referred as indicated:

By the PRESIDENT pro tempore:

A resolution adopted by Caribbean Post, No. 700, Veterans of Foreign Wars, San Juan, Puerto Rico, favoring the enactment of the bill (S. 652) to provide for the national security of the Nation by requiring that all qualified young men undergo a period of military, naval, or air training for the common defense; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. CAPPER:

A petition signed by 50 citizens of Caldwell, Kans., praying for the enactment of Senate bill 265, to prohibit the transportation of alcoholic-beverage advertising in interstate commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

APPROVAL OF AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. McGRATH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a statement, dated April 22, 1947, by the World Order Committee of the Catholic Association for International Peace on assistance to Greece and Turkey.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF WORLD ORDER COMMITTEE OF CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE ON ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

We approve the principle of preserving the national security of the United States and that of more immediately threatened nations and of safeguarding the peace and freedom of the world as outlined in President Truman's message to Congress requesting aid for Greece and Turkey.

We support the principle underlying the Vandenberg amendment as a step in the development of the international authority of the United Nations. We consider the Presidential policy as amended an emergency measure which should be terminated at the earliest practicable opportunity. We recognize that the policy contains unsought but inherent dangers of economic and political imperialism by the United States. We believe that the best way and the speediest

way to avoid this in the future and to make unnecessary unilateral assistance to other countries is to strengthen the United Nations so that it can handle such problems within its own organization.

The new United Nations Economic Commission for Europe and all the specialized agencies of the UN should be fully assisted by the United States to the end that European countries through economic security and cooperation may increase their political independence and integrity, and become stronger members of the UN. To provide effective international over-all security against aggression by large as well as small powers and to prevent World War III, immediate and determined efforts must be made to equip the United Nations with necessary power even at the expense of limitation of national sovereignty.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. WILEY, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. 361. A bill for the relief of Alva R. Moore; with an amendment (Rept. No. 121);

S. 423. A bill for the relief of John B. Barton; without amendment (Rept. No. 120);

S. 620. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ida Elma Franklin; with an amendment (Rept. No. 122);

S. 664. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Isenhardt; without amendment (Rept. No. 124);

S. 665. A bill to reimburse certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for money stolen or obtained through false pretenses from them while they were on duty at the United States naval training station, Farragut, Idaho; without amendment (Rept. No. 125); and

H. R. 326. A bill for the relief of Wilma E. Baker; without amendment (Rept. No. 123).

By Mr. McGRATH, from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

H. R. 2346. A bill authorizing and directing the removal of stone piers in West Executive Avenue between the grounds of the White House and the Department of State Building; without amendment.

BILLS INTRODUCED

Bills were introduced, read the first time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WHITE (by request):

S. 1141. A bill to amend the Transportation of Explosives Act, as amended; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DOWNEY:

S. 1142. A bill for the relief of Anna Pechnik; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GURNEY (by request):

S. 1143. A bill to provide for the procurement of physicians and surgeons in the Medical Department of the Army and for other purposes; and

S. 1144. A bill to amend Public Law 301, Seventy-ninth Congress, approved February 18, 1946, so as to extend the benefits of the Missing Persons Act, approved March 7, 1942 (56 Stat. 143), as amended, to certain members of the organized military forces of the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BUSHFIELD:

S. 1145. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Mrs. Edith Olson;

S. 1146. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Charles Yellow Boy; and

S. 1147. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to George Swift Bird; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. BALL:

S. 1148. A bill for the relief of Boris Lifchitz Souvarine; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TOBEY (for himself and Mr. McGRATH):

S. 1149. A bill to adjust the rate of dividends paid by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation on its capital stock and to decrease the premium charge for its insurance, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ECTON:

S. 1150. A bill authorizing the issuance of a patent in fee to Mrs. Margert Pickett Yellowtail; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. TYDINGS:

S. 1151. A bill for the relief of Samuel Jacobs and Bertha Jacobs; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McMAHON:

S. 1152. A bill to provide that the unused portions of immigration quotas for the years 1940 through 1946 shall be available for issuance during the next 10 years; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FERGUSON (for himself and Mr. DOWNEY):

S. 1153. A bill to incorporate the National Committee for All War Widows and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

(Mr. CAPEHART introduced Senate bill 1154, to amend the Veterans Emergency Housing Act of 1946, which was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency, and appears under a separate heading.)

By Mr. WHERRY:

S. 1155. A bill authorizing the transfer of certain real property for wildlife purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

AMENDMENT OF VETERANS' EMERGENCY HOUSING ACT OF 1946

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce for appropriate reference a bill to amend the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946.

This bill is designed to recapture \$300,000,000 of the \$400,000,000 authorized for expenditure on building subsidies by the Seventy-ninth Congress since the need for subsidies has been eliminated to a great extent by the termination of price controls.

Under the authorization the balance of the \$400,000,000, or about \$335,000,000, of unspent funds could be expended without further congressional controls any time after this session of Congress has been adjourned.

It is the purpose of this bill to leave more than sufficient funds under authorization to meet the cost of the two remaining subsidy programs for pig iron and soil pipe. The saving of \$300,000,000 of the subsidy funds was made possible through the elimination of the need for most building materials which previously could not be obtained because of price limitations.

Existing subsidy programs cannot extend beyond December 31, 1947, under the authorization of the Seventy-ninth Congress. Any need for subsidy after that time can be provided in the next session of Congress.

There being no objection, the bill (S. 1154) to amend the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946, introduced by Mr. CAPEHART, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

LABOR RELATIONS—AMENDMENT

Mr. McCLELLAN submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 1126) to amend the National Labor Relations Act, to provide addition-

matter of time before others will find the secret. The basic materials are common knowledge in the scientific world.

What has been made physically possible by the atom bomb will have our implied ethical sanction if the conscience of mankind continues on its downstream trend. We have developed in the last generation in geometric proportions our callousness to human values and human suffering. In 1904, in the Russo-Japanese War, General Nogi of the Japanese Army performed one of the most notable acts in all the history of warfare when, in a battle to capture Port Arthur, he sacrificed several brigades of men and his own sons in order to capture a certain strongly defended hill. He wanted the hill so that he could direct his artillery fire against the Russian naval base. He could have fired over the hill without taking it, but refused because blind fire would have endangered innocent noncombatants. Less than 30 years later, it was the Japanese who first practiced wanton deliberate killing of massed civilians by the bombing of Chapei, a suburb of Shanghai. Then there followed the rape of Nanking, and Pearl Harbor. What happened to the conscience of the Japanese people during those years was also happening to our own. During the First World War, we were horror stricken by the first accounts of such new weapons as the bomb dropped from an airplane, the machine-gun, the poison gas. Indiscriminate submarine attacks so provoked our sense of dignity that they became a real factor toward our entering the conflict. We were even then told that war would be impossible in the future because it had been made so deadly and effective. How many of us stop to realize that we, once the defenders of humanity, and the foremost advocates of international law, have unleashed a weapon which actually wipes out whole cities at a time? Something, indeed, has happened to us, and who is there to say that it is not worse, even, than military defeat. Has there been a terrible weapon invented that has not brutalized its users? Surely what is happening in the physical realm cannot compare in significance with what is happening in men's minds. We are certainly approaching the point where the bomb's use would find justification of some kind, though it would lead eventually to our own destruction. That there can be moral sanction for such completely illogical acts, among thoughtful men, is unthinkable.

A moral principle is not an ethereal concept having no relation to life or living. It is instead founded on human relationships and exists to promote human betterment. It is generally accepted, for example, that telling a deliberate falsehood to deceive is ethically wrong. Not because a mysterious power from afar has enjoined us from lying is it wrong, but because society could not exist based upon falsehood. The lie is based upon the major premise that men usually tell the truth. If men did not usually tell the truth there could be no lie, because the wrong statement would not mislead, and if men could not rely on representations as truth, intercourse between men would necessarily cease. The major premise, it is wrong to lie, is based upon social necessity. The principle finds its roots in the fact that a lying society would be chaos. Equally clear is the same reasoning applied to atom bombs. The real ethical prohibition against their use and the weapons to which their use will inevitably lead, finds its basis in that such conduct will end in annihilation. We may shrug our shoulders, but we cannot escape reality. The position is of our own making.

In many ways, the world we have today is like the world implied in Cicero's great orations against Catiline. Catiline, a choice heir among the youths of Rome, had all the opportunities available to anyone, yet he

deliberately chose wrong. Is the world, too, deliberately to choose evil? We can either live blindly, nonchalantly, dangerously, in a world which threatens at any moment to destroy us—or driven by necessity, we can rise to a new level of social responsibility and mark the beginning of a new period of human relationships. The nations of the earth will make a choice based upon reason and ethical principles—or they will perish.

Funeral Sermon for the Late John J. Cochran

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK M. KARSTEN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. KARSTEN of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the funeral sermon for the late John J. Cochran, a former Member of this body, delivered by the Right Reverend John J. Butler at St. Leo's Church in St. Louis, Mo., on March 10, 1947:

"I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. As to the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the just judge will render to me in that day: and not only to me, but to them also that love His coming." (II Timothy 7: 8.)

This second letter to Timothy was probably written by St. Paul, the great apostle to the Gentiles, during the time of his last imprisonment at Rome, and not long before his martyrdom. In this epistle he instructs and admonishes Timothy in what belonged to his office and also warns him to shun the conversation of those who erred from the truth, describing at the same time their character. He tells him of his approaching death and desires him to come to him speedily. It was in a way a farewell message to Timothy and his other disciples and the members of the church for which St. Paul had suffered so many hardships and for which he was soon to follow in the footsteps of Jesus Christ and give up his life.

In the few words which I have quoted, St. Paul refers to his life as a fight—yes, a battle for God, for truth, for the doctrine of his Master, Jesus Christ. A fight which started on the road to Damascus when he was struck blind and heard the voice say to him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" It came to an end only when he gave up his life as a martyr defending truth.

St. Paul was anxious to impress on Timothy, his disciples, and those entrusted to their spiritual care, as well as to all others who were to follow in their footsteps in future ages the meaning of the sacrifices that they would be called upon to make in order that they might spread truth. He wanted them to realize that no sacrifice made in the cause of truth would be in vain, and that all who fought the good fight and kept the faith would be rewarded when their course has been finished by the just judge with the crown of life, which means happiness with God in heaven for all eternity.

Today, we bow our heads in reverent tribute to the memory of Jack Cochran, for whose soul we have just offered the holy sacrifice of the mass, and whose mortal remains will receive in a few minutes the last blessing of mother church before being carried to Calvary, there to be laid to rest under the cross of Christ. With heavy hearts, sorrowful souls, and eyes dimmed with tears we

meet here today. Had I the eloquence of Cicero or the ability of the greatest poet who ever lived, I could not add one star to the crown that Jack richly deserves. I believe truthfully that he could repeat with pride as he was nearing the brink of eternity after a life so well spent, a life so useful and effective in the interest of his fellow neighbor, his country, and above all—his God—"I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith"—and I also believe that the just judge will bestow upon him the crown of life which he has so justly earned.

He was one of us. He loved St. Leo's where he spent a great part of his childhood—his family having moved to this neighborhood a few weeks after his birth in Webster Groves. He often recalled for me some events in his childhood, especially his attendance at holy mass here with his dear mother, who taught him to lisp for the first time the sweet name of Jesus, and the day he received in this church for the first time our dear Lord in the most holy eucharist with a thrill of joy which no other experience can ever surpass.

I am convinced that he had a true appreciation of the virtue of charity, upon which all virtues are based—faith, hope, and charity, but the greatest of these is charity—and in his own humble busy life that virtue was very active, for he made an honest effort to follow the words of St. Luke: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul, and thy neighbor as thyself." (Luke 10: 27.)

At an early age he started to work, and as idleness was not in his vocabulary he forged forward with marvelous success, which was the reward of industry and attention to duty. These characteristics became the rule of his life and had much to do with his success in the Halls of Congress. Somebody has well said, "He began hustling for the little people when he first viewed the Potomac back in 1913. He's been hustling ever since." He fought for the truth in season and out of season, in the Halls of Congress, and any other place where he could secure an audience.

With the courage of a soldier and the patience of a saint he overcame physical handicaps that other men would consider insurmountable. Several major operations did not deter him. In the hospital he was cheerful and busy. When his friends urged him to take it easy and thought their arguments were convincing, they learned later that he was back on the firing line busy as ever. His interest in the afflicted and his zeal to help, forgetful of his personal suffering, are so well described in his own words in a three-page letter written by his own hand just before Christmas 1943, when he was making preparations to go to an institution in New York to be instructed in the use of his artificial limbs—I quote: "If I can get so I can walk with crutches, in time it will turn to canes. How I would like to do it, and then I would have plenty of time encouraging those disabled like I am. I have met some who have learned to walk, but it took them years. How I would like to have money that I could spend to help the afflicted. I know some rich men in this country, and I am going to try to sell them the idea. They cannot take it with them, so why not do something for those unfortunates who need help? In the last analysis, they became disabled fighting to protect them and their money. Why not reward them by setting up a dozen or more institutions like the one in New York? Endow them—thus helping those to whom they are obligated. Thank God I have a disposition that enables me to refrain from worry. In the hospital I would go around and cheer up the afflicted. In the end the doctors told me I had assisted several men. When they looked at me with no legs, they had nothing to complain about. The nurses used to tell me to call on some

fellow and cheer him up. I would do it. I figure the good Lord let me stick around for a purpose."

Jack Cochran loved God, he loved his Catholic faith. He loved his neighbor, he loved his city and State. He loved his country—but above all he loved his God. He had a deep appreciation of the holy sacrifice of the mass and prayer. His letters to me always ended with a request for a prayer. A request for masses for his friends who had passed away came as soon as he learned of their deaths—frequently with a request that I go to the wake and console in his name the bereaved.

St. Louis has lost a great leader. In his sight all were children of God and neighbors. Though his body is dead, his soul still lives.

To the relatives of Jack, may I extend in the name of the clergy, religious, and laity our heartfelt sympathy in your sad hours and may God grant you strength and courage to bear up under your grief.

It is our earnest prayer that God has already accepted his unselfish deeds performed during his busy active worth-while life and welcomed him with the words, "Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of the Lord." (Matthew xxv: 21).

So, dear Jack, with you dear brothers and sisters, your fond relatives, your friends and pals I bid you farewell, but not forever. We pledge to keep your memory ever green. For all you have done for us, your district, your city, your State, and your Nation, we in return will try in our own way to repay you in our masses, our holy communions, and our prayers as long as God blesses us with our faculties.

May God grant you eternal rest, and may a perpetual light shine upon you.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, April 22 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947*

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated April 16, 1947, from Capt. Nishan der Hagopian, on the subject of aid to Greece and Turkey. Captain der Hagopian is a reputable and popular lecturer on Near East questions.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., April 16, 1947.

THE UNITED STATES SENATE,

Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: I speak with these words to the United States Senators of America, the greatest lawmakers of democracy. Our forefathers who have pledged justice to all humanity, and brotherhood of man.

In the first place, it is wrong to compare the Turks with the Greeks. The Grecians for thousands of years have stood for democracy and cherish justice to all fellowmen. Since when have the Turks had the love for democracy? They have been international gangsters for centuries among the European nations. When they conquered the Dardanelles the middle of the fourteenth century they have caused jealousy, hatred, and war. This

is a historical monument in the civilized world.

Today we wish to repeat the history by giving our aid to gracious Turkey. This will cause or strengthen the Turkish position to further their ambitious as a buffer state as it has been in the past. Therefore how can we trust them?

The climax is this: Our helping the Turks at this time will destroy the Armenian cause. I believe you are aware of the fact this martyr nation is preparing now their just cause to lay on the altar of the UNO.

For the last 50 years our great men like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Senator King, of Utah, thousands of laymen, and other great Americans stood fast for the justice of Armenia.

It was not so long ago that we Americans witnessed the horror of the Turkish massacre during the First World War. In 1915 deportations into the desert totaled 1,500,000 Armenians slaughtered. This is the undeniable truth you have witnessed in your own time.

Here is another true fact. One hundred thousand young girls were left in the harems of the Turks and in addition to that 100,000 orphans from 2 to 7 were snaggd into Turkish homes. Perhaps we are asking these unfortunate orphans to defend our democracy by giving \$150,000,000. Gentlemen, do you think God will be pleased with this kind of an act? Since then our American educational institutions, missionary churches, Armenian monasteries, churches, and the homes, property, wealth was all confiscated by the unreasonable Turks. These are the facts, gentlemen, that will remain down through the history of mankind. Therefore, I would like to have the opportunity and pleasure to be among you to challenge the Turks.

I ask you, why did President Coolidge in 1924 make a trade pact with the Turks that doomed the Armenian cause a few years after the Izmirna horrible massacre had shattered the imagination of civilized man in 1921. Furthermore, the only remnant of the nation left throughout Turkey is approximately 200,000. This sealed the minority freedom throughout the Turkish empire.

The last 25 years we have not heard a decent communication from Turkey to their relation outside the world. We do not know whether they are free or they are worshipping something else. Also, it has been prohibited for outside visitors to enter the homeland. This has been the rigid policy of the Turks for the last 25 years. Is this democracy of Turkey?

Gentlemen, do you believe and approve of this dictatorial act imposed upon these Christian people. Now you are offering the gracious aid as if the honorable Turks deserve this wonderful gift from America. Remember, if there is a justice in heaven, there should be one on earth.

This might be food for thought, but let us analyze racial differences between the Turks and the Armenians. For instance, the last 60 years, approximately a quarter of a million Armenian immigrants came to the United States of America. Every one of these refugees had seen massacre at least three times in their lives. They have made marvelous progress with adapting themselves to the American way of life and received the highest education. Some of them became professors of universities, scientists, writers, businessmen, artists, and many of them became millionaires, but the beautiful part is they all became loyal citizens of the United States of America. Their younger generation in the First World War served the country that they loved. They have built several hundred churches throughout the country for their own belief. In this last global war their sons and daughters served the Stars and Stripes, and many have received citations and

the highest honors. Now, gentlemen, how many Turks have you in this country that have accomplished anything to compare with this?

These are the outstanding facts. I leave it to your imagination. What makes the American love for the Turks?

Quotation from Matthew, chapter 7, verse 6: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet and turn again and rend you."

Another quotation from the Holy Bible, Hebrews 10:30, 31: "For we know Him that hath said vengeance belongeth unto Me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again, the Lord shall judge his people. But call to remembrance the former days, in which, after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions."

Now, gentlemen, you must not forget this martyr nation. Also the tears and blood they have shed for centuries. Remember the judgment of God.

Very truly yours,

NISHAN DER HAGOPIAN.

"The Federal Excise Taxes on Freight Shipments, Passenger Tickets, Long-Distance Telephone Calls, and Telegraphed Messages Are Grossly Inequitable, Utterly Unjust, and Discriminatory in Their Unequal Application to Various Sections of the Country, Especially to the Far West—and They Must Be Changed"
—Justus F. Craemer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERTRAND W. GEARHART

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. GEARHART. Mr. Speaker, of all of the wartime excise taxes, the levy upon freight shipments, passenger tickets, long-distance telephone calls, and telegraphed messages are the most unfair, unjust, and least defensible of all of the revenue-raising measures that are upon our statute books. Yet the Congress does nothing to relieve the situation. It is high time that something be done.

In the hope that the country may be aroused to a consciousness of the utterly unfair character of these particular excise taxes, I offer for inclusion in the RECORD of this day's proceedings a very able article on this subject from the capable pen of the Honorable Justus F. Craemer, an article which first appeared in the January issue of California, the magazine of the Pacific, as it is known throughout the West.

The author of this most timely article is, as you will recall, Mr. Speaker, an outstanding citizen of California, one who is now serving his State with distinction as a member of the California Utilities Commission. A life-long student of government, he is especially well qualified to write on the highly technical subject of taxation, the subject to which he addresses himself.

time to earn an extra \$2 each day for 30 days and contribute that extra earnings, amounting to \$24,000,000, to the creation of such a trust fund, what a memorial that would be. But apparently Lewis would not have it so. Who suffers? Who are the losers under the Lewis memorial?

ODE TO A JACKASS

Yes, you can put a bulldog's head
On an old jackass, but gee whizz
That old jackass will just remain,
The same old jackass that he is.

—H. P. White.

The Test Relative to Monopoly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, for many years we have heard a lot of people talking against economic concentration and monopoly. Most organizations go on record against monopoly. The test of the genuineness of such statements is determined by the attitude taken in connection with specific measures before Congress. An editorial in the Nashville Tennessean of April 10, 1947, states well the proposition. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial:

PUT TO TEST

Judging by words, there is not a corporation or a man in America who favors economic concentration or monopoly. They are all on record against it—the Republican Party, the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, and so on down through the list. The real test of their attitude is what they will do when a bill is presented in Congress to block the monopoly movement.

Consider the case of the Kefauver bill.

Congressman KEFAUVER has introduced a bill to correct the hole torn in the Clayton Act of 1914 by a Hughes-dominated Supreme Court in 1926. The object of the Clayton Act was to prevent consolidation in any instance in which competition would be materially lessened. The Court held that the Clayton law prohibited the acquisition of controlling stock in a competing company but did not bar the acquisition of the physical assets of the company. This narrow, legalistic interpretation was contrary to the purpose and intent of the 1914 law. Nevertheless, the Court opened the door to the wildest concentration spree in our history prior to 1941, and Congress has remained amazingly indifferent to the imperative need to patch up this hole, which is big enough to allow consolidation at any level.

Mr. KEFAUVER's bill would simply close the hole by prohibiting the acquisition of the physical assets of another corporation where the result would be restraint of commerce.

And what happens among these defenders of free enterprise? The United States Chamber of Commerce promptly announces its opposition to the bill. And nobody will dare strain their imagination so far as to try to picture the NAM throwing its propaganda machinery back of the measure.

In the face of the most gigantic merger movement in our history, the chamber proclaims that "present provisions of law are quite adequate to deal with monopolistic and unfair competitive practices * * * (and there is) no need for further remedies."

Mr. KEFAUVER has produced a sound and urgently needed measure. It ought to be

passed at once. But he will not be disappointed by the announced opposition of the chamber and the unannounced opposition of other interests. Every reform bill looking toward the preservation of a genuinely free enterprise system has had to be pushed against the opposition of the very elements that subscribe in words to antimonopoly sentiment.

H. R. 3100

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, on April 17, 1947, I introduced a bill to continue rent control until June 30, 1948.

If such positive action is not taken by Congress, rent control will be done to death within the next few weeks. Rent increases and eviction notices will follow.

The rising living costs confronting everyone can no longer be denied. Every newspaper tells the grim story, but the housewife does not need to read the newspapers to keep up with the facts of life.

She is told that she should be happy because the counters are now filled with choice, juicy steaks. There are plenty of shirts on the shelves; shoes, too, to be had. But she is not told where to get the money to pay for them.

The answer to that, to date, is punitive labor legislation.

Let us never forget that more than half of the American families are living on an annual income of less than \$2,000 a year—\$500 less than the expense account for a Congressman. And let us not forget the fact that the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which Congress has just voted to emasculate, reports that the average family spends 40 percent of its income for food.

In my speech on the floor of the House on March 13, I showed that food costs had risen 30 to 35 percent. I said then that the lifting of rent controls coming on top of the high and rising cost of food would be too much for the American housewife and her family to bear.

Recognizing the political factors involved, I waited for a member of the majority party to introduce a bill to renew effective rent control. No such bill having been offered, I introduced H. R. 3100, which I hope will be considered on its merits at an early date.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a copy of my bill, H. R. 3100:

H. R. 3100

A bill to continue rent control until June 30, 1948

Be it enacted, etc., That the provisions of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, and all regulations, orders, and requirements thereunder, insofar as rents are concerned, shall be continued until June 30, 1948.

No general increase in rents shall be granted under authority of that act except as may be required under the provisions of section 2 (b) thereof.

Oklahoma's Lieutenant Governor Blames Wagner Act for All Our Troubles and Wants It Repealed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE B. SCHWABE

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I am just in receipt of a letter from the Honorable James E. Berry, who has been for many years the Lieutenant Governor of the State of Oklahoma, and is one of our outstanding and most respected citizens, and who always has the interests of our people at heart. Lieutenant Governor Berry is very much perturbed about the management and labor-relations conflicts, the strikes, and other disruptions to our economy, just as thousands of others from our part of the country who have written me, clamoring for Congress to take some definite action to correct these ills.

Governor Berry insists that the Members of Congress can do something about it and he insists that we enact laws which will make it impossible for these strikes to continue. He emphasizes that it has become apparent to many, and that it is his belief that the Wagner Act, which is sometimes referred to as the Wagner Labor Relations Act, has "caused all of the trouble which our country has had to endure," and he expresses the hope that we in Congress "will vote to repeal the Wagner Act." It will be remembered that when our subcommittee in charge of the appropriations for the Labor Department recently reported its bill to the House, and the House approved it by a substantial vote, the bill contained a drastic cut in the appropriation item for the National Labor Relations Board. This is the Board that was created by and set up pursuant to the Wagner Act. While the bill was being considered on the floor, I offered an amendment striking the entire appropriation item for this agency on the ground that the appropriation was premature and pointed to the fact that the House Committee on Labor and Education, after many weeks of hearings and after taking the testimony of hundreds of people from both management and labor, was soon to bring a bill to the floor of the House, and that until such bill was acted upon by Congress, no appropriation should be made for the National Labor Relations Board and its activities for the 1948 fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1947.

The House Committee on Labor and Education last week reported out their bill, H. R. 3020, the Hartley bill, and I believe it is a fair deduction to say that if this law is passed, the appropriation which was carried in our bill is far in excess of the amount of money that will be needed for that agency to function pursuant to the Hartley bill. Be it known that the Hartley bill was one of the most controversial measures that will come before this Congress and one in which the public is perhaps most vitally concerned,

Four hundred and fifteen of the 435 Members in the House were present and voted on this measure. Three hundred and eight voted in the affirmative and 107 in the negative. Only 22 Republicans voted in the negative and more Democrats voted in the affirmative than voted in the negative. Hence, it was in many respects a nonpartisan measure in which the people of this country, through their representatives, expressed themselves as thoroughly disgusted with the conditions that prevail. The bill is proof that conditions are not right as was admitted by nearly all speakers pro and con, and that Congress must enact legislation which will remedy the ills which now so banefully beset our economy.

It is heartening to have the reactions of people like Lieutenant Governor Berry and I am pleased to quote his letter in full for the benefit of my colleagues and the public, as follows:

[Official seal of the State of Oklahoma]

JAMES E. BERRY,

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF OKLAHOMA,
Stillwater, Okla., April 14, 1947.

HON. GEORGE B. SCHWABE,
Member of Congress,
First District, Oklahoma,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHWABE: At last Oklahoma, and especially Stillwater, is going through the inconvenience and hardships caused by the strike of the telephone operators. I don't know what has caused the difference of opinion between the management and the employees, but I do know that all of the citizens are being penalized by reason of this condition.

You and other Members of our Congress can do something about it, and I sincerely hope that you will enact laws which will make it impossible for these strikes to continue.

I am told and I believe that the Wagner Act has caused all of the trouble which our country has had to endure, and I hope that you will vote to repeal the Wagner Act.

With best wishes for your continued success, I am

Sincerely,

JAMES E. BERRY.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON

OF COLORADO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 22 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, during the past 2 weeks I have participated in several radio programs on the subject of aid to Greece and Turkey. I ask unanimous consent to have the addresses printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO, ON MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM, APRIL 9, 1947

SHOULD WE USE OUR FUNDS TO HALT COMMUNISM ABROAD?

Well, today, an epidemic of communism is said to be sweeping over Europe and Asia.

Should we attempt to stop this irresistible tide or would it prove better strategy and better judgment to let it run its course? In my opinion, the best cure for communism is a good dose of communism. If it is as bad as I think, its most enthusiastic sponsors will turn against it if given a little time. Anyway, long experience has proven that ideas cannot be halted by anything except better ideas.

Former Secretary of War Pat Hurley says, "A mule driver must know more than his mule." I feel the same way about halting communism. Before we try to cure this political fanaticism, either at home or abroad, we should know what makes it tick.

Communism's primary causes are empty stomachs and political persecution. When capitalism disintegrates ruinous inflation takes over and communism follows, just as night follows day, and it can happen here!

So before we embark on a wild-goose chase of halting communism all over the world, it would be prudent to estimate the probable total costs of such a venture. Our economy, already badly warped and extremely shaken, cannot stand much more global spending.

We start out to rid the world of communism and wind up by destroying the last remaining citadel of capitalism. What an ironical and hideous result?

The other twin cause of communism is political persecution. We drove the Jap Fascists out of Formosa and invited Chiang Kai-shek to move in. The other day his man, Chen Yi, brutally murdered 5,000 Formosans. During the past 20 years it is estimated that the lives of 7,000,000 noncombatant Chinese have been snuffed out by civil war. Formosa and China today are fertile fields for communism. In Greece, a Fascist Government has been supported in large part through the sale of UNRRA relief supplies. A worker in Greece, due to inflation, cannot earn enough to purchase one-tenth of his family requirements, and while his family starves he must witness the privileged classes living in luxury. Yesterday the Greek Parliament voted a dowry of \$40,000 for Princess Catherine, the sister of King Paul, who will be married April 21 to a British officer. That almost makes a Communist out of me.

Sure money borrowed from American taxpayers and poured into Greece by the millions will not halt the cruel barbarism of foreign-born rulers who have been imposed arbitrarily on Greece by Great Britain.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO, OVER THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO. COAST-TO-COAST NETWORK, APRIL 12, 1947
SHALL THE UNITED STATES GIVE AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY?

Many Senators who are rabidly opposed to the Greco-Turkish military grant and loan say they shall not vote against it, since they do not want Stalin and the world to know there is division in the United States on our foreign policy.

American unity is most desirable but the State Department ought to think of that before they launch a program so controversial and so filled with dangerous military implications. The Congress was given no advance information nor was it previously consulted. Suddenly the President canceled his Caribbean vacation and presented it as a pressing world crisis which must be met with no delay.

That is not proper procedure in a democracy. The United States of America is not a dictatorship. I have long advocated a united front, nonpartisan foreign policy, but since the proposal had no preliminary exploration or public examination, all of its phases must be studied and discussed thoroughly now. I shall do my best to bring before the people and the Congress its many far-reaching implications as I view them. That I conceive to be my duty.

It is no light matter to bypass the United Nations Organization as it was bypassed by the President. Upon the urgent demand of Warren Austin, our representative to the Assembly, who made a special trip to Washington for the purpose, the President, 16 days after his address to Congress, officially assured UN that he was still friendly to it and backing it.

We must choose either the high road of collective security or the low road of unilateral action. We cannot travel both roads if we would fulfill our destiny to lead the world to peace. No one, eloquent though he may be, can deny successfully that the prestige of UN has been dealt a body-blow by the Truman proposal. It has been branded officially as an impotent instrument. It has been subordinated to an inferior position, and in an inferior position it cannot function. I doubt that it will ever recover its lost standing.

Thus the United States, preaching collective security, stabs collective security in the back and adopts the discredited system of power politics and unilateral action in its stead.

It is no idle passing matter to form what amounts to a military alliance with Turkey. Russia dares not ignore such a threat to her security and to world peace. If you will glance at the map, you will see that Turkey and the Black Sea reach far into the vitals of the Soviet Union. Turkey, by herself and on her own, is no threat to Russia, but when she makes a military alliance with the leading power—the United States—it is a horse of another color. Russia must deem this an act of aggression on our part just as we would be compelled to view a like move by Russia in one of our neighboring states.

Always and traditionally we have refused to intervene in a civil war raging in another state. Under the new Truman doctrine we depart from that wise policy and place the world on notice that henceforth, if it suits our mood, we shall pick one side or the other in every civil war and wade in. Reduced to a few words, it means that henceforth we take it upon ourselves to police the world.

Russia has proven exasperatingly uncooperative. Her obstinate spirit of stubborn and sullen negation would try the patience of a saint. But we, with world peace our most cherished objective, must not fly the track. I earnestly hope that the United Nations rise to its full stature and puts both Russia and the United States in their place. Otherwise Turkey will become an armed camp and throw the whole world into an armament race which must quickly lead to World War III.

STATEMENT BY SENATOR EDWIN C. JOHNSON, OF COLORADO, ON BLAIR MOODY'S RADIO FORUM
APRIL 13, 1947

Close by the Persian Gulf, the very area which envelops the earth's most extensive deposits of petroleum, is said by historians to be the Biblical site of the Garden of Eden. The drama of Adam's original sin is about to be reenacted by modern man. The apple, the ancient symbol of temptation, is replaced by the modern "black gold" altar of petroleum. Otherwise, the setting is the same. Today men fight and die for oil. As certain as we live and breathe World War III is going to be fought in the Middle East over this tempting fruit. The battle lines for an unspeakable war are about to be drawn in the deserts of Turkey. It promises much in blood, death, and destruction.

A military alliance between Turkey and the United States is now pending in the Congress. They do not call it a Turkish military alliance; they call it Turkish aid, but in reality it is a military alliance—pure and simple.

Turkey stands on guard between Russia and the richest oil domain on earth and in

my opinion that is the basis for our hideous proposal to form a military alliance with her. Russia and her satellites must be cut out of this tremendous natural resource. Five of our largest domestic oil companies and certain British oil companies in which the Crown owns a sizable slice, hold joint concessions to all of this vast oil empire. To make their holdings secure the American flag must fly from the highest derrick. So the American people pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to defend to the death the modern Adam's apple.

The Atlantic Charter specifically provides for all nations and peoples on the earth to share alike in the world's natural resources, but we are about to reduce the Atlantic Charter to a scrap of paper and turn this priceless bonanza over to private American and British oil interests to have and to hold and to exploit.

INTERVIEW WITH SENATOR JOHNSON OF COLORADO ON BEALL HEADLINE EDITION, STATION WMAL, APRIL 10, 1947

Mr. BEALL. Senator JOHNSON, what are some of your main reasons for opposing the President's bill?

Senator JOHNSON. Well, in the first place, it's a program which eventually must lead to war.

Then, it inevitably destroys the United Nations Organization, which has been so carefully built up as a bulwark for peace.

It is a radical departure from our long-established and traditional foreign policies.

It effects a military alliance with Turkey.

And it wastes the taxpayers' money in a futile effort to stop communism all over the world.

Mr. BEALL. Speaking of the United Nations, Senator JOHNSON, the Soviet Delegate, Andrei Gromyko, has urged on the United Nations Council at Lake Success that the Council create a special United Nations Commission to oversee any economic aid to Greece. He also opposed any aid at all to Turkey. Would that strike you favorably?

Senator JOHNSON. Strange as it seems to me, I am in complete agreement with Gromyko on both points. Certainly UN should supervise aid to Greece, since a civil war has been raging there for many months. We propose nothing but military aid to Turkey, which can be considered little short of an American-Turkish military alliance. As such it ought not be permitted by UN.

Mr. BEALL. How do you think the country feels about the President's program, Senator?

Senator JOHNSON. My polls indicate overwhelming opposition. All polls which I have noticed shows the same thing.

Mr. BEALL. Well, how do you predict the Senate will vote?

Senator JOHNSON. I have heard many Senators say they do not like it, but they will vote for it in order to prove to the world that there is no division in America's foreign policy.

In my opinion, not five Senators are really for it; yet there will not be two dozen votes against it on the floor. Almost every Senator has deep reservations in his heart.

Mr. BEALL. How do you account for this discrepancy—what has happened, Senator?

Senator JOHNSON. What has happened is this: The freedom of the Senate to vote as it would like to vote has been foreclosed by the executive branch. That is a traditional thing in our foreign relations. Too often there is nothing left for the Senate to do but follow the President. When the President is wrong, it is just too bad.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWIN C. JOHNSON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM COLORADO, ON UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE FROM WASHINGTON, D. C., STATION WRC, APRIL 20, 1947

SHOULD TRUMAN'S GREEK AND TURKISH POLICY BE ADOPTED?

Question. What kind of policy is the President proposing?

Senator JOHNSON. In the Ides of March, 1947, President Truman appeared before a joint session of Congress and, in a tense atmosphere, solemnly pronounced a new and dynamic foreign policy. Senators and Congressmen received it in gloomy silence. They sensed in it a declaration of a future war with Russia. The President suggested his right and duty to intervene in any country anywhere in which there was civil strife or outside pressure. In the Monroe Doctrine, we denied such a right in the Western Hemisphere to all European powers.

In other words we assert that the United States is a privileged power. If intervention everywhere becomes our foreign policy, the comity of nations which is based on equal justice must insist that other powers exercise the identical rights and privileges we claim for ourselves. The Monroe Doctrine obviously is inconsistent with this new policy of American aggression and should fall, but the State Department pledges to strengthen it instead.

The inconsistency of such a position is pointedly significant. The Truman doctrine is a demand on our part for freedom from all international restraints. It is a policy of international anarchy. Under this preposterous theory we assume the responsibility of policing the world all by ourselves and denying such a right to all other powers.

Question. Is our only alternative either a do-nothing policy or the adoption of the Truman proposal?

Senator JOHNSON. Either a do-nothing policy or the Truman policy are equally bad. Fortunately, there is a middle-of-the-road course which is not a contradiction to all of our vaunted ideals and postwar objectives of world peace. My suggestion is that we follow such a course and not become international anarchists.

Admittedly, unrest and discord prevail over much of Europe and Asia. Hunger and misery, the aftermath of war, is widespread and severe. Communism, the symptom of distress, is spreading. Prompt and effective action is imperative. Some say radical departure from our traditional policy of non-intervention, say that if we do not back the President we will give the green light to Russian expansionistic tendencies, and thereby dash to earth all hope of independence of the peoples who are resisting Russia.

Greece must have food, and we should provide it, but at a price, and that price should be a restoration of democracy, immediate amnesty should be declared, and a free and popular election held to select a representative government. A constructive program of restoration and manufacturing and transportation should follow. No guns, no soldiers, just economic aid wisely administered which will help the Greeks help themselves, is all that is required. The Truman policy of military intervention in the civil war raging in Greece must fall just as Britain's policy of violence failed.

Question. Will Truman's program succeed in checking communism in Greece?

Senator JOHNSON. The answer is a very positive no. Greece is torn by civil war and revolution. Her production is far below consumptive needs, her Government is despotic and unacceptable to the rank and file of her people. Her transportation system has collapsed. Disease and malnutrition take their daily toll. Wild and uncontrolled inflation make it impossible for a worker to support his family. British troops, despised—and humiliated by their failure to put down a people's rebellion—are getting out. German collaborators hold high office and serve in the King's army. Political prisoners are starved and tortured. The Truman policy advocates the status quo for Greece. Britain tried to do that. We will fail also.

Question. In your view, what is the connection between Truman's proposal and the interests of the British Empire in the Dardanelles?

Senator JOHNSON. The United Nations should undertake at once the solution of the Dardanelles dispute. Britain does not want Turkey to make any concessions to Russia and now we underwrite that Britain's vicious, narrow, selfish policy of negation on the Dardanelles is in a century-old quarrel with Russia over the Dardanelles, and so Mr. Truman would pay her tribute to encourage her to carry out Britain's obsolete and insane scheme to stop Russia at the Turkish border. Purchasing our way into this ancient British-Turkish-Russian controversy is not statesmanship. It is international suicide. I have every reason to believe that Turkey and Russia would find a fair and friendly basis of cooperation if we and Britain maintained a hands-off policy. Winston Churchill gleefully boasts about the bill of goods he sold us at Fulton, Mo., last year.

Question. What about the relation between the United States and the United Nations?

Senator JOHNSON. The sickening proposal before Congress to sidestep the UN makes both the United States and the United Nations ridiculous. If we ignore her with impunity and go off on a tangent of our own, seeking our military security in Russia's backyard, Russia should be able to do the same thing in the Western Hemisphere. How can the UN keep her from moving into Cuba for instance? Cuba contributes as much to Russian security as Turkey contributes to our security. What a furore it would be if Russia moved into Cuba for Russian security. No, Americans, the United Nations is either our first line of defense or it is nothing.

We marched up the hill on the high road of security for all with high hopes and devout prayers and we created the United Nations; there we pledged our enthusiastic support for collective security. Today we march back down the hill to travel the mud-deep, wreckage-strewn, low road of power politics and unilateral action. It is a wicked thing to destroy humanity's hope. We must not stab UN in the back.

Question. Will our intervention in Turkey lead to war with Russia?

Senator JOHNSON. Our vulgar display of the American flag in Turkey and our provocative threat to send a token army there must lead to war with Russia. It is a bold brazen attempt to bolster Turkish resistance, not to communistic infiltration, pressure, or coercion, but to cause her to repulse all effort to resolve the Dardanelles controversy. How Russia will deal with our unfriendly challenge, I do not know. She will know that \$100,000,000 can accomplish very little, but she will also know that our intervention in Turkey constitutes a military alliance between the United States and Turkey.

Reduction of Prices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT F. RICH

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

OLYMPIC LUGGAGE CORP.,
KANE, PA., April 21, 1947.

Mr. ROBERT F. RICH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. RICH: Conforming with the request of President Truman we are sending out a letter, per attached copy, to our trade reducing our prices 10 percent. This reduction in prices is not warranted from a stand-

point of labor costs or material costs. Our labor costs are continually increasing and not one of the raw materials we use has been reduced at all, while some of them are increasing. However, as stated in our letter we hope this reduction will stimulate sales resulting in greater volume which will help to reduce our cost per unit. Whether or not the sales will be stimulated by this reduction remains to be seen.

The 20-percent Federal excise tax which now has to be paid by the consumer on every piece of luggage bought drastically reduces luggage sales, and, of course, seriously affects our business. We do not think that moderately priced luggage is a luxury nor should it be placed in the same category as jewelry. We, therefore, strongly urge Congress to abolish this tax completely.

In the matter of taxation we do believe that if the Government would follow the same procedure recommended by Mr. Truman for manufacturers that individuals as well as business of all kinds would be materially helped. Many nations starting with Egypt have fallen because of oppressive taxation. The latest example before our eyes is the British Empire. When taxes reach the point where incentive for capital investment is gone, business dries up and as a result the amount of taxes collected by the Government as excess rates is less, rather than more. As you well know our Nation has reached its high standard of living as a result of capital invested in tools and equipment and the higher the amount of investment per worker the higher the standard of living for all.

We are sure there is no need for us to elaborate on this matter further, but we are writing this letter to you urging that unnecessary expenses of Government and Government bureaus be reduced or eliminated, and urging Congress to reduce income taxes which at the present rates have already largely nullified any incentive for individuals to risk their money or put any effort into productive enterprises.

We believe that only by the drastic reduction of Government extravagance and progressive reduction of income taxes can this Nation return to the way of life which we want and avoid following in the footsteps of other nations whose downfall was caused by oppressive taxation.

Yours very truly,

H. D. MACEWEN.

OLYMPIC LUGGAGE CORP.,
Kane, Pa., April 16, 1947.

To Our Customers:

In line with President Truman's appeal for lower prices, we have cut the prices of our entire line 10 percent. This we are doing as our contribution toward stabilization of the economy, in spite of the fact that labor cost and the prices of many materials we use are increasing.

The success of this program will, therefore, naturally depend upon increased volume, which should result from the proportionate retail prices this reduction will make possible.

Your orders will have our most careful attention.

OLYMPIC LUGGAGE CORP.,

Some Apparent Inconsistencies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. REID F. MURRAY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the following news article by

Mr. John W. Ball, of the Washington Post, indicates that someone should be acting to prevent waste of funds, fertilizer, and effort:

HOOVER HITS WRECKING OF GERMAN PLANTS

(By John W. Ball)

Former President Herbert Hoover yesterday angrily attacked Army occupation forces for destroying German fertilizer plants urgently needed to restore Europe's food production.

Hoover's denunciation of Allied policy in Europe took place just after he had testified before a closed session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in support of the \$350,000,000 general foreign relief bill.

The former President's attack was not reserved for American forces alone. He spread his criticism over all occupying forces, the United States, British, and Russian armies jointly.

All, he said, had been busy as bees destroying fertilizer plants where all Europe is gasping for fertilizers for food production.

Most important, he said, is to get the productive capacity of Europe built up again.

The Army policy of destroying phosphorus and nitrogen plants in Germany, Hoover said, was carried out while United States taxpayers were being asked to pay the food bill for Europe's starving.

Many of the plants in Germany that were dismantled, Hoover admitted, during the war were producers of war materials for Germany. But the prime need, he added, is to restore production in Europe instead of tearing down industries.

Hoover was emphatic on still another point—that of food relief for nations now within Russian Communist control.

He replied with a positive "no," when asked if such relief should be withheld.

"You've got to keep charity separate from politics," he declared.

From the Capitol, Mr. Hoover went to the White House, where, he told reporters, he had a pleasant, social gossip with President Truman.

"We settled no international problem," he laughed; and then added that he did not find it necessary to discuss with Mr. Truman the subject of foreign food needs.

"I didn't have to go into that," he said with a smile. "He knows all about that."

Hoover told reporters that if this country was going to take the line the Army is following in Germany, "we might as well conclude that the American taxpayer is going to pay the food bill of Europe from now on."

The former President was obviously upset by what he had seen during his recent food survey in occupied areas abroad, and by the recent disastrous explosion at Texas City. The Texas disaster resulted when a ship loading American fertilizer for France exploded in the harbor.

Following the former President's appearance, the Senate committee arranged to act Tuesday on the European relief bill.

Mr. Speaker, why in the name of common sense should we allow the destruction of German fertilizer plants at the very hour that an inadequate United States supply of fertilizer is being shipped to Germany?

In a previous report by former President Hoover, it was explained that the Germans could not fish because of a fishing boat shortage.

The American people complain about high food prices at the very time that our domestically produced foods are being transferred to areas in need, although the means of producing in those areas are being impaired. People who have any respect for the American taxpayer, the American consumer, and the United States Treasury, can well inject common sense into these programs.

Atomic Energy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address of David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., April 19, 1947; also an article from the Washington Sunday Star of April 20, 1947:

ADDRESS OF DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

It is a great honor and one I highly prize to have this opportunity to speak to this gathering of newspaper editors from all parts of this broad land. I am especially appreciative of your invitation because of certain recent events of a rather tumultuous character in which I played a not-too-happy participant. I am told by more experienced criminal defendants than I am that it is not considered the best form to thank the jury after they have brought in a verdict of "not guilty," the idea being, apparently, that they only did their duty and thanks are, therefore, not good form. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from commenting that had it not been that the press of the United States is overwhelmingly fair, decent, independent, and above narrow partisanship, your present speaker would almost certainly not be talking to you tonight as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Now this result may or may not be a good thing, but as a statement of fact about the press of this country, it is something I felt I should like to say to you directly.

This black object that I hold in my hand is a cylinder of pure uranium. The amount I hold here is small, as you can see. It is harmless. Five years ago no man had ever seen even this much pure uranium. Not that it was rare, but it was simply of little importance. Tonight this black metal, this inanimate substance, is the central figure in the councils of the peoples of the world.

Why this should be so is not difficult to understand. Look at this small cylinder for a moment. It weighs about 2½ pounds. That much coal or oil, burned under the boilers of industry, would provide a trifling amount of useful energy. Compare the technical opportunities of the controlled release of nuclear forces. The energy resulting from the fission of the 3 million billion billion atoms in this small cylinder, converted into electricity, would equal about the total daily use of electricity in the city of Washington, which now requires about 2,500 tons of coal.

This amount of TNT would produce only a small explosion. But the destructive power of the energy in the nuclei of this handful of material is very great, is catastrophic, the equivalent of many, many tons of TNT. As you know, one bomb derived from this stuff destroyed an entire city in a single blast. This material is so dense, so heavy, that 60 tons—about the capacity of a railroad coal gondola—could be piled up here in a block about 8 feet long by 3 feet high by 4 feet thick. Yet the energy in that material, if only 25 percent of its heat were converted to electricity, would provide an amount of electricity as great as the entire country uses in a year.

Now, these are opportunities that lie in the future and I cite them only to show how great are the economic stakes of further development to bring these opportunities into living reality.

peated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. *Smith v. Illinois Bell Telephone Co.* (282 U. S. 133, 150-151); *Simpson v. Shepard* (Minnesota rate cases) (230 U. S. 352); and *Missouri Rate Cases* (230 U. S. 474), are illustrative.

CERTIFICATES OF PUBLIC CONVENIENCE AND NECESSITY

Section 6 of H. R. 2185 amends subsection (c) of section 7, relating to the granting of certificates of public convenience and necessity. The purpose of this amendment is twofold.

First, it would permit the Commission to issue certificates after notice but without the necessity of formal hearing if no protest is filed.

Second, it would permit a natural-gas company to maintain, extend, or enlarge its facilities, for which a certificate had already been issued, for the purpose of maintaining continuity of service or of supplying increased demands in existing markets without the necessity of obtaining a certificate.

Under the present act, as it is construed and applied by the Commission, a natural-gas company is required to apply for and obtain a certificate for every addition to its existing facilities, even though the additional facilities are necessary in order to continue an existing service.

Recently the Commission has released a staff report which reviews the administration of the certificate provisions of the act. In that report recognition is given to the fact that great and costly delays have resulted from the procedures of the past and that both the public and the natural-gas companies have suffered as a consequence.

Certificate applications (other than "grandfather") received by the Commission in the period from February 7, 1942, to October 15, 1946, numbered 319 and the estimated cost of the facilities involved was \$1,300,363,773. Of these, action had been taken on 227 as of October 15, 1946. At that date the number of applications pending was 92, involving facilities having an estimated cost of \$444,614,972.

Commissioner Olds, in addressing a subcommittee of the Senate of the Seventy-ninth Congress, second session, said: "The Commission realizes, I think, as much as you do and as much as the natural-gas companies do, that there are a great many certificates today required for minor additions and changes, etc., in natural-gas facilities that it would be desirable to enable the companies to take care of without having to come to the Commission for certificates." The staff report, to which I have already referred, contains a similar recognition.

Writing to the Commission on this subject, one natural-gas company has said: "We have had to have the officials of the company in Washington for prolonged periods of time, and in most cases the Commission has not issued certificates until long after the hearings were closed which delay, in the natural-gas business, frequently is critical as at times construction cannot be carried out after the certificates are issued due to weather conditions."

Another company wrote that: "For one reason or another the certificate hearings are now a major legal proceeding, involving the making of a tremendous record, oral arguments, briefs, formal opinions, and orders of the Commission * * * the delay in securing a certificate has resulted in higher construction cost because of the time lapse during which costs increase materially."

And still another company wrote: "Since the passage of the amendment, certificate applications have been filed in such numbers and the procedure established for the consideration of such applications has been so exacting that delays and expenses, at times all out of proportion to the issues involved have been encountered."

These are examples of the prevailing views and conditions. Under the act as it now stands it is not clear that the Commission is authorized to issue certificates without hearings, even when no protest is filed, except in the case of grandfather certificates and temporary certificates to meet emergency conditions. Under the existing procedures natural gas companies are unable to improve and enlarge their existing facilities in order to maintain continuity of service or to supply increased demands in existing markets without first applying for a certificate in each instance.

In an effort to alleviate this situation in part the Commission by order No. 130, dated March 29, 1946, instituted a shortened procedure which expedites the determination in uncontested cases. This new procedure is helpful but it is not a complete remedy. It should not be necessary for a company to file an application at all in order to meet the demands for gas in existing markets.

The Natural Gas Act in many respects was patterned after the Motor Carriers' Act. It provides that:

"No terms, conditions, or limitations shall restrict the right of the carrier to add to his or its equipment and facilities over the routes, between the termini, or within the territory specified in the certificate, as the development of the business and the demands of the public shall require (49 U. S. C. 308).

In the 1942 amendment to the Natural Gas Act, the Congress sought to give this same authorization to natural gas companies. In section 7 (i) it authorized the Commission, after a hearing, to determine the service area of a natural gas company, and then provided that:

"Within such service area as determined by the Commission a natural-gas company may enlarge or extend its facilities for the purpose of supplying increased market demands in such service area without further authorization."

Not one service area has yet been determined by the Commission. The Commission has expressed doubt about the meaning of the service-area provision and how it can be administered.

The difficulty encountered by the Commission in interpreting and applying the act should not deprive a natural-gas company of the ability promptly to carry on such construction as its existing markets may require.

It is proposed, therefore, in section 6 of H. R. 2185 that prompt settings be made of all applications for certificates; and that, without obtaining an additional certificate, a natural-gas company may maintain, extend, or enlarge its facilities for any transportation or sale of natural gas for which a certificate has been issued, for the purpose of maintaining continuity of service, or of supplying increased demands in its existing markets.

END USE

I have referred to the provisions in H. R. 2185 which would prevent the Commission from controlling the use for which natural gas may be sold. This provision is found in subsection (b) of section 1 of the amendment (H. R. 2185).

The Commission has asserted the power to condition certificates of public convenience and necessity according to the purpose for which the gas is to be used. In one case it specified that gas could not be used as boiler fuel in the generation of electricity. It modified its order in this case so that the power plant could use gas during the coal strike of last summer but recently revoked the right of the company to continue this service (Northern Natural-Boone Iowa case).

In its report to the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in January 1944, the Commission dis-

claimed any intention to deal with the end uses of natural gas until the Congress amended the act to confer on it such specific powers as the Congress desired it to exercise in such matters. But in a later certificate case (Apr. 26, 1944, FPC Opinion No. 114) the Commission stated that considerations of conservation were material to the issuance of certificates; and that it gave consideration to the contentions of the intervening coal and railroad interests who contended that natural gas should not be dissipated in large industrial plants where coal is available and can be readily and economically substituted.

Still later, in June, 1944, in the Memphis Natural Gas Co. case, the Commission concluded that the natural gas resources should be conserved insofar as possible for domestic, commercial, and superior industrial uses. The Commission later reversed its decision in this case and granted the certificate applied for. Upon the appeal of the State of Louisiana from this last order, the Commission was sustained by the circuit court of appeals (148 Fed. 2d 746). The court pointed out that the Commission "gave sympathetic consideration to the facts of inferior use along with all the other facts in the case." The court agreed that the Commission may consider as one of the factors entering into the granting or denying of certificates the purpose for which the gas is to be used.

In outlining the principal topics intended to be covered in its general investigation of the natural gas industry in Docket G-580, one of the topics for consideration and investigation was:

"The question of controlling end uses, including: (1) History and objectives; and (2) concepts of superior and inferior uses, as to (a) the technical aspects, efficiency of utilization of energy potential, and (b) the economic aspects dealing with (i) comparative essentiality of use, (ii) availability of a feasible alternative, (iii) the extent to which price can be relied upon in prorating supply and in providing an incentive to efficient use, (iv) the significance of incremental-cost prices and price disparities as affecting utilization of gas, (v) effect of rate policies on end uses, (vi) the view that gas lawfully produced may be sold anywhere for any purpose at any price which the market will afford, and (vii) administrative problems of end-use control."

In an article appearing in Public Utilities Fortnightly (35 PUF No. 7, 410-414), under the title "The New End-Use Doctrine of Gas Regulation," the following statement is made:

"State regulatory bodies and conservation and utility commissions are presently viewing with many gradations of opinion the excursion of the Federal Power Commission into jurisdiction over the end use to which natural gas may be put. It has been pointed out that if the Commission can establish its right to grant or withhold certificates of convenience and necessity to natural gas projects on the basis of its approval or disapproval of the purposes for which the gas is to be used, then it would be but a simple step for it or some other Federal body to establish that authority over all fuels and over electric power as well.

"Members of many of the State utility commissions, companies in the natural gas industry, and petroleum producers have all expressed their fear that this objective is precisely what the FPC now has in mind."

It must be clear to all men that if the Federal Power Commission can regulate the use which can be made of gas, it can, by the same power, regulate the purposes for which gas can be produced. Gas cannot be produced and transported except for consumption. Thus, under the guise of end-use control the Commission could effectively control the economics of natural gas and of the other energy resources as well.

It has been suggested that this abortive attempt at end-use control is but an element of a national plan to federalize all of the energy resources of the Nation to the end that the entire national economy may be controlled through Federal administrative decrees. In January 1939 the Energy Resources Committee made a report to the National Resources Committee. As stated in President Roosevelt's letter transmitting the report to the Congress, "it suggests policies, investigations, and legislation necessary to carry forward a broad national program for the prudent utilization and conservation of the Nation's energy resources." In this letter of transmittal the President referred to "the widening interest and responsibility on the part of the Federal Government for the conservation and wise use of the Nation's energy resources." In its recommendations the National Resources Committee, among other things, said: "We propose that a Federal oil conservation board or commission should be created within the appropriate Government department to administer the Federal interest in the oil and gas industry and to make necessary rules and regulations concerning the production of, and commerce in, oil and gas. It should have the authority to require that oil and gas be extracted by such methods as are adequate to avoid waste and to protect the interest of all producers drawing from a common reservoir."

Under the heading, "Public policy toward the oil and gas industries," the report says that "perhaps the strongest basis for Federal regulation of production and distribution of oil and gas lies in the Federal Government's power to regulate interstate commerce." Reference is then made to recent extensions of the Federal powers under the commerce clause and to a decision of the Supreme Court. With respect to the latter it is said "this decision would seem to furnish a basis for Federal regulation of production of oil and gas and of conservation measures looking to the protection of the public against the waste of an irreplaceable resource."

Summarizing its conclusions the committee, inter alia, states: " * * * The energy-resources industries are thoroughly interstate, in production as well as in the use of their products. Thus the chief recommendations of this study contemplate a continuing or a broadening of the Federal interest * * * The production and transportation of oil and gas make up a stream of interstate commerce so continuous, so widespread, and so essential that the legal basis for protection of the Federal interest is scarcely subject to debate."

The petroleum industry and some of the oil- and gas-producing States have recently expressed alarm over and opposition to the current trend. The National Conference of Petroleum Regulatory Authorities, composed of State conservation officers, on September 15, 1945, stated that the regulation of the production, conservation, and utilization of natural gas was the inherent right and vested duty of the producing States; that they are intelligently performing these functions; and that the proposed investigation of the Federal Power Commission and the additional legislation contemplated thereby would constitute Federal encroachment on State sovereignty. The United States Chamber of Commerce, the Petroleum Industry War Council, the Independent Natural Gas Association of America, the American Gas Association, the Independent Petroleum Association of America, and the American Petroleum Institute have adopted resolutions and policies of similar tenor. The Governor's committee of the State of Texas recommended "that the Natural Gas Act should be amended so as to definitely inhibit Federal regulation over the production, conservation, processing, gathering, compressing, and sale before transportation in interstate commerce; that the end-use of natural gas

should not be regulated, because competition is the best arbiter.

I am opposed to the nationalization of our energy resources. I am opposed to any board of men undertaking to pass judgment upon what fuel the public of this Nation shall or shall not use. I am opposed to the creation of governmental spheres of monopoly as applied to our basic fuels and energy resources. For these reasons and many others, which time will not permit to be presented, I believe that this Congress should definitely express its opposition to regulation by the Federal Government of the end use of natural gas, and for that matter, any other of the fuels commonly available to the general public.

The staff reports of the Federal Power Commission and other reports show that there is not likely to be a shortage of natural gas within the foreseeable future. With this plentiful supply of a desirable fuel we should not place restrictions on its utilization as fuel by our citizens.

CONCLUSION

Subsequent witnesses will bring facts and arguments on gas reserves, the producers' viewpoint, the States' viewpoint, the consumers' viewpoint and related topics. I urge this committee, after the deliberation to which it is accustomed in a matter of this importance, to report favorably on H. R. 2185.

1946 Primary Election Returns in Congress Race, Third Congressional District of Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LINDLEY BECKWORTH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. BECKWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I quote, as an example, a totally false statement which was printed in one of the papers in the Third Congressional District, January 10, 1946:

Typical of comments and letters received by the Times is a letter from a resident of BECKWORTH's former home county, Upshur, before he built a beautiful home near Tyler.

Anybody can find and see or feel a thing as big as house. I repeat, the statement is 100-percent untrue.

For persons running for office to base hope of gain on a 100-percent untrue statement like the example above quoted or any other total falsehood is a mistake.

The same paper a short time thereafter—March 21, 1946—printed on the first page an article which contained the following paragraph:

First reports were that one or more candidates from Longview and possibly one from Tyler would feel out the situation. What they learned apparently was sufficient to cause District Judge _____, of Longview, and former District Judge _____, also of Gregg County, to challenge the present incumbent, Beckworth. The same article has in it these words, "citing an article which mentions a 'ten-man team'."

The result of the 1946 race was that BECKWORTH received a clear majority over both judges in the first primary; he carried 7 of the 8 third district counties; he carried exactly one-half, or 50 percent of the voting boxes in the eighth

county, which was and is the home county of both judges who ran against him. There are 209 voting boxes in the Third Congressional District; BECKWORTH carried 191, one of his opponents carried 9 boxes, the other opponent carried 9 boxes. One of the opponents carried no box in 4 counties, the other opponent carried no box in 5 counties. BECKWORTH carried every box in 3 counties, including all of the 27 boxes in his home county, Upshur.

Foreign Policy and United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SANBORN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. SANBORN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Blaine County Citizen, printed at Hailey, Idaho, April 10, 1947:

SOUNDINGS FOR SANBORN

Representative SANBORN has taken up the general sounding of opinion among the newspapers of his State as has been the custom with so many representatives of late. We received a query of sounding from the Representative this week and reply openly to his questions.

Do you favor President Truman's proposal for aid to Greece and Turkey? Our reply is emphatically no. We do not believe in bluff diplomacy nor do we believe in force diplomacy. Hitler tried it and succeeded grandly. We do not believe that a page from Hitler's international relationship will guide our Nation as a free and democratic government. What can be settled by sword can be settled by wise men before the sword becomes necessary. We have no business furnishing Greece or Turkey with arms. We do have a humanitarian responsibility of furnishing devastated and starving nations with food, clothing, and shelter. But the good Lord did not put us on this earth to manufacture implements of war with which to threaten our neighbors with. As for Turkey she deserves nothing. Throughout our relationship with that nation we have gained nothing but disharmony. She has sheltered our most vicious enemies: during World War I she took up arms against our Nation and against democratic governments. The great Dardanelles which she holds a protective hand over is rightfully no more her's alone than the Atlantic Ocean is ours alone. What would the people of our great Nation think if a foreign power were to encroach upon the waters of the Mississippi River? Russia has as much right to the Dardanelles as we have to the Mississippi. The waters of the Dardanelles wash the coastline of Russia. One lesson should be enough. We gave our enemy, Turkey, after World War I the mandated powers over the Dardanelles. We knew at the time it was an error. But we did it. Let us make no mistake by giving arms to Turkey, indirectly threaten Russia, and start the brewing of another war. Ask the man who has seen the blood of battle and the diplomats in Washington will think twice of this indirect act of hostility against another nation. Let us keep peace by peaceful actions.

Do you believe it should be put up to the United Nations first? Our reply to this is definitely yes. For what purpose, may we ask, was the United Nations Security Council formed? For the purpose of settling differ-

ences among nations. All the nations of the world are represented in the chambers of the United Nations. If they see fit and find that international law endorses such actions to furnish Greece and Turkey with arms, then they will do it and Russia must submit to the majority rule, which she will. Give the United Nations Security Council a chance.

If it were put up to the United Nations and the United Nations was not able to handle it, do you believe the present form of United Nations worth further support?

No; we don't believe the United Nations worthy of any further support if it cannot handle this problem. What better place is there to discuss such problems of international concern? The millions we are pouring into the armaments of war to furnish Greece and Turkey should be poured into the settlement of problems peacefully. There should be no ceiling on the price of peace. A million Americans lost their lives so that we could have peace. Now let us have it, and let the immortal patriots rest in peace.

Do you favor further straight relief to Greece without the military feature?

Our reply to this is definitely yes. We believe that we owe all we have so that human sufferings can be diminished. Babies are still dying in the streets of Greece, and our diplomats have the gall to furnish that nation with bullets. If there be a Lord above, and we believe there is, then let Him see to it that we abide by the laws of humanity and God's will by feeding the starving, ravished peoples of other nations. Yes; give the people of Greece food, clothing, and shelter at our cost.

Do you feel that President Truman's proposal is necessary to stop the spread of communism?

Our reply to this question is definitely no. If he be the guiding hand of 140,000,000 people, then let him guide us in peace and not in fear. We fought for peace and now have it. The President can propose peaceful methods of halting the march of communism. We know that communism is the enemy of constitutional government. But we have had enough bloodshed. Among 140,000,000 people there must be some wise men the President can choose to peacefully find ways of helping our neighbor and stopping the spread of communism. We do not think that our present Secretary of State is the right man for the job. Didn't he put his blessings upon the Nationalist Government of China? Didn't he think for a minute when he did this that he was supporting one of the greatest forms of Fascist tyranny blessed to man? When the Chinese National Government democratizes their own nation they are deserving of our support. Never in the course of history has this Nation been blackmailed into a deeper rut than the conception that the Chinese Nationalist Government is a democratic form of government. We suggest, Mr. Representative, that you study any of the reports given by that great American journalist, Edgar Snow.

Do you believe that the Truman proposal has war possibilities with Russia?

Our reply to this question is yes!

If we furnish the two mentioned countries with the armaments of war then we are the criminals. We happen to be veterans. We were in the last war and know just how terrible a slaughter war is. We cannot hope to achieve international peace and harmony among nations unless we act in a peaceful manner. By waving the "big stick" at Russia we will be inciting war. The foolish folly of furnishing armaments of war to two nations to scare another nation can hardly be taken as anything else but a direct insult and a challenge of war. We might win a war with Russia. But remember Mr. SANBORN, the blood of Idaho and 47 other States will be running in the streets of Europe. Our Nation asks for help when we are at war. Everyone pitches in to do his or her share.

But we do it to protect our democratic government and our sacred ground. But when its over we want peace. Never in the history of our Nation has so many of our statesmen made so many blunders and brought us so close to the brink of war. The Monroe Doctrine is flouted around as so much piece of paper by the present administration. The words of Washington have done nothing but gather dust in the halls of the immortal. Let us be American by acting American. A threat to another nation is the asking for bloodshed. We believe its about time that the Capitol at Washington resound with some brainwork. If some Congressmen and Senators are so keen on furnishing arms to another nation, then put them in the front lines as a infantry soldier with the rank of private if we do have war over it. There are still people back home that can run our Government as a democracy. Yes, Mr. SANBORN, we are against the furnishing of arms to any nation; but are for the feeding of all nations.

The Tax Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. AIME J. FORAND

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Speaker, there appeared in the Washington Post of April 21, 1947, a very timely article by Randolph Paul, formerly general counsel for the Treasury Department, on the important subject of tax reduction which is now before the Congress and under leave already given me, I include it in my remarks. The article follows:

1947 TAX CUTS

(By Randolph Paul)

REVISED DISTRIBUTION NEEDED

Within the next few weeks the Senate will be faced with the troublesome problem of tax reduction in 1947. The House has already voted a tax cut practically as large as total Government receipts in the boom year 1929. Many arguments can be made against cutting taxes in a period of budget uncertainty and high national income. This, if ever, should be the time for a budget surplus and debt reduction, if we hope to attain the highly desirable objective of budget balance over a period of years.

Prevailing economic climate is a paramount consideration in the timing of tax rate changes. It is hard to imagine a less opportune moment than the present for increasing spending power via tax reduction, except in the income brackets which are feeling the tightest pinch of high prices. It is true that the actual increment of spending power which would be released under the House bill might not be too large, considering its allocation to the different income groups. But it is equally true that if nearly \$4,000,000,000 of tax reduction is given out now, the chances for further tax legislation in the near future are exceedingly slim. Consequently, if any margin for tax reduction is prematurely used, it will not be available to bolster purchasing power when it may be needed.

Under the reduction formula in the House bill almost 40 percent of the tax cut would go to less than 2,000,000 individuals with incomes over \$5,000 a year, who normally save a substantial part of their incomes. About 60 percent of the aggregate cut would be divided among about 45,000,000 individuals

with incomes under \$5,000 a year who, at present price levels, spend all of their incomes and, in many cases find it necessary to dip into their savings.

Currently, signs of a downturn in markets for consumer goods are developing. Indications are also strong that a substantial decline in investment activities is imminent, due not to any lack of investment funds but rather to a lack of confidence in substantial consumer markets. Plainly, the reduction formula in the House bill which, in terms of additional spending power, does much more for high-income taxpayers in the low brackets, would contribute little toward forestalling an incipient depression.

In considering the important question of tax-cut distribution, we must remember that Congress is cutting wartime, not peacetime, taxes. It is pertinent then to inquire how the distribution of the tax burden contemplated in the House bill compares in the several income brackets with the distribution in 1939. If our Federal taxes were wisely placed in 1939, a proportionate return to prewar levels would be the logical solution of the present problem.

The House bill would leave taxes substantially above 1939 levels for low income taxpayers; it would leave a proportionately heavier burden on the middle brackets; and it would bring taxes for persons in the highest brackets back nearly to 1939 levels.

For example, in 1939, a man and wife with a net income of \$1,500 paid no tax. Under the House bill, they would pay \$67. At \$10,000 the 1939 tax for a married couple was \$415, as compared with \$1,748 under the House bill—a 321-percent increase. At \$100,000 a man and wife paid a tax of \$32,469 in 1939. Under the House plan, they would pay \$50,502—an increase of 55.5 percent. At \$500,000 the 1939 tax for a married couple was \$304,144. Under the House bill, it would be \$342,074—only 12.5 percent more than in 1939.

From this standpoint the House bill fails to recognize that war taxes were placed principally in the low and middle income brackets; increases had to be limited in the higher brackets. In its failure proportionately to reduce war increases, the House bill inaugurates a new distribution of our tax burden.

The distribution of the tax burden is a matter of natural concern to all taxpayers. Existing rates in the upper brackets are doubtless too high, but in this area the remedy lies in the context of over-all tax revision rather than in any variation of a crude across-the-board individual income tax cut.

In the lower income brackets the distribution of the tax burden is a grim matter of existence. In this area the amount of the personal exemption is of utmost importance. When the existing \$500 per capita exemption was enacted, it barely covered minimum living expenses. At present price levels the value of the exemption has fallen to about \$300, much less than the minimum living costs. Taxes now imposed on the lower income groups therefore take funds that ought to be spent for food, clothing, and housing. Many of those who favor a broad base because it develops widespread tax consciousness will recognize the conflict between the obligation to pay taxes and the right to subsistence.

The problem of the distribution of the tax burden goes even beyond equity. If we are to use the vast production potential we developed during the war, we must distribute our tax burden in a way that will permit mass consumption. A stabilized market for mass consumption is a prime requisite for productive activity. We can have neither mass consumption nor an expansion of productive activity if our taxes drain off too much purchasing power from the low incomes.

It is generally admitted that our whole Federal tax system—in spite of much constructive legislation in 1942—badly needs overhauling. Some changes are certainly a

first order of business. For instance, the citizens of 39 States justly resent the undeserved tax advantage enjoyed by married couples in the 9 community-property States who may divide their income equally for tax purpose. To correct this inequity, as has been suggested, by permitting the citizens of all States to divide the combined income of husband and wife in the same way, would cost a billion dollars in revenue. A revision of this would be a tax cut fairly distributed among taxpayers.

A number of other improvements would likewise have the effect of fairly distributed tax cuts. This is true of accelerated depreciation and the revision of the net loss carry-back and carry-forward provisions, which would help small business. The coordination of personnel and corporation taxes is overdue. Improvements of this kind should have priority over indiscriminate rate reduction. If the House bill will become law, the opportunity to obtain these revisions within any reasonable length of time will be fatally lost.

A 1947 tax bill which took all these items into account could not be dashed off in a few days of superficial consideration. Members of congressional tax committees would have to sacrifice vacations and endure the heat of a Washington summer. Taxpayers would have to resign themselves to a period of uncertainty. But the time required would be well spent if in the end everyone benefited, with the initial advantage going to those who are now most unjustly treated.

Tax reduction has irresistible charm. The question a 1947 tax bill puts squarely up to all of us is whether we have the maturity to shift our sights from the prospect of immediate gain to the development of the tax system we imperatively need for the future. A sound tax system will mean greater gain even for those who would at once profit most from the House bill, if as citizens they have the statesmanship to recognize their ultimate welfare.

Congratulations, Lawrence, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Lynn Item, Lynn, Mass.:

CONGRATULATIONS, LAWRENCE

Our neighboring city of Lawrence this week is observing, with appropriate pomp and ceremony, the one hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a town.

In the past century the Merrimack River community has developed from what was chiefly a farming area to one of the great textile manufacturing centers of the Nation. Today its vast mills dominate the city and provide the lion's share of employment to its more than 85,000 population. In 1920 the city proper had 94,270 inhabitants, and the decline is due to no recession in the city's prosperity or activity, but to a trend toward housing developments in the nearby suburbs. Thousands of these suburbanites still work and spend in Lawrence and contribute to the maintenance of its many excellent civic, educational, and philanthropic institutions.

As the Evening Tribune, Lawrence's excellent newspaper, says, Lawrence still has the vigor and optimism of youth, confident that the greatest era of the city and its people still lies ahead.

One Road to Labor Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I hereby wish to submit an editorial from the Chicago Sun, entitled "One Road to Labor Peace."

The thoughts set out therein are timely and practical especially at this time when an intense frenzy has been artificially built up against organized labor in our country. It follows:

ONE ROAD TO LABOR PEACE

Everybody knows that the House labor bill will not become a law. Its passage by a 3 to 1 vote is significant rather as an index of the reactionary swing and a token of the shortsighted leadership of those business interests which sought to take advantage of it.

One might have thought that the NAM type of business leadership, even though riding high at the moment, would have understood from history that it is riding for a fall. Smart industrialists know that they cannot turn back the clock to the days of disorganized labor. Smart industrialists know that the business excesses of the twenties produced a sharp reaction of public sentiment against them in the thirties, and that pushing their luck now means a peck of future trouble for the free-enterprise system they profess to cherish.

But such counsels did not prevail. It is on the record now that management seized upon the temporary condition of a reactionary coalition in Congress to push through a measure intended to cripple the labor movement.

If the bill is bad tactics from the business point of view, it is also bad policy from the national point of view, for its underlying assumption—that industrial peace can be promoted by weakening labor and inordinately strengthening an already powerful management—simply does not accord with reality. Granted that labor has been guilty of its own excesses, granted even that legislation is needed to protect the public interest in industrial peace, the fact remains that this cause is not advanced by denaturing the Wagner Act, banning the closed shop, localizing negotiations in essentially national industries, and otherwise imposing on labor unrealistic and purely punitive restrictions.

There are three major labor problems that deserve national attention. One is the establishment of improved machinery for conciliation and mediation in labor disputes. One is the carefully considered development of processes of collective bargaining which provide a just alternative to strangling tie-ups in essential utility services. One is the elimination of restrictive practices by unions which restrain trade and promote monopoly for purposes other than the legitimate concern of collective bargaining with wages and working conditions.

The House bill makes no serious attempt to grapple with these problems. Instead it frankly and boldly sets out to strengthen the hand of irresponsible management in every labor dispute that may occur. The Senate bill, though milder, is not much better.

Some day, perhaps, business and its servants in Congress will learn that there is only one road to industrial peace—a steadily rising standard of living, complete acceptance of genuine collective bargaining in letter and spirit, the conscientious development of peaceful methods of settling disputes.

Filipino Veterans of United States Army

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DEVITT

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. DEVITT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I desire to include an article entitled "The Filipino Veteran of the United States Army" by Francisco Ortigas, Jr. This is an expression by a Filipino of the outstanding contribution made by the Filipino veteran and the Filipino citizen toward our great victory in the Pacific. I know of the valor of the Filipino soldier, and especially of the Filipino guerrilla, and I have asked permission to cause this to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that the contribution of our Filipino brethren may be more generally known.

The article follows:

THE FILIPINO VETERAN OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

(By Francisco Ortigas, Jr.)

I

USAFFE stands for United States armed forces in the Far East. It was the command created by President Roosevelt in the Orient when he sensed the tense situation some months before Pearl Harbor. To be its commanding general, Douglas MacArthur, then military adviser to the Philippine Commonwealth, was named. Into it were incorporated all active elements of the Philippine Army.

When war actually broke out, the United States forces in the Philippines were composed, by a big majority, of Filipino soldiers. They were not very well equipped. Few had steel helmets, many had no gas masks, and their rifles were not as modern as could be desired; yet they fought the Battle of Bataan as fiercely as their American comrades-at-arms. They surrendered only when General King gave the word.

To the American soldier in the Philippines, the word USAFFE has lost its meaning. It belongs to the same category as AFWESPAC, AFPAC, PACUSA, and the many others that have been created and discarded with the march of events. But to the Filipino soldier, USAFFE is still a symbol. To him, the USAFFE veteran is he who fought the Japanese in order that those democratic principles for which the United States stands might not be eradicated from the Philippines.

The delaying action at Bataan, and its part in the early strategy of the war, now belong to history. Both Americans and Filipinos, in the making of that history, shed blood and gave up life and limb. The United States has honored the American dead and has taken creditable care of the American wounded and the dependents of those who had made the supreme sacrifice, but up to now has not done anything substantial for the Filipino soldiers of her Army of that memorable siege. A bill to extend hospitalization and other benefits to those Filipino veterans was killed in the Congress of the United States by the objection of one Member of the House. Has the role played by the Filipino veteran of the United States Army in the last war been so insignificant or so lacking in merit as to be taken for granted and so soon forgotten?

II

The Filipinos are essentially a free and independent people. They had a history of greatness in pre-Spanish times. Then came the Spaniards who ruled the country for about 300 years. We all have read of the

ticular election. For years our foreign policy has been completely ineffective, as foreign governments in earlier years knew that this country's foreign policy was subject to change every 2 years, or 4 years, depending upon the results of our national elections.

This nonpartisan policy, I believe, was the object of the President, when, in his recent message, he urged the creation of a joint commission to inquire into the entire field of labor-management relations, composed of 12 Members of Congress chosen by the Congress, and 8 members representing the public, management, and labor, appointed by the President. He suggested that this commission investigate and make certain recommendations on certain subjects as, first, Nation-wide strikes in vital industries affecting the public interest; second, methods and procedures for carrying out the collective-bargaining process; and, third, the underlying causes of labor-management disputes.

The President, consistent with such policy, outlined certain immediate steps to be taken: (a) Legislation to prevent jurisdictional strikes intended to compel employers to bargain with a minority union instead of a majority union in their plants; (b) legislation to provide for peaceful and binding determinations of jurisdictional disputes over which a Union is entitled to perform a particular work task; (c) legislation to prohibit secondary boycotts when used to further jurisdictional disputes or to compel employers to violate the National Labor Relations Act; and (d) legislation to provide for final and binding arbitration of disputes concerning the interpretation of the terms of collective-bargaining agreements.

No reasonable man can disregard the President's plea that—

We should enact legislation to correct certain abuses and to provide additional governmental assistance in bargaining. But we should also concern ourselves with the basic causes of labor-management difficulties. We must not, under the stress of emotion, endanger our American freedoms by taking ill-considered action which will lead to results not anticipated or desired.

The President was catering to no special interest when he delivered his message on labor. He was interested in the public welfare. The President is not soliciting the political favor of either labor or management as is evidenced by his handling of the ship of state in all fields. This explains the high regard in which he is held by the American people as illustrated in the recent Gallup poll. Yet the proponents of H. R. 3020 disregarded the warning of the President and took the ill considered emotional action of presenting the House of Representatives with a punitive and drastic labor bill.

A brief analysis of this bill will demonstrate that it not only endangers our American freedoms but brings about results desired by no fair thinking, informed American. To pass or even support this bill therefore, can be classified as ill-considered action.

ANALYSIS OF THE HARTLEY BILL, H. R. 3020

1. The employer is granted new rights and powers to destroy labor and to substitute individual bargaining for collective bargaining (secs. 1, 2, 7, 8 (b), 8 (c), 8 (d), 9 (a), 9 (c) 2, 9 (c) 3, 9 (f), 10, 203).

2. The employer is given the right to bring antitrust actions against his employees, to institute criminal prosecutions against them, to sue them for treble damages, and to obtain ex parte injunctions without a hearing against them (secs. 12 (a) (3) (C), 12 (c), 301). But the employer's violation of the law is subject merely to a cease and desist order issued after administrative hearing and court review (sec. 10 (c)).

3. The employer is granted the right to compel employees to accept a wage cut through forced labor for indefinite periods of time (secs. 2 (11) (B), 2 (13), 8 (b) (3), 203, 204).

4. The employer receives the right to break strikes caused by his own illegal conduct (secs. 2 (3), 8 (b) (3), 12 (a) (3), 12 (c), 301).

5. The employer is granted the right to obtain injunctions against strikes which have been legal for the past 50 years (secs. 2 (13), 8 (b) (3), 12 (a) (3), 12 (c)).

6. The employer retains the right to bargain through an employers' association but bargaining through national unions is outlawed (secs. 2 (2), 2 (16), 9 (f) (1)).

7. The employer is granted the right to disregard the bargaining agent and to play employees against each other (secs. 2 (11) (B), 8 (b) (3), 9 (d), 9 (f) (2)).

8. The employer is granted the right to sit at both sides of the bargaining table by establishing company unions (secs. 8 (a) (2), 8 (d) (3), 9 (f) (4), 10 (c)).

9. The employer is granted the right to disregard the bargaining agent and to refuse to bargain about such matters as health and welfare plans, apprentice-training programs and speed-up (secs. 2 (11), 8 (b) (3), 12 (a) (3) (C)).

10. The employer is given the right to break a strike for recognition even though the union represents an overwhelming majority of the employees (secs. 12 (a) (3) (C), 12 (c)).

11. The employer is given the right to outlaw and to crush any strike by hiring strike-breakers even though the strike is caused by his own misconduct (secs. 2 (3), 12 (a) (3) (C), 12 (c)).

12. The employer is given the right to co-operate with antilabor employers in order to destroy unions (secs. 2 (13), 2 (14), 12 (a) (3)).

13. The employer is given the right to lock-out and blacklist office clerks if they join a union (secs. 2 (3), 2 (12), 12 (a) (3)).

14. The employer is given the right to invoke injunctions, treble damage suits, and criminal penalties against the employees in one department if they strike against a wage cut in another department (secs. 2 (13), 12 (a), (3), 301).

15. The employer is given the right to instigate criminal prosecutions against individuals who exercise the right to picket (secs. 12 (a) (1), 12 (a) (2), 301).

16. The employer is given the right to prevent the designation of a bargaining agent for a period of years (secs. 3, 9 (c) (3), 10 (f)).

17. Spies may be planted in the union ranks by the employer and the union is powerless to expel them (secs. 8 (d) (4), 10).

18. The employer is given the right to grant or deny union security as he wishes; he is not required even to discuss it with the union and he may crush a strike or a threat of strike to obtain it (secs. 2 (11), 8 (b) (3), 8 (d) (4), 9 (g), 12 (a) (3) (C), 301).

19. The employer is given the right to crush any strike when a collective-bargaining contract exists even if the strike is caused by an issue not covered by the contract (secs. 2 (11) (A), 8 (b) (3), 12 (a) (3) (C), 301).

20. The employer is given the power to obtain from the Government a death warrant for the union of his employees (secs. 8 (b), 8 (c), 9 (f), 10 (a), 10 (c), 12 (d)).

It does not, however, require even mature reflection to realize that these proposals are deliberately designed to wreck the living standards of the American people. Under the false guise of correcting labor abuses this bill is designed to so weaken, as in effect to repeal, the National Labor Relations Act. By making practically all strikes unlawful it repeals the Norris-LaGuardia Act signed by President Hoover. By removing the protection of the Clayton Act from practically all trade union activity, it makes trade unions and their members subject to suits for treble damages under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890. It revives the common law doctrine of conspiracy against workers who band together to protect their living standards and thereby throws the law back to where it was in England in the late 1700's. The bill does not merely wipe out the gains of labor in the past 14 years, it turns the clock of history back at least a century and a half and eliminates safeguards and protections which both Republican and Democratic Congresses have sponsored for generations.

The proponents of this devastating measure strike out at alleged abuses in all directions. But they are not content to merely prohibit jurisdictional strikes or disputes; they, instead, would wholly destroy labor's right to strike at all, as an organizational weapon. They are not satisfied to distinguish between justified and unjustified conduct on the part of labor unions; they just ban or wholly destroy activities of labor that have heretofore been legal or justified.

A nonpartisan policy toward labor legislation would have seen labor abuses corrected by legislation unanimously supported by the Congress, not the emasculation of the rights of the working people. At this very moment a bipartisan bloc in the United States Senate has given notice to the world that they cannot and will not accept the unwarranted legislation incorporated in H. R. 3020, and are presently writing their own bill more closely approximating the needs of the Nation in the fields of domestic labor legislation. When a political body such as the United States Senate, controlled by the same party as controls the House committee that created the present bill, cannot swallow the legislation at hand, I ask you whether or not such legislation is worthy of the support of any fair-minded citizen, much less a sworn representative of the people. I will readily support any legislation that will correct the abuses of labor, but no such bill should be used to mask the true objective of the present proponents, namely destruction of all of the rights of labor and a return to medieval practices.

War or Peace in Europe?**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Camden News of Camden, Ark.:

WILL IT BE WAR OR PEACE?

Will events in Europe lead to war or peace? At Moscow a most important conference is being held by foreign ministers of the four great powers in the world. In Washington President Truman has just asked Congress for \$400,000,000 to aid Greece and Turkey. In China there is civil war. There is unrest in many areas. History is repeating itself, and there are many similarities between present events and those leading up to World Wars I and II. Whether you want to believe it or not, the United States is facing its most critical period in all its history. That includes the perilous days immediately after the Jap sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, when few Americans realized how badly we were hurt. Now after the war is over and all the facts have been published, Americans now realize that we had no Pacific Fleet and little defense the first few months after that attack. But we rallied quickly.

Today most Americans are more interested in getting a new automobile, or more sugar than in world affairs. The News wants to wake you up about the dangerous situation and the nearness we are to war again. Forget a little about your personal pleasures and wants and think about your country and its future. Without a safe nation, all the autos, all the sugar, and all the worldly goods won't help you much. It will be too late then. Americans always are too prone to wait until the fight starts to get worked up. This time let us stop the fight before it starts. How? That is the problem. Start thinking about the President's plea. Greece today is the Manchuria before World War II. Turkey is almost as bad as the Ethiopian situation and China today is the Spain of pre-World War II days.

Whether you like it or not Russia is crowding the United States hard. The Reds are playing their cards close to the vest and they have a huge standing army, lots of tanks, and the world's largest air force. That armed force is trained to the minute. The Soviet has not demobilized. It has armed men stationed all over its domain and on borders ready to spring into action, be it Greece or China or Turkey.

America must give aid to Greece and Turkey now. But we must have some strings attached to it. We must not be the tail to the British kite any longer. The British Empire is no more. Great Britain is great in name only. It is bankrupt and has become a second-rate power. World War II was the finishing blow to this once mighty nation. Whenever a country as haughty and as proud as Britain comes to the United States or any other nation begging, you know it must be in dire straits. It has done that. The British have informed this Government that it cannot meet its financial commitments any more. It is broke. It took a lot of courage for the British to do that. We do not admire everything the British do. They have gotten under our skin a lot, but one thing we do know—the British have saved our hides many times by playing world policeman and patrolling the sea lanes. Now the British are done. They cannot protect

us any more. It is either the United States or the Russians. We are the only two great powers left. France is a weakling. China is beset by civil strife. We have no other allies save the stanch South American friends, but they look to us and they have no large armies or navies. Therefore, it is the United States, on one hand, against a Russian-controlled Europe and China, unless we step in now and try to save the pieces.

Secretary Marshall is the best man for the job now, but he can't bluff forever. The Reds know the condition of our armed forces. He can stall and he can talk tough, but he must have something to back him up.

We must step into Greece and aid that gallant nation to save itself from the Reds and also the old imperialistic British plan. We must help the Turks stave off the Red thrust at the Dardanelles and our vital oil pipe lines. Oil is the key to all wars and also the key to peace.

Camden and Ouachita County people, the News asks you to start thinking about this problem. Then do a lot of praying about it. Ask God for divine help and guidance. Pray for this country now. Our leaders need help, and need it badly. Write your Congressman and Senators and let them know you are thinking about this crisis. If we go into Greece and help Turkey, we are in there for keeps. It may stop a war. It may not. But we can't sit back and let the Russians gobble up everything, for that means war most certainly, and then it will be the United States alone against most of Europe and Asia.

Think this over and do not let the myth of peace blind you to the cruel facts that are staring us in the face.

Will it be war or peace?

Radio Address to My Constituents**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address made by me over Station WNBK on April 12, 1947:

Dear friends of the Triple Cities and my Congressional district, the housing situation seems to be well in hand in Binghamton with the Governor offering to use executive authority in handling it when bureaucratic officials in Washington definitely bungled it.

If the provisions of the veterans' housing bill, passed in the last Congress and which I helped through with my vote and support, had been carried out the way we in Congress intended, veterans would now have all the houses they need, and more, too.

The tragedy of the whole thing is to see agitators and fakers try to grab the spotlight by criticizing, yet offering no solution themselves.

If you attack a man for proposing something, you must suggest an alternative plan or you are all wet. The big talkers who attack me when I try to help the veteran either don't know enough to forward a plan of their own, or they are just knockers. In any event, they ought to crawl in their rugs and give up.

I am sure Governor Dewey will remedy the housing shortage with action. New York State has made a success of housing the veteran and should assure an immediate solution of the lack of facilities in our community.

While we are on the subject of housing, let me say to you veterans that I stand ready to do all in my power to help you. I urge you to write me, not only about housing but about any and all matters with which I can help you.

Remember, action is what counts, not sophisticated talk. I am here in Washington to serve you. Therefore, do not hesitate to call on me when you need help. I have aided others, why not you?

A few days ago I made a speech on the House floor and my words to the Congress are as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, the greatest privilege any man can possibly enjoy is to be an American. This privilege was given us all by our founding fathers when they wrote the Constitution.

"Today, Americanism is being challenged, not only here, but in many places throughout the world. Other isms are defying and defiling our conception of government and flaunting the sacred folds of our American flag.

"The call to stand fast against the forces which would destroy our country has been sounded by the President and other national leaders. They would have us adopt a strong policy of striking back at the enemies of representative government.

"Today a token force, symbolic of armed preparedness, will march up Constitution Avenue and around the Capitol. This will not be as impressive as in war years. There will not be the great numbers of men or mobile weapons.

"All of which brings us to ask ourselves how well equipped are we to back up the demands our State Department is making in international councils? Will we be called upon to defend the diplomatic positions we are taking on far-flung territory and issues on every continent and ocean?

"We must preserve Americanism at all costs. It is our definition of freedom and liberty, and we believe is our greatest hope today in a troubled and perplexed world.

"But if we expect to preserve this way of life, we must be able to answer the question I asked, How well prepared are we, and how does our power compare with other great powers, some of whom may not see eye to eye with us on the subject of Americanism. We owe it to the Americans we represent to keep this Nation strong so that we may all be secure and our future starry and bright."

Thank you.

Excessive Taxation**EXTENSION OF REMARKS**

OF

HON. JOHN JENNINGS, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 22, 1947

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein the very able and thoughtful statement by Mr. William C. Ross, a successful businessman of many years experience and a resident of my home city of Knoxville, Tenn.

Mr. Ross emphasizes the fact that punitive, excessive, and confiscatory taxes injure not only the taxpayer but in addition thereto injure thousands of working men and working women who are deprived of jobs by diverting private capital from investment in productive industry into the hands of profligate bureaucrats.

Apr. 25

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued April 28, 1947
For actions of April 25, 1947
80th-1st, No. 78

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....	7,14	Labor.....	13	Personnel.....	5,8
Appropriations...1,10,12,16		Lands, reclamation..10,16,19		Prices.....	11,18,21
Education.....	17	Lend-lease.....	22	School-lunch program...	9
Flood control.....	6,15	Livestock and meat.....	23	Soil conservation.....	15
Food, distribution.....	25	Marketing.....	2	Trade, foreign.....	20
Foreign affairs.....	4,24	Minerals.....	3	Veterans' benefits.....	5

HIGHLIGHTS: House passed Interior appropriation bill. House sent 1st deficiency appropriation bill to conference. House committee reported bill to regulate marketing of economic poisons and devices. House committee reported bill to amend Veterans' Preference Act. Senate committee reported omnibus civil-service retirement bill.

HOUSE

1. APPROPRIATIONS. Passed, 307-30, with amendments H. R. 3123, the Interior Department appropriation bill (pp. 4161-235). Much of the debate was on reclamation and electrification items.
Reps. Taber, Wigglesworth, Engel of Mich., Stefan, Case of S. Dak., Keefe, Cannon, Kerr, and Mahon were appointed conferees on H. R. 2849, the first deficiency appropriation bill (p. 4235). Senate conferees were appointed Apr. 24.
2. MARKETING. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendment H. R. 1237, to regulate the marketing of economic poisons and devices (H. Rept. 313)(p. 4237).
3. MINERALS. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendments H. R. 2455, to establish a National Minerals Resources Division (H. Rept. 311)(p. 4236).
4. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Foreign Affairs Committee reported with amendments H. R. 2616, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (H. Rept. 314)(p. 4237).
5. PERSONNEL. The Post Office and Civil Service Committee reported with amendment H. R. 966, to amend Sec. 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act (H. Rept. 315)(p. 4237).
6. FLOOD CONTROL. Received several flood-control survey reports from the War Department (H. Docs. 220, 221, 222); to Public Works Committee (p. 4236).
7. ADJOURNED until Mon., Apr. 28 (p. 4236). Today's program is the bill for relief of war-devastated areas and the daylight-saving bill (p. 4167).

SENATE

8. CIVIL-SERVICE RETIREMENT. The Civil Service Committee reported with amendments

- S. 637, the omnibus retirement bill (S.Rept. 143) (p. 4134).
9. SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM. Sen. Capper, Kans., inserted Mrs. Dwight W. Morrow's telegram favoring appropriation of funds for this program (p. 4134).
 10. RECLAMATION; APPROPRIATIONS. Received from the Interior Department proposed legislation to authorize an emergency fund for the Bureau of Reclamation to assure continuous operation of its irrigation and power systems; to Public Lands Committee (p. 4133).
 11. PRICES. Sen. Lodge, Mass., commended the Newburyport price-reduction plan (p. 4135).
 12. APPROPRIATIONS. Sen. Williams, Del., criticized Interior Secretary Krug's statement relating to personnel reductions in view of reduced appropriations (pp. 4135-6).
Sen. Johnson, Colo., urged that the need for funds for Labor Department and Federal Security Agency be met "realistically" (pp. 4159-60).
 13. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-relations bill (pp. 4136-8, 4139-46, 4148-59).
 14. RECESSED until Mon., Apr. 28 (p. 4160).

BILLS INTRODUCED

15. FLOOD CONTROL; SOIL CONSERVATION. H.R. 3216, by Rep. Cole, N.Y., to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the upper Susquehanna River watershed in N.Y. and Pa. for run-off and water-flow retardation, and soil-erosion prevention. To Public Works Committee. (p. 4237.)
16. RECLAMATION; APPROPRIATIONS. H.R. 3218, by Rep. Welch, Calif., to authorize an emergency fund for the Bureau of Reclamation to assure the continuous operation of its irrigation and power systems. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4237.)
17. EDUCATION; H.R. 3220, by Rep. Blatnik, Minn., to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States in more nearly equalizing educational opportunities. To Education and Labor Committee. (p. 4237.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

18. PRICES. Sen. Capper, Kans., inserted former Gov. Alf Landon's address on how to cut prices (pp. A2015-7).
Rep. Bates, Mass., inserted a Washington Post article reporting on the Newburyport price-reduction plan (pp. A2030-1).
Rep. Murray, Wis., inserted a New York Times editorial, "Prices and Profits" (pp. A2033-4).
19. LAND POLICY. Rep. Miller, Calif., inserted a San Francisco News article, "Farm Bureau Members Split on CVP Land Policy" (pp. A2023-4).
20. TRADE AGREEMENTS. Rep. Reed, N.Y., inserted Arthur Besse's (Nat'l. Assoc. of Wool Manufacturers) statement before the Ways and Means Committee on the value of trade agreements and an International Trade Organization (pp. A2028-30).
21. FOOD PRICES. Extension of remarks of Rep. Murray, Wis., discussing a Washington Post editorial which criticizes the price-support program and the high cost of food (pp. A2032-3).

22. LEND-LEASE. Extension of remarks of Rep. Murray, Wis.; including a Toledo (Ohio) Blade article, on the decline of lend-lease shipments and the operation of the "fur-farmer formula" (p. A2037).
23. LIVESTOCK AND MEAT. Speech in the House by Rep. Lea, Calif., urging sufficient funds for carrying on the destruction of predatory animals for the protection of livestock (p. A2024).
24. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. A2021, A2021-2, A2035-6).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

25. GOVERNMENT CAFETERIAS. S. Res. 42, Pt. 5, Cafeterias in Government Buildings. Senate Civil Service Committee.

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for Apr. 28: H. Agriculture, Superior Forest areas (Hopkins, Sieker to testify), forest protection from insects and diseases (Rohwer and Marsh to testify), and punishment for illegal entry on national forests (Brown to testify); H. Public Lands, Reclamation Act amendments; H. Ways and Means, trade agreements (Harriman to testify); H. Armed Services, export control; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; S. Labor and Public Welfare, Federal aid to education S. Appropriations, Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill (ex.); H. Appropriations, Independent Offices and Government Corporations (ex.); H. Rules, Greek-Turkey aid.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654, or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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ferred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HOPE: Committee on Agriculture. H. R. 1237. A bill to regulate the marketing of economic poisons and devices, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 313). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. EATON: Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. R. 2616. A bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey; with amendments (Rept. No. 314). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. VURSELL: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H. R. 966. A bill to amend section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of June 27, 1944 (58 Stat. 387); with amendment (Rept. No. 315). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. MORTON: Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. H. R. 1203. A bill to provide compensation to persons performing the duties of postmasters at post offices of the fourth class during annual and sick leave of the postmasters; with amendment (Rept. No. 316). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. GRAHAM: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1742. A bill for the relief of Mary Lomas; with amendment (Rept. No. 307). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BEALL:

H. R. 3208. A bill to permit the use of appropriations of the National Capital Housing Authority for the maintenance and operation of buildings and grounds used for nurseries and nursery schools established by the Board of Public Welfare of the District of Columbia within projects under the jurisdiction of such Authority; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. JENNINGS:

H. R. 3209. A bill for the relief of persons or their legal heirs or administrators against whom suits have been brought or assessments made by the Price Administrator under the provisions of section 205 (a) of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, approved January 30, 1942 (56 Stat. 23), and who have paid the United States Government treble penalty as provided therein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

H. R. 3210. A bill to reduce juvenile delinquency by providing for the care and prompt return home of run-away, transient, or vagrant children of juvenile age, going from one State to another without proper legal consent, through the use of funds appropriated under the provisions of the Social Security Act for aid to dependent children,

under certain conditions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HOFFMAN:

H. R. 3211. A bill to make unlawful certain acts in connection with picketing in the District of Columbia; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3212. A bill to amend section 3360 of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. VAN ZANDT:

H. R. 3213. A bill to authorize the promotion of personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard who were prisoners of war; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. ROBSION:

H. R. 3214. A bill to revise, codify, and enact into law title 28 of the United States Code entitled "Judicial Code and Judiciary"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York:

H. R. 3215. A bill to revise the Medical Department of the Army and the Medical Department of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3216. A bill to authorize a preliminary examination and survey of the upper Susquehanna River watershed in New York and Pennsylvania for run-off and water-flow retardation, and soil-erosion prevention; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. WINSTEAD:

H. R. 3217. A bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946; to the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3218. A bill to authorize an emergency fund for the Bureau of Reclamation to assure the continuous operation of its irrigation and power systems; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. DONDERO:

H. R. 3219. A bill to authorize the Federal Works Administrator or officials of the Federal Works Agency duly authorized by him to appoint special policemen for duty upon Federal property under the jurisdiction of the Federal Works Agency, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. BLATNIK:

H. R. 3220. A bill to authorize the appropriation of funds to assist the States in more nearly equalizing educational opportunities among and within the States by establishing a national floor under current educational expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance at public elementary and secondary schools and by assistance to nonpublic tax-exempt schools of secondary grade or less for necessary transportation of pupils, school health examinations and related school health services, and purchase of nonreligious instructional supplies and equipment, including books; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HAVENNER:

H. R. 3221. A bill to declare Parsees as persons of white race; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRIS:

H. R. 3222. A bill relating to actions brought on behalf of the United States to enforce civil liability, under the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, on account of overcharges in the sale of commodities; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. GRANT of Indiana:

H. J. Res. 183. Joint resolution to authorize the issuance of a special series of stamps com-

memorative of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

H. J. Res. 184. Joint resolution to authorize the coinage of 50-cent pieces in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gen. Casimir Pulaski; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Michigan, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to ratify the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the terms of office of the President; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to approve the present granting of extensions of leases for a term to expire March 31, 1967, to the present lessees at the original rentals; to the Committee on Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to establish a national cemetery at Birch Coulee Battlefield, in Renville County, Minn.; to the Committee on Public Lands.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. COUDERT:

H. R. 3223. A bill for the relief of John Arethas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEATING:

H. R. 3224. A bill to authorize the cancellation of deportation proceedings in the case of Frank Durante and wife, Maria Durante, and two children, namely, Paul Durante and Patsy Durante; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. McDONOUGH (by request):

H. R. 3225. A bill for the relief of Anna Pechnik; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. SMATHERS:

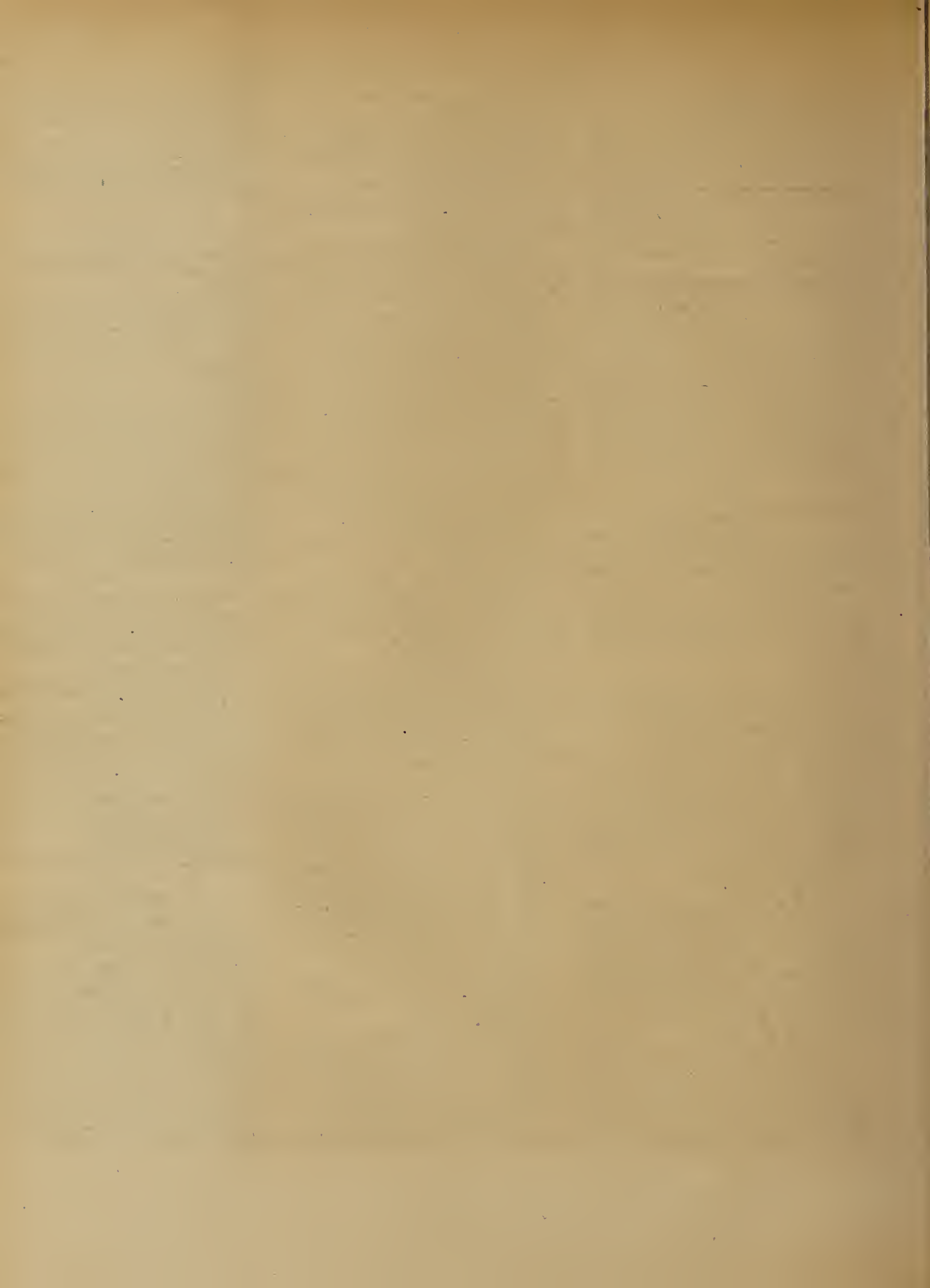
H. R. 3226. A bill for the relief of Thomas M. Bates; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

378. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of New Jersey State Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, urging the enactment of S. 715, a bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, to provide annuities for investigatory personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who have rendered at least 20 years of service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

379. By Mr. LYNCH: Petition of Bronx Zionist region, Zionist Organization of America, New York, N. Y., urging immediate large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.



ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

APRIL 25, 1947.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. EATON, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. R. 2616]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the bill, as amended, do pass.

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The principal purpose of this bill is to aid Greece and Turkey to survive as free and independent nations. These two countries have been, and are, subject to unusual pressures which threaten the peaceful existence of the Greek and Turkish peoples and their right to maintain their freedom and their national integrity. This bill recognizes our concern and our responsibility for the maintenance of peace which caused us to take a leading part in the establishment of the United Nations. It constitutes an affirmative promotion of peace and is based on our belief that the foundations of international peace and the security of the United States are jeopardized whenever totalitarian regimes are imposed on free peoples, whether by direct or indirect aggression.

SITUATION IN GREECE AND TURKEY

Greece

Acting Secretary of State Acheson said (p. 7 of the hearings) that—

The general situation in Greece has been known to the Department for the last 20 years. It is nothing new, so far as the situation in Greece is concerned. What is new about it is that we were informed by the British Government on the 24th of February, in a note dated February 21, that they would have to discontinue their financial aid at the end of this fiscal year of theirs, which is March 31.

There have also been some critical new developments in Greece which are new since Mr. Porter's arrival there (January 18, 1947). Those are matters of detail.

* * * we have * * * a letter from the then Prime Minister of Greece, of the 26th of December, in which he points out the growing crisis in Greece.

We have known that this crisis has been coming on for, of course, some time.

Any observer of Greek conditions knew that and that was why we sent Mr. Porter to Greece.

The Greek Government on March 3, 1947, sent the United States an urgent appeal for financial, economic, and expert assistance. This appeal followed notes received by our Government on February 24, 1947, from the British Government, notifying us that it could no longer provide the aid it had been giving or had planned to give Greece.

Acting Secretary of State Acheson also testified (p. 2 of the hearings) that—

Greece's difficulties are not new. But they have become acute as a result of special circumstances.

Long before the war Greece had a hard time making ends meet. Her poverty of natural resources is so great that she has always needed more imports than she could pay for with exports. Only by hand-to-mouth contriving has she been able to maintain a precarious balance in her international economic position. In the past much of her export trade naturally went to central European markets, particularly to Germany; during the thirties she was forced into closer dependence on Germany through clearing agreements and other instruments of Nazi economic warfare.

And then came the Italian invasion, the German invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation, and the scorching of her earth by the retreating enemy. Perhaps no other country in the world has suffered greater destruction of its physical resources than Greece.

The ravages of war left Greece in a catastrophic economic condition. Her ability to produce, either for home consumption or for export, had been seriously impaired and her entire fiscal system had been destroyed. The Greek civil service and administrative system had been "gravely impaired through starvation and by death, and undermined by infiltration of undesirable elements, demoralized by infiltration and the resultant scramble for existence." (Statement by Acting Secretary of State Acheson, p. 2 of the hearings.)

During the war, the Allies helped to organize and equip many thousands of Greeks, who fought valiantly and incessantly against the common enemy.

In the course of the struggle, at the request of the Allied High Command, the Greeks themselves demolished many of their public works in an effort to halt the common foe. Most of these resistance bands disbanded after the war. However, Communist leaders succeeded in gaining control of a number of bands, and have contributed to the disorder and economic disruption by their marauding raids on the civilian population. These armed bands receive support from the small but well-organized Greek Communist Party and its affiliates. The Greek Government has charged before the Security Council of the United Nations that these insurgents receive supplies and training from neighboring countries. A commission has been appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations and has been investigating these charges.

Before the war, a few bandits existed in the mountainous sections of Greece, but they never attacked the Government and did not constitute a serious menace. At the present time, the bandits are subversive tools in the hands of an international body which is tremendously strong, strong not only in arms and money, but in propaganda activities all over the world to keep world opinion from getting an accurate picture of the facts.

Turkey

The situation in Turkey differs substantially, but she has found it necessary during recent months to apply to the United States for financial aid, and her needs have been increased by the withdrawal of British assistance.

During his testimony before the committee, Acting Secretary of State Acheson said:

The Turkish Army has been mobilized since the beginning of World War II and this has put a severe strain upon the national economy. During the war Turkey received substantial assistance from Great Britain and the United States which helped her to carry this load.

Today, the Turkish economy is no longer able to carry the full load required for its national defense and at the same time proceed with that economic development which is necessary to keep the country in sound condition. With some help from the United States, and further assistance which Turkey may be able to negotiate with United Nations financial organs, Turkey should be in a position to continue the development of her own resources and increase her productivity, while at the same time maintaining her national defenses at a level necessary to protect her freedom and independence.

Turkey is being subjected to severe external pressure which has forced her to maintain large armed forces for defense purposes. This pressure includes repeated demands for the separation of certain portions of eastern Turkey from the rest of the country, and demands for bases which would virtually give Russia military control of the Dardanelles. The collapse and subjugation of Turkey would, in the opinion of our highest military experts, almost inevitably follow, and would involve the speedy collapse and subjugation of the entire Middle East. This would greatly compromise the strategic position of the United States and aggravate the danger to world peace.

AMOUNT AND KIND OF ASSISTANCE PROPOSED

This bill authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 and authorizes the President "when he deems it in the interests of the United States" to extend financial and other assistance to Greece and Turkey, "upon request of their governments." Such assistance may take the following forms: (1) Financial aid such as loans, grants, and credits; (2) detail of persons in the employ of the United States Government; (3) a limited number of military personnel in an advisory capacity only; (4) articles, services, and information; and (5) instruction and training of personnel in these two countries.

Greece

It is planned to make \$150,000,000 available to Greece for arms, ammunition, rations, clothing, and other supplies and equipment for the Greek armed forces for the period ending June 30, 1948. This sum, it is estimated, would permit the Greek Army to maintain operations against the Communist-led armed bands during 1947 and to maintain forces thereafter of sufficient strength to maintain order.

An additional \$150,000,000 is intended for civilian reconstruction and rehabilitation in Greece. Of this sum, \$20,000,000 would be spent for agricultural rehabilitation. UNRRA has sent some livestock, farm machinery, food-processing equipment, etc., but Greece is in urgent need of additional assistance for these purposes and for repairs equipment and fishing equipment in order to enable her to increase her agricultural output for domestic consumption and for foreign-exchange producing exports.

The Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Clayton, testified (pp. 66, 67, and 68 of the hearings) that in addition to the amount of \$20,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation, \$50,000,000 would be spent for reconstruction and \$80,000,000 for consumer goods. The break-down of the \$50,000,000 for reconstruction would be \$10,000,000 for roads, \$11,000,000 for railroads, \$3,000,000 for the ports, \$5,000,000 for public utilities and communications, \$8,000,000 for reclamation and irrigation, \$6,000,000 for industry, \$2,000,000 for mines, and \$5,000,000 for housing.

High priority is also to be given to restoration of electric utilities and communications systems. In order to prevent loss of agricultural output and further deterioration, the various flood-control, irrigation, and water-control projects also require restoration as promptly as possible. The Nazis removed or wantonly destroyed much industrial equipment which must be replaced. A wide variety of supplies and equipment, together with technical services, will be required to restore Greek production to prewar levels.

Turkey

The sum of \$100,000,000 is recommended to be expended for purposes which will contribute to the security of Turkey. No part of this amount would be for normal civilian supply purposes. The Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Mr. Clayton, testified (p. 68 of the hearings) that:

* * * the latest information available indicates that Turkey has sufficient resources to finance the essential requirements of her civilian economy. It also appears that Turkey should in due time be able to procure through existing credit channels part of the additional resources required for a program of general economic development. However, Turkey urgently needs military and other capital equipment which she herself cannot at present procure without seriously impairing her general economic position. The necessity for assisting Turkey in bearing the burdens of her military defense is very real and an immediate beginning should be made.

Included in the assistance proposed for Turkey would be equipment for her armed forces, and funds for related projects of military significance. To the extent that further studies may indicate desirable, these may include the rehabilitation of the Turkish railway system.

KIND OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROPOSED

Combat forces are not to be sent to Greece or Turkey. The military assistance provided in the bill is to consist only of arms and other supplies for the armed forces of Greece and Turkey. These supplies are to be provided on the basis of investigations and recommendations by small military missions sent out by the United States in an advisory capacity only. Testimony of Government witnesses indicates that the military mission to Greece would probably not exceed 40 and the naval mission would probably be less than 30. In the case of Turkey it is expected that the missions would not be larger. Additional information is contained in this report under the heading "Amount and kind of assistance proposed."

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

On March 12, 1947, the President appeared before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives and delivered the following message recommending assistance to Greece and Turkey:

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SPEAKER, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. Preliminary reports from the American Economic Mission now in Greece and reports from the American Ambassador in Greece corroborate the statement of the Greek Government that assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

I do not believe that the American people and the Congress wish to turn a deaf ear to the appeal of the Greek Government.

Greece is not a rich country. Lack of sufficient natural resources has always forced the Greek people to work hard to make both ends meet. Since 1940, this industrious and peace-loving country has suffered invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation, and bitter internal strife.

When forces of liberation entered Greece they found that the retreating Germans had destroyed virtually all the railways, roads, port facilities, communications, and merchant marine. More than a thousand villages had been burned. Eighty-five percent of the children were tubercular. Livestock, poultry, and draft animals had almost disappeared. Inflation had wiped out practically all savings.

As a result of these tragic conditions, a militant minority, exploiting human want and misery, was able to create political chaos which, until now, has made economic recovery impossible.

Greece is today without funds to finance the importation of those goods which are essential to bare subsistence. Under these circumstances, the people of Greece cannot make progress in solving their problems of reconstruction. Greece is in desperate need of financial and economic assistance to enable it to resume purchases of food, clothing, fuel, and seeds. These are indispensable for the subsistence of its people and are obtainable only from abroad. Greece must have help to import the goods necessary to restore internal order and security so essential for economic and political recovery.

The Greek Government has also asked for the assistance of experienced American administrators, economists, and technicians to insure that the financial and other aid given to Greece shall be used effectively in creating a stable and self-sustaining economy and in improving its public administration.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. A Commission appointed by the United Nations Security Council is at present investigating disturbed conditions in northern Greece, and alleged border violations along the frontier between Greece on the one hand, and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other.

Meanwhile, the Greek Government is unable to cope with the situation. The Greek Army is small and poorly equipped. It needs supplies and equipment if it is to restore the authority of the Government throughout Greek territory.

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid, but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required.

It is important to note that the Greek Government has asked for our aid in utilizing effectively the financial and other assistance we may give to Greece, and in improving its public administration. It is of the utmost importance that we supervise the use of any funds made available to Greece, in such a manner that each dollar spent will count toward making Greece self-supporting, and will help to build an economy in which a healthy democracy can flourish.

No government is perfect. One of the chief virtues of a democracy, however, is that its defects are always visible and under democratic processes can be pointed out and corrected. The government of Greece is not perfect. Nevertheless it represents 85 percent of the members of the Greek Parliament who were chosen in an election last year. Foreign observers, including 692 Americans, considered this election to be a fair expression of the views of the Greek people.

The Greek Government has been operating in an atmosphere of chaos and extremism. It has made mistakes. The extension of aid by this country does not mean that the United States condones everything that the Greek Government has done or will do. We have condemned in the past, and we condemn now, extremist measures of the right or the left. We have in the past advised tolerance, and we advise tolerance now.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.

The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. The circumstances in which Turkey finds itself today are considerably different from those of Greece. Turkey has been spared the disasters that have beset Greece; and, during the war, the United States and Great Britain furnished Turkey with material aid. Nevertheless, Turkey now needs our support.

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East.

The British Government has informed us that, owing to its own difficulties, it can no longer extend financial or economic aid to Turkey.

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To insure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Moreover, the disappearance of Greece as an independent state would have a profound effect upon those countries in Europe whose peoples are struggling against great difficulties to maintain their freedoms and their independence while they repair the damages of war.

It would be an unspeakable tragedy if these countries, which have struggled so long against overwhelming odds, should lose that victory for which they sacrificed so much. Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

We must take immediate and resolute action.

I, therefore, ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece, and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of this investment. It is only common sense that we should safeguard this investment and make sure that it was not in vain.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died.

We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

QUESTION OF REPAYMENT BY GREECE AND TURKEY

The question of repayment by Greece and Turkey of funds spent for the assistance proposed by H. R. 2616 was given careful study by the committee. The following statement submitted to the committee by the Department of State explains the attitude of the Government on this subject:

The bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey authorizes the furnishing of financial aid to these countries in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise. The terms upon which such aid is furnished from time to time can best be determined by the President, in the course of administration in the light of full information on all relevant circumstances. It is believed it would not be wise or practical to attempt, in advance, to specify such terms for all possible contingencies in the legislation.

Assistance provided under the bill for military purposes, being essential to our own security, and not in itself creating the wherewithal to repay, should be made as a clear grant. Financial assistance for current civilian consumption should also be a grant since such assistance would not directly produce capital assets. Repayment could be sought, however, when the direct effect of the financial aid is to create capital assets and the ability on the part of the receiving country to meet such obligations in foreign exchange. However, financial repayment obligations should not be established if there appears to be no reasonable prospect of repayment.

Assistance for rehabilitation or reconstruction purposes in Greece may in some cases directly benefit concerns in Greece which are privately owned or controlled, either by domestic or foreign nationals. Any unjust enrichment of private interests as a result of the assistance furnished would be prevented by means of sales or other appropriate financial arrangements between the Greek Government and the concerns, and, to the extent that the assistance furnished creates foreign exchange, the interest of the United States would be adequately safeguarded in accordance with the principle of the preceding paragraph.

SUPERVISION OF EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS

The organization plans of the American mission to Greece to carry out the provisions of H. R. 2616, have not been completed. The committee has been informed that prompt action would be taken to send a small group of perhaps 25 to 50 persons, headed by a chief of outstanding ability, to initiate the program and to develop the plans in more detail, and to establish the necessary relationships with the Greek Government. No expenditures would be made until specific plans have been developed and have been approved by the United States Government. It is understood that the American mission in Greece would be in a position to carry a large part of the responsibility for this activity. The expenditure in Greece of any funds that may be made available to the Greek Government for the program would be subject to control by the American mission there. Purchases in the United States with the funds made available would be made through the procurement agencies of the United States Government, or, if made otherwise, would be subject to careful supervision and strict control.

Members of the committee expressed the strongest concern that competent persons be sent to Greece to insure the development of controls at key points and to supervise their application.

The committee has been given assurance that our Government will insist that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in such matters as fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on

unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These are all essential to the establishment of stability in Greece.

The military programs in Greece and Turkey will be administered through small groups of United States military and naval personnel sent to those countries for that purpose. They would screen requirements and advise in the best application and use of the materials and equipment made available to Greece and Turkey.

SAFEGUARDS AGAINST DISSIPATION OF FUNDS

The funds advanced under the bill should not be dissipated through payments on loans to foreign governments. This is covered by the amendment to the bill (sec. 3, subsec. (e)) requiring that as a condition precedent to the receipt of assistance, the recipient government should agree—

not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government.

The committee was assured by the State Department that the Greek Government would be required to take adequate measures to assure the maximum use of its own resources in the program of rehabilitation and reconstruction and the fullest possible support for this program by Greek nationals. The Department of State recalled in this connection the assurances that had been given that the purpose of this legislation is to enable Greece to help itself, and that in the administration of assistance given under the bill adequate guaranties would be required of the Greek Government to assure the carrying out of all steps necessary to the achievement of this purpose.

TIME FOR WHICH ASSISTANCE WILL BE GRANTED

The amount of \$400,000,000 authorized under H. R. 2616 would be sufficient to cover expenditures through the period ending June 30, 1948, for the program for both Greece and Turkey. Whether further expenditures may be required for a successful conclusion of the program cannot now be determined. In any event, the successful application of the funds so authorized for Greece and Turkey would improve considerably their economic and their credit position.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE \$350,000,000 RELIEF BILL

The assistance proposed in H. R. 2616 is for essential reconstruction, rehabilitation, and technical assistance needs of Greece. It does not duplicate the assistance which would be extended to Greece under provisions of House Joint Resolution 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war. Under provisions of the relief bill, Greece would receive from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 for minimum requirements to prevent suffering and death from starvation. H. R. 2616 is designed to begin where the relief bill ends, and help the Greek people to start rebuilding their economy, become self-sustaining, and to promote their security and national integrity.

QUESTION OF ASSISTANCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES

The policy toward Greece and Turkey proposed in H. R. 2616 is in accord with the statement made by the President when he addressed the Congress on March 12, 1947, and said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

It must not be taken for granted that assistance identical with that proposed for Greece and Turkey will be extended to other countries. Any similar situations that may arise in the future must be considered in the light of conditions existing at the time and would, necessarily, require consideration and study by the Congress. A table of appropriations, requested for assistance to foreign countries and a table of estimated expenditures on behalf of foreign countries, appears on page 387 of the hearings on H. R. 2616.

UNITED STATES ATTITUDE TOWARD EXISTING GOVERNMENTS IN GREECE AND TURKEY

As stated in the beginning of this report, the purpose of the aid proposed is to enable the peoples of Greece and Turkey to maintain their freedom and independence. The Department of State was asked, "Is it our purpose to support the present Greek Government; that is, the monarch? Is it our proposal to support the present Turkish Government? In other words, What will be our attitude toward the domestic control of internal affairs in these countries?" The Department's answer was as follows:

It is our primary purpose to assist the Greek people, so that they may retain the opportunity to choose the form and composition of their Government in accordance with the wish of the majority. This also applies to Turkey. We do not conceive it to be our function to influence the judgment of these two peoples with regard to their Governments. If the Greek people wish to have a king, just as the British wish to have one, and the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Dutch, that is a matter for them to decide.

Whatever we may do to assist Greece and Turkey, we propose scrupulously to respect the sovereignty of those countries with respect to the conduct of their internal as well as their external affairs.

PROPOSED ASSISTANCE NOT INTERVENTION

The Greek and Turkish Governments have themselves requested the assistance proposed in this bill. Government witnesses testified that the greatest care will be exercised to avoid any action which could be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of either country.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY CONSTITUTES A SINGLE PROBLEM

Although manifested in different ways in each country, the pressures being brought to bear against Greece and Turkey spring from the same external sources. Greece and Turkey are so closely linked geographically that a threat against the security of one immediately

becomes an indirect threat against the freedom and independence of the other. Therefore, to extend aid to Greece and deny it to Turkey or vice versa could vitiate the results of the assistance program and ultimately nullify the effects of aid extended to either alone.

THE COMMITTEE HEARINGS

The Committee on Foreign Affairs held 17 meetings on H. R. 2616, 9 meetings in open session and 8 in executive session. During these meetings, the committee heard testimony from the following official witnesses:

Hon. Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State.

Hon. Robert P. Patterson, Secretary of War.

Hon. James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. William L. Clayton, Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs.

Hon. John L. Sullivan, Under Secretary of the Navy.

Hon. Lincoln MacVeagh, United States Ambassador to Greece.

Hon. Edwin C. Wilson, United States Ambassador to Turkey.

Hon. Paul A. Porter, Chief, American Economic Mission to Greece.

Rear Adm. Frank L. Wooldridge, Assistant Chief Naval Officer for Political Military Affairs.

Brig. Gen. George A. Lincoln.

Lt. Col. Allen C. Miller, assistant military attaché, United States Embassy, Athens, Greece.

In addition, the committee heard testimony from the Honorable Fred L. Crawford, Representative from the State of Michigan, former Representative Hamilton Fish, and former Representative Edward L. Stokes.

The following persons and organizations also presented their views to the committee:

Charles G. Bolte, American Veterans' Committee.

Charles F. Boss, Jr., Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church.

Gerard Bye, Philadelphia Youth Council to Oppose Conscription.

Henry J. Cadbury, American Friends Service Committee.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.

William C. Gausmann, the Socialist Party.

John H. Haas.

Hoyt S. Haddock, CIO maritime committee.

Samuel Guy Inmann, guest professor, Ohio Wesleyan University.

Corliss Lamont, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.

Frederick J. Libby, National Council for Prevention of War.

Hamilton A. Long.

Katharine Lee Marshall, Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom.

A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Frank Olmstead, War Resisters League.

Martin Popper, National Lawyers Guild.

Walter W. Sikes, Disciples of Christ Churches.

Alson J. Smith, Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Russell Smith, National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America.

Anna Lord Strauss, League of Women Voters of the United States.

Mabel Vernon, People's Mandate Committee for Inter-American Peace and Cooperation.

Max Winkler.

EXPLANATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

Section 1 of the bill authorizes the President, upon the request of the Governments of Greece and Turkey and when he deems it in the national interest, to furnish assistance to these countries upon terms and conditions determined by him. The assistance authorized includes financial aid in the forms of loans, credits, grants, or other form of financial aid; the detail of persons in the employ of the Government to assist those countries; the detail of a limited number of members of the military services of the United States, to assist in an advisory capacity only; and provision for the transfer and procurement of articles, services, and information and for the instruction and training of personnel of those countries. The effect of the clause "notwithstanding the provisions of any other law," in section 1, is to insure that statutes inconsistent with or partially dealing with the subject matter covered by the provisions of this section be not construed so as to prohibit the effective carrying out of the terms of the section.

Persons detailed under the authority of section 1 are entitled to the rights, privileges, benefits, and status authorized under existing legislation with respect to persons, civilian or military, as the case may be, detailed to assist the Governments specified in such legislation, without limitation of the authority of the President to provide for the detail of such persons in a manner which will permit the most effective administration in the field of the programs of assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Section 2 permits the speediest and most effective use, in terms of assistance needed by Greece and Turkey, of such funds as are authorized in the bill. Subsection (a) prescribes the manner of allocation of funds to the agencies of the Government through which the President may act to provide assistance. Subsection (b) empowers the President to authorize the agencies of the Government to furnish such assistance on the basis of advance payments. By virtue of subsection (c), when any property which is surplus to the needs of any agency of the Government is transferred to Greece or Turkey under the bill, any funds received in payment therefor are required to be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts. The purpose of subsection (d) of section 2 is to prohibit the furnishing of any articles or services to Greece and Turkey under the bill unless they are paid for either from funds authorized by the bill or from funds paid in advance by the government receiving such articles or services.

Section 3 provides that before assistance is furnished, the Governments of Greece and Turkey shall agree to certain reasonable undertakings, consistent with the sovereign independence of these countries, which provide the United States with proper safeguards against the improper use of the assistance furnished. These undertakings include permission to appropriate representatives of the United States Government to observe the utilization of the assistance furnished, and per-

mission to representatives of the American press and radio to observe freely and report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance. Such conditions are, of course, intended to maintain, rather than impair the sovereign independence or internal security of the two countries. Other conditions are that the governments receiving assistance shall not make unauthorized transfer or use of articles, or unauthorized use or disclosure of any information furnished to them; shall make such security provisions as the President may require with respect to any article, service, or information furnished; and shall not use the proceeds of any financial aid for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such Governments by any other foreign government.

In order that the most urgent needs for assistance may be promptly met, section 4 of the bill authorizes the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make available not to exceed \$100,000,000 until such time as an appropriation shall be made to carry out the purposes of the bill. This section also authorizes the appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 from which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation shall be repaid for the funds made available by it.

Under section 5 the President is authorized to prescribe rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of the bill and to exercise any power or authority conferred upon him through such agency or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

Section 6 (sec. 7 of the amended bill) provides for the submission by the President of quarterly reports to the Congress of expenditures and activities under the authority of the bill.

During its consideration of the bill the committee approved nine amendments.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS TO H. R. 2616

1. The first amendment consists of the addition of the following language at the end of subsection 2 of section 1:

Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Its purpose is for obvious security reasons.

2. The second amendment is identical with an amendment adopted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to S. 938, and is designed to clarify the authority conferred on the President to incur and defray necessary expenses incident to carrying out this program. In addition, the term "necessary expenses" is expressly stated to include administrative expenses and compensation of personnel. This amendment was recommended by the legal counsels of the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the State Department.

The amendment: In section 2 (a) delete, after the word "Act", the comma and the words "and any necessary expenses related thereto" and the comma thereafter. In section 1, delete the word "and" at the end of subsection (3) and at the end of subsection (4), delete the comma, insert a semicolon and the word "and" and insert thereafter a new subsection (5) reading as follows:

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

3. The third amendment was suggested to the committee by the General Accounting Office, and consists of the deletion of the words "by it" from the last line of subsection (a) of section 2. The recommendation of the General Accounting Office was as follows:

The underscored words (by it) in the above-quoted provision imply that appropriations, funds, or accounts may be established by the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, whereas such accounts actually are established by the General Accounting Office pursuant to law and in cooperation with the Treasury Department.

In order to avoid any possible doubt or confusion in the administration of section 2, it is suggested, for the consideration of your committee, that the words "by it" in line 4, page 3, of H. R. 2616 (original print of the bill) be deleted.

4. The fourth amendment is simply a clarifying amendment to subsection (b) of section 2. The wording "accounts for such countries established for the purpose" has been changed by the amendment to read "such countries in accounts established for the purpose."

5. The fifth amendment is identical with a Senate amendment to section 3, and would require the recipient governments, as a condition precedent to receiving assistance, to agree not to use the financial assistance granted in order to make payments on their debts to foreign countries. The purpose of the amendment is clear and the committee agreed the objective is a desirable one.

The amendment: Delete the word "and" at the end of subsection (c) of section 3, strike out the period after the word "Act" at the end of subsection (d), insert a semicolon and the following new subsection:

and (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government;

6. The sixth amendment was adopted by the committee to insure that proper and full credit is given to the United States in Greece and Turkey for the aid extended to those countries, by providing that full and continuous publicity be given in those countries "as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein * * *".

The amendment: After subsection (3) of section 3, add a new subsection as follows:

and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

7. The seventh amendment contains the "Vandenberg amendment" which has been adopted by the Senate in its consideration of S. 938. Its purpose is to demonstrate beyond any possible question the good faith of the United States and the loyalty of our Government to the United Nations and the ideals for which it stands. The United States is responding to the appeal of Greece and Turkey inasmuch as the United Nations is not yet in a position to render the kind of assistance required at the present time. By this amendment, however, our Government invites action by the United Nations and indicates its willingness to withdraw any or all aid authorized by the bill whenever the United Nations, by action of either the Security Council or the General Assembly, finds that its own program of action or of assistance to Greece and Turkey make the continuance of American assistance unnecessary or undesirable. Moreover, with

respect to any such vote in the Security Council the United States would expressly waive the exercise of any veto.

The "Vandenberg amendment" comprises subsections (1), (2), and (3), of section 5 of the bill. The committee added another subsection, (4), designed to further strengthen the safeguards of section 3 of the bill.

The amendment: At the end of section 5, insert the following:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

8. The eighth amendment, which is self-explanatory, consists of adding a new section 6 and changing the number of the present section 6 to 7.

The amendment:

SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

9. The ninth amendment is designed to make possible a closer check by the Congress of the assistance extended to Greece and Turkey pursuant to the provisions of this bill by requiring that the quarterly reports of the President to the Congress shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments.

The amendment: In the last section of the bill, numbered 7 as amended, after the word "activities" insert "which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments."

COMPLIANCE OF REPORT WITH RAMSEYER RULE

Section 1 of H. R. 2616 provides that provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, and the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such acts, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to paragraphs 2 and 3 of H. R. 2616.

In accordance with clause 2a of rule XIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, there are included in this report the applicable provisions of those two acts.

Provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended:

Provided further, That while so detailed, such person shall be considered, for the purpose of preserving his rights and privileges as such, an officer or employee of the Government of the United States and of the department or agency from which detailed and shall continue to receive therefrom compensation, and he may receive additional compensation from the department or agency from which detailed not to exceed 50 per centum of the compensation he was receiving as an officer or employee of the United States at the time of detail, and shall receive

from the United States reimbursement for travel expenses to and from the place of detail and monthly allowances determined by the President to be adequate for quarters and subsistence during the period of such detail.

Provisions of the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended:

Provided, That the officers and enlisted men so detailed be, and they are hereby, authorized to accept from the government to which detailed offices and such compensation and emoluments thereunto appertaining as may be first approved by the Secretary of War or by the Secretary of the Navy, as the case may be: *Provided further*, That while so detailed such officers and enlisted men shall receive, in addition to the compensation and emoluments allowed them by such governments, the pay and allowances whereto entitled in the United States Army, Navy, and Marine Corps and shall be allowed the same credit for longevity, retirement, and for all other purposes that they would receive if they were serving with the forces of the United States.

UNITED STATES NOT ASSUMING BRITISH OBLIGATIONS

It is quite clear to the committee that the proposed legislation is not based in any way upon the idea that the United States should assume the obligations or take over any position which Great Britain may have had in either Greece or Turkey. Rather, this legislation would enable the United States to pursue a positive policy of its own in its own interest, in the interest of Greece and Turkey, and in the interest of world peace based on the principles of the United Nations. In extending aid of the character proposed, the United States would not be underwriting the position of any other power or interfering with the legitimate interests of any other power.

EXTENT OF PREVIOUS AID BY THE UNITED STATES

Greece

The United States Government has made available to the Greek Government up to the beginning of 1947 approximately \$451,500,000, as indicated below. This includes the United States share of UNRRA shipments to Greece, amounting to \$255,000,000 (excluding freight). Of this total of \$451,500,000, approximately \$56,000,000 is available for further use in the future.

United States aid to Greece

[In millions of dollars]

United States agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
Export-Import Bank	\$25.0	\$5.2	\$19.8
OFLC surplus credit	45.0	23.8	21.2
Maritime Commission	45.0	30.0	15.0
Lend-Lease	81.5	81.5	
Total	196.5	140.5	56.0
UNRRA	255.0		
Total	451.5		

Turkey

A summary of United States aid from the beginning of the war to January 31, 1947, shows that the United States Government has made available to Turkey \$130,979,811, of which \$101,051,769 has been disbursed, leaving \$29,928,042 available for further use.

UNRRA, to which the United States contributed, has made no advances to Turkey.

Summary

United States agency	Authorized	Disbursed	Remainder available
Export-Import Bank:			
Westinghouse.....	\$3,060,000		\$3,060,000
Exporter credit.....	25,000,000	\$4,905,440	20,094,560
OFLC credits.....	10,000,000	3,226,518	6,773,482
Lend-Lease.....	190,000,000	90,000,000	
Maritime Commission.....	2,919,811	2,919,811	
Total.....	130,979,811	101,051,769	29,928,042

¹ In addition, the Turkish Government received \$5,000,000 in lend-lease articles for which it paid cash.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEM

The United Nations was created to maintain peace and promote human rights. The action proposed in H. R. 2616 is consistent with and implements the basic objectives of the United Nations Charter. The assistance to Greece and Turkey requested by the President is designed to create conditions of political and economic stability which will preserve the freedom and independence of Greece and Turkey.

The Greek Government has requested the assistance of both the United States and the United Nations and a commission appointed by the Security Council is due to report in the near future on the disturbed conditions along the northern Greek border. It is our belief that this report will demonstrate the need for this aid.

The type of assistance which Greece and Turkey have asked the United States to furnish cannot be extended now by the United Nations. Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson said in his testimony before the committee (p. 3 of the hearings) that—

The crisis in Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives. We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid which Greece has asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United Nations.

At the present moment, the United Nations is without funds or resources to meet any acute need or condition in the world, and is without the peace-maintaining military organization provided for in the Charter.

The problems faced by Greece and Turkey are attributable to the same causes which are responsible for delaying the full development of the United Nations.

The first-aid assistance provided by this bill would pave the way for other types of aid which may eventually be rendered under the auspices of the United Nations, as indicated by the comprehensive recommendations of the Food and Agriculture Organization's mission for Greece.

PEACE PROMOTED BY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

The proposed assistance to Greece and Turkey is aimed at the establishment and maintenance of political and economic security and would be a positive move for the preservation of world peace, through the encouragement it would give in all regions of the world to the forces promoting the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

If such pressures as are now being exerted against Greece and Turkey were permitted to result in the loss of independence of those countries, similar political disorder and economic disruption might easily spread, thus endangering the peace of the world.

CONCLUSION

The committee is convinced that the national integrity of the Greek and Turkish peoples is being challenged and threatened by circumstances beyond their control. Powerful pressures are being exerted against both countries by outside elements which seek control without regard to the principles guaranteed by the United Nations Charter. These pressures are being exerted at a time when the United Nations, certain of its functional powers undeveloped through delay inspired by the same sources, is not equipped to establish political and economic stability in that area.

The proposed legislation would enable the United States, in this crisis, to support the United Nations by pursuing a positive policy in behalf of Greece and Turkey, in its own interest and in the interest of maintaining world peace based on the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs urges the enactment of H. R. 2616 as expeditiously as possible.

ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF MR. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK

With the enactment of this bill, the United States will have begun the assumption of world responsibilities which will determine the fate of civilization for a century and whether we shall have peace in our time; for it is the very essence of the bill that we now consider our frontiers to be in the Pindus Mountains of Greece and on the Turkish shores of the Black Sea. There are two justifications given for undertaking this responsibility: (1) To stop at an early moment the onward march of a Communist ideology which is opposed to the freedom of the individual and the private economy which are the basis of our system; and (2) to obtain an opportunity for the reconstruction of the nations of the world free from the pressure of hunger and despair so that they shall have a chance to choose the kind of society they want without being forcibly seized from within in the interim by a Communist minority. But this program, I believe most will agree, should have been undertaken through the United Nations if the United Nations were in a position to carry the burdens involved. This, it is said, the United Nations cannot do. If we are to assume that to be the case, we must at least endeavor to fortify the United Nations in every respect in which we can do so without compromising the essential objectives of this legislation.

The hope of our world lies not in unilateral but in collective action. Unilateral action, whether of defense or offense, has inevitably led to war. The League of Nations failed to save us from war but we were not a member of the League. We are a member of the United Nations and its strongest member. If it fails, we fail. In order to carry out in the bill these fundamental principles, it requires amendment in three respects:

(1) To initiate a proceeding before the United Nations simultaneously with giving assistance to Turkey, which will put efforts to relieve the pressure on Turkey at least on a parity with the procedure taken through the appointment by the Security Council of the Balkan Inquiry Commission to relieve the external pressure on Greece. It is noteworthy that already the northern border of Greece is being sealed off through the mere fact of having a United Nations inquiry, even before there is a report. If Turkey is under enough of such pressure to warrant United States aid then she is also under enough such pressure to warrant consideration of the situation by the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations and the initiation of measures to relieve that pressure. At least then we would be doing all we could to get the United Nations into the problem with a view toward a solution at the same time that we are initiating United States aid to Turkey.

(2) To require as a condition of relief that the people of any country assisted shall have a government supported by a majority of them. If we are seeking to help democracy as contrasted

with communism then we must strive for democratic and representative governments in the countries which we assist, and if it is impractical to obtain immediately the reform of existing regimes, at least we must be trying to do so.

(3) To provide, as a condition for continuing our assistance, that each country benefited shall take all economic and governmental action possible to advance its own reconstruction. Unless such an amendment is adopted the whole purpose of the assistance granted may be negated through imprudent policies of the government assisted on such matters as taxation, fiscal and currency policy, wage and price relationships and utilization of foreign exchange.

As we take this momentous step in American foreign policy, we must show our skill and capacity in respect to the administration of the policy to be commensurate with its importance.

JACOB K. JAVITS.

MINORITY VIEWS OF MR. SMITH OF WISCONSIN

The undersigned respectfully disagrees with the majority members of the committee which has reported the bill.

Justification for enactment of the bill must be found in President Truman's speech of March 12 to the Congress. He said: "The foreign policy and the national security are involved." Aside from pointing out the "deplorable situation" in Greece, politically and economically, and the threat to Turkish sovereignty, he was strangely silent as to just how our own national security is involved. Greece and Turkey are a long way from the United States of America.

There can be no doubt that the President has embarked upon a new foreign policy for this country. He now seeks congressional approval, so it is up to us. One writer has said that it is a global anti-Communist policy. It is far more extensive than the Monroe Doctrine and, historically, more uncertain and much more dangerous. This is what he said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.

The implications of this policy are so great that even the President's advisers in the State and Armed Services Departments refused to venture a guess as to what it will cost or where it will ultimately lead. If the bill is adopted in its present form it will commit the United States to unlimited expenditures of money and resources and call for military expeditions in an effort to support free peoples all over the world. It is the certain course to imperialism and the imposition of permanent conscription upon our people.

It is quite obvious that Mr. Truman has failed to consider all the implications of his policy at home and abroad. At home, wide segments of our people oppose this program because of this uncertainty. Abroad, many nations other than Russia wonder if this plan will ultimately affect them or interfere with their policies. Historians tell us that President Monroe took no such chance when he announced the Monroe Doctrine. He sounded out those nations that might become involved in such a policy. He was absolutely sure of all the implications involved. This is not the case with the President.

This issue is now squarely before the people. Under our form of government the Congress will accept or reject the "Truman policy." We believe the evidence submitted in support of it fails to meet the burden of proof. It is designed, so we are informed, to "stop the onward rush of communism." This is wishful thinking and propaganda aimed to gain popular support. More about that later.

The President has said that the situation in Greece and Turkey is a threat to our "national security" and hence we must appropriate \$400,000,000 to stop the rush of communism. In Greece, communistic bands in the north, aided by Tito and other pro-Soviet leaders, threaten the established Government in Greece. The situation in Turkey is different, in that some 20 Russian divisions are massed on

the border and the preservation of its integrity is essential to order in the Middle East. The internal situations in these countries are entirely different. The Greeks are in a bad way, financially and politically, but that is nothing new. Since 1823, historians say that Greece has been sustained by loans from other countries. The British, French, Germans, and Italians have at some time bolstered the economy of that nation. Now it is proposed that we, in time of peace, should step in and carry the burden which the others left off.

Turkey has a strong government, politically and economically, and its only need is for modern military equipment. Weapons which it has are obsolete, and new arms call for instruction by men who have led modern armies.

With utmost respect, I challenge the President's sincerity when he calls upon us to stop communism in those countries because it is a threat to our national security. We yield to no one in our desire to stop communism, for it is a diabolic ideology; it is un-Christian, and would set up a police state to govern men. Is it not, however, wholly inconsistent to stop communism in Turkey and Greece, at an original investment of 400 million dollars, while communism is rampant in these United States? And how much money would the President invest to stamp out communism in this country? He has suggested that it would cost 50 million dollars. What kind of consistency is this, 400 million abroad and 50 million at home?

The fact is that President Truman does not fear the spread of communism in this country at all. He has said so in plain, understandable language. In reply to ex-Gov. George H. Earle, of Pennsylvania, he said in part:

People are very much wrought up about the Communist "bugaboo," but I am of the opinion that the country is perfectly safe so far as communism is concerned—we have too many sane people.

In this country the President says communism is a bug-a-boo, but in Turkey and Greece it's a threat to our national security. This is utter nonsense. It is a wholly inconsistent position and especially so when it is recalled that on March 22 Mr. Truman issued an Executive order that Communists and Communist sympathizers be removed from their Government jobs because they are a threat to "our democratic processes." What kind of hocus-pocus and double talk is this?

If there is a threat to our security it comes by way of pressure by Russia upon Greece and Turkey. Russia wants a share in the control of the Dardanelles and the Middle East oil fields. It could well be that there is this threat, but the President did not predicate his request upon that premise. He is avoiding the real issue. His responsibility is to spell out clearly that our objective is a military one. There is hardly any proof that it aims to put down communism.

I am opposed to this bill because:

1. It is uncertain as to scope and cost.
2. It is a serious threat to our entire social and economic structure, as it will eventually lead to war. It could easily bankrupt the Nation.
3. Aggressive action against Russia will result in dividing the world into two armed forces. This would lead to an unbridled race for armaments. War and bankruptcy would be certain.
4. There is no justification for bypassing the United Nations Organization, even though we believed it was important to act.

If we believe in collective security, that Organization should have been requested to act. We have now dealt it a blow from which it can never recover.

President Truman came to the Congress on March 12 and said we were suddenly in the middle of an international crisis and something must be done about it before the end of the month as the British were pulling out. Almost 30 days have elapsed, and nothing has happened. Members of this committee know that the State Department was well aware as to what was happening in Greece, and this knowledge is certainly chargeable to the President. What kind of leadership is this?

Felix Morley, Human Events, March 5, 1947, said:

As the sun sinks slowly on the British Empire it would seem time for the American people to ask themselves, very seriously, whether their leadership in the last 10 years has been sufficiently forthright or sufficiently intelligent to encourage trust and confidence now.

The test will come on the vote for or against this bill. If Members of this Congress hear the voices of their constituents it will be an emphatic "No."

How long will it take to realize the limits of our possibilities to help the world? In World War I, it was to sacrifice in order to make the world safe for democracy. Our treasure in life and property was shed unselfishly upon that altar. Then we defeated German militarism and the Kaiser. From 1939 to 1941 we "inched" our way into World War II. Then it was to destroy Hitler and nazism; under the Atlantic Charter we were pledged to eliminate fear from the world and to make peace and freedom secure. In 1941 we became an ally with Russia; we furnished it with that military equipment which ultimately helped to drive the Germans to defeat. We have sacrificed billions of dollars, thousands of lives, and untold and irreplaceable resources in this last war. For what? That is what troubles our people today; that is why they are confused.

The time has now come to save our own land and the heritage we received. The world looks to us for leadership; but if we become weak and impotent, if we dissipate our resources and spread ourselves too thinly, it will look elsewhere for that leadership, to the next strong nation. Call this what you will; but we believe it is realism, in the light of world conditions. To follow the President means that we are again embarking upon a course that calls for the exercise of force, not in the United States but thousands of miles from it. It will not make for peace—but war.

The Honorable Joseph P. Kennedy recently said that before other foreign grants or loans are considered by our Government we should take stock to find out (a) what we have, (b) what we need to maintain our own life, (c) what is sought of us abroad, and (d) what good purpose it will serve. The preponderance of the testimony by top-flight Government officials who appeared in support of this legislation indicated that they have no idea as to what we have or what will be the upshot of the policy advocated in this measure. Secretary of War Patterson was frank to admit that if the objective sought in this legislation was not achieved he did not know what our policy would be from then on. Obviously, it could only lead to increased military preparation and untold additional expenditures of money.

Our foreign policy should rest upon a real desire to maintain peace and to make secure our own system under which this country has grown and developed to a greater extent than any other on the face of the earth. We, of course, must resist the encroachment of communism which seeks to destroy this country. If this is really our purpose, it is essential that we survey our resources, which should be done before any further commitments are considered. It has been pointed out that there are approximately \$100,000,000,000 in short-term internal obligations, and in view of this situation the United States cannot possibly finance resistance to other systems of government to the extent and for the period proposed or required without impoverishing this Nation. Even with the expenditure of all of the money today, there is no definite assurance that we can meet the objective sought in this bill. If we impoverish ourselves we will be in extreme danger of a forced importation of the very political philosophy we are trying to check elsewhere.

I believe the wise policy is to keep the American way of life as strong as our resources can make it. This is the way for the United States. Let us face the issue without equivocation.

LAWRENCE H. SMITH.



H. R. 2616

[Report No. 314]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 18, 1947

Mr. EATON introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

APRIL 25, 1947

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the
4 President may from time to time when he deems it in the
5 interests of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and
6 Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms
7 and conditions determined by him—

8 (1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans,
9 credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

10 (2) by detailing to assist those countries any per-
11 sons in the employ of the Government of the United

States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: *Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;*

(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph; ~~and~~

(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those ~~countries~~, *countries; and*

(5) *by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.*

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction

1 Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the
2 appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may
3 be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act,—and
4 ~~any necessary expenses related thereto,~~ to any depart-
5 ment, agency, or independent establishment of the Govern-
6 ment. Any amount so allocated shall be available as
7 advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the
8 option of the department, agency, or independent establish-
9 ment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or
10 accounts existing or established ~~by it~~ for the purpose.

11 (b) Whenever the President requires payment in ad-
12 vance by the government of Greece or of Turkey for assist-
13 ance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with
14 this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to
15 ~~accounts for such countries established for the purpose such~~
16 *countries in accounts established for the purpose.* Sums
17 from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments,
18 agencies, or independent establishments of the Government
19 which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in
20 the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the
21 same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of
22 this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as
23 reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

24 (c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under sub-
25 section (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement,

1 the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering
2 into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which
3 the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year.
4 Where the head of any department, agency, or independent
5 establishment of the Government determines that replacement
6 of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4)
7 (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in
8 payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous
9 receipts.

10 (d) (1) Payment in advance by the government of
11 Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for
12 any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph
13 (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from
14 funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation
15 under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority
16 of section 4 (b).

17 (2) No department, agency, or independent establishment
18 of the Government shall furnish any articles or services
19 under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or
20 Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements
21 therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this
22 section.

23 SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any
24 assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting
25 such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of

1 United States Government officials for the purpose of observ-
2 ing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in
3 accordance with the undertakings of the recipient govern-
4 ment; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio
5 of the United States to observe freely and to report fully
6 regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to
7 transfer, without the consent of the President of the United
8 States, title to or possession of any article or information
9 transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such
10 consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of
11 any such information by or to anyone not an officer, em-
12 ployee, or agent of the recipient government; ~~and~~ (d) to
13 make such provisions as may be required by the President
14 of the United States for the security of any article, service,
15 or information received pursuant to this Act; *and (e) not to*
16 *use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant,*
17 *or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this Act*
18 *for the making of any payment on account of the principal*
19 *or interest on any loan made to such government by any*
20 *other foreign government; and (f) to give full and con-*
21 *tinuous publicity within such country as to the purpose,*
22 *source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United*
23 *States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to*
24 *this Act.*

1 SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any
2 other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is au-
3 thorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation
4 shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section,
5 to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,-
6 000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such
7 manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

8 (b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to
9 the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the
10 provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under³
11 this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction
12 Finance Corporation the advances made by it under sub-
13 section (a) of this section.

14 SEC. 5. The President may from time to time pre-
15 scribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and
16 proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and
17 he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon
18 him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency,
19 independent establishment, or officer of the Government as
20 he shall direct.

21 *The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid*
22 *authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:*

23 (1) *If requested by the Government of Greece or*
24 *Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the*
25 *people of either such nation;*

1 (2) *If the President is officially notified by the*
2 *United Nations that the Security Council finds (with*
3 *respect to which finding the United States waives the*
4 *exercise of any veto) or that the General Assembly finds*
5 *that action taken or assistance furnished by the United*
6 *Nations makes the continuance of such assistance un-*
7 *necessary or undesirable;*

8 (3) *If the President finds that any purposes of the*
9 *Act have been substantially accomplished by the action*
10 *of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds*
11 *that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory*
12 *accomplishment; and*

13 (4) *If the President finds that any of the assurances*
14 *given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.*

15 SEC. 6. *Assistance to any country under this Act may,*
16 *unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by*
17 *concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.*

18 SEC. 6 7. *The President shall submit to the Congress*
19 *quarterly reports of expenditures and activities which shall*
20 *include uses of funds by the recipient governments under*
21 *authority of this Act.*

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2616

[Report No. 314]

A BILL

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

By Mr. EATON

MARCH 18, 1947

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

APRIL 25, 1947

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

as those from the libraries of Aaron Burr, Jonathan Edwards, and other early Princeton leaders.

Among the great collections that will be sheltered on the top three floors will be the Gest Oriental library of 100,000 volumes, the Morton L. Parrish collection of first editions of Victorian novelists, the Philip Ashton Rollins collection of western Americana, the Grenville Kane collection of Americana, the Robert Garrett collection of 10,000 volumes of Arabic manuscripts, the graphic arts collections, the William Seymour Theater collection, the Woodrow Wilson collection, and the philatelic and numismatic collections.

A good library affords a miraculous opportunity to reasoning human beings to advance their education by beginning where others left off, with a minimum waste of time and avoidance of the uncomfortable pains of too many courses in the hard school of experience.

To make the best out of a good library, the facilities for research are of vital importance. In this latter feature, the Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library excels.

Princeton University is demonstrating a far-sighted and progressive policy in this project.

Brooks' Courage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. C. WAYLAND BROOKS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 25 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Brooks' Courage," appearing in the Illinois State Journal of Springfield, Ill., on Friday, April 18, 1947.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BROOKS' COURAGE

United States Senator C. WAYLAND BROOKS, Republican stalwart from Illinois, displayed a soldier's courage Wednesday when he criticized the proposed Greco-Turkish \$400,000,000 aid program as leading to countless Pearl Harbors and Bataans around the world, as well as national bankruptcy. Brooks spoke not only as a representative of Illinoisans in the Senate of the United States, but as a veteran who has been under fire in war, who knows what war in its bitterest phases is.

The Senator appended to his criticism the explanation that he held no truck with Communists or communism, which at least pretends to oppose the aid program, but WAYLAND BROOKS need not have taken time out for that. All of Illinois knows he is as militant an opponent of communism as lives. Nor will anyone in Illinois misunderstand.

Brooks' prime interest is to conserve American strength. He knows, and so does every other informed Illinoisan, that unless we remain strong, we shall become an impotent target in the not distant future for whatever nation or influence chooses to take us over. History on that point is immutable.

There is another angle. A growing number of Americans are beginning to suspect

that the paraded Russian and communistic opposition to the Truman doctrine is camouflage. It isn't the wish of communism that Uncle Sam conserve either his muscles or his resources. Communism wants us weakened, at least to the point of vulnerability to communistic conquest. They could, and would if it served their purpose, blatantly wave the flag against an aid program such as is contemplated, just for the purpose of insuring its adoption.

Brooks' position is in the interest of American security. He maintains we cannot pour out arms and substance and stay out of trouble. The historic sequel of that argument is, we never have.

Italy in Danger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN DAVIS LODGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 25, 1947

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer:

ITALY IN DANGER

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

Recent reports reaching this writer from Italy are alarming. Not only are the Communists gaining in strength but the majority of the divided Socialist Party, under the honest but stupid Pietro Nenni, are helping them.

Ex-Fascists and ambitious malcontents of Giannini's Average Man (Uomo Qualunque) Party are also growing. In foreign affairs, this party is nationalist and cynically ready to cooperate with anybody who will help them. They dislike communism but dislike democracy even more.

The west-oriented or democratic parties still nominally control the government. Most people think that in an election held now under the shadow of the unjust Big-Four decision giving Istria to Yugoslavia and internationalizing Trieste, communism and fascism would eat even more deeply into Italy's weakened politic.

Nobody can properly blame the Communists and the Fascists. Both are acting according to their natures. Italy pretty well fulfills the conditions that Communist theorists consider prerequisite to revolution. Communist Leader Palmiro Togliatti is a hardened, intelligent conspirator so well thought of by the Communist fathers in Moscow that he has been made strategical leader of the Communist Parties in all western Europe. The strategy—as everywhere the Communists do not yet dare an open insurrection—is the "patriotic line" and a common front with other "democratic" (meaning pro-Russian) parties. Given the humiliation of defeat and loss of really Italian territory and the physical misery now prevalent throughout this poor and overpopulated country, the growth of communism was a foregone conclusion.

Some revival of fascism was also doubtless to be expected.

But that communism and fascism should have grown so quickly to their present proportions is due, in my judgment, to the short-sighted policies of Britain and the United States. Looking back, one can see clearly how when we prevented the armed revolution that would have buried the worst Fascists and permanently converted the others, we prepared the ground for a new bid for power by some new Mussolini.

Our support of the King, Prince Umberto and Badoglio cost us the confidence of many democratic Italians. The choice of the ultra-businessman, "Admiral" Elyer Stone as chief military authority, cost us a lot more.

Failure to keep western Istria and Trieste safely Italian was a minor democratic disaster.

Underestimating and undercrediting the Partisans who fought consistently and well on our side was another.

Probably the greatest of our mistakes was in overplaying the Vatican. Most male Italians—it cannot too often be said—are both Roman Catholic—and consistently anticlerical. By this I mean they revere priests in churches and resent priests in politics.

There was some reason for our backing the church. Once the Italian Government collapsed, the church was the only reliable concern left. But by giving preferential treatment to a confessional organization to which more than three quarters of all Americans do not subscribe, we alienated large numbers of Italians and drove them into the arms of Moscow.

It should have been our task to bring socialists, democrats and old fashioned liberals together with the Christian Democrats. When the test came, the Communists, whose only principal is subservience to Moscow, voted for renewing the Lateran Pacts that made Catholicism the state religion. The Socialists, by voting against, widened the gulf separating them from the Christian Democrats.

Italy can yet be saved. At long last, the United States has an Ambassador, James Clement Dunn. Whether this pious American Catholic can bring all the anti-Communist, anti-Fascist groups together remains to be seen.

The American Senate is helping by what looks like a flat refusal to ratify or even discuss the peace treaty with Italy until there is a satisfactory treaty with Austria. The Senators are insisting that our military evacuation of Italy (disarmed by the peace treaty) shall not precede Soviet evacuation of Austria—the necessary prelude for Soviet evacuation of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. It is believed that left to themselves, the Yugoslavs will hardly dare to jump an internationalized Trieste or move into Venice even if invited by Togliatti.

Pro-Moscow conspirators are clearly aiming at making Italy a second and larger Greece. It is up to us to prevent them.

Certainly, nothing could be more futile than an American security investment in Greece and Turkey if we are going to permit all Mediterranean security to be undermined in Italy.

Government by Wish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. C. WAYLAND BROOKS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, April 25 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Government by Wish," appearing in the Chicago Daily News of Friday, April 18, 1947.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT BY WISH

Of all the arguments that have been advanced in support of Greco-Turkish inter-

vention, the weakest is that we must proceed if only because President Truman has proposed it. Otherwise his prestige would be damaged, say the supporters of this "loan."

Senator BROOKS attacked this, pleading forcefully in his address opposing the Middle East adventure. Advocates of the \$400,000,000 commitment admit that it is only the beginning. At what point, if any, will regard for national self-interest permit us to say "No" to Mr. Truman? Is ours a government of checks and balances, or merely one of drafts and deficits?

Senator BRIDGES disclosed that the State Department is still exerting pressure to obtain for the Russians another \$25,000,000 of lend-lease, including an oil refinery. Can't somebody tell the left hand that the right is trying to "stop Russia"?

Income-Tax Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 25, 1947

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the Washington (N. J.) Examiner of April 21, 1947:

SMALL FRY CARRY THE LOAD OF UNFAIR INCOME-TAX LAW

Income-tax legislation always has been class legislation and there is no apparent disposition on the part of the present Congress to make it any less so.

Most glaring of its inequities is what it does to the average man, woman, and child working for a living, and the way it discriminates against them as compared to the higher-bracket taxpayers.

This has become even worse since personal and dependent exemptions have been cut to the point where no one will attempt to argue they are comparable to the exemptions granted the big businessman and financier.

Joe Goat, married, two children, annual income \$3,000, is taxed about \$140, all or most taken painlessly from his pay envelope without him ever having had the use of it. There are no slick operations or manipulations he can resort to for the purpose of going off tax-free or reducing his payment substantially.

Joe Grab, married, two children, annual gross income \$300,000, may get stuck for a sizable chunk of tax money. He may, if his lawyers and auditors are slick enough, get by with about the payment Joe Goat makes, maybe without any payment.

Even if he pays \$150,000 tax, he pays it at the end of his fiscal year, after having had the use of the money to make more, to save him from borrowing at interest, or to set up investments that might reduce the size of his ultimate tax.

SPECIAL ALLOWANCES

Joe Grab is most likely deriving income mostly from use of his capital. He has allowances for operating expenses, losses, etc., all legitimate; all, also, allowances that leave the door open for tricky operations to reduce the tax.

Joe Goat likewise is a capitalist. He invests in his job the only important capital he has, the productive years of his life. This is subject to deterioration with use, but he gets no allowance for that on his income tax.

Joe Goat has legitimate expenses. If they are incurred directly on his job, he gets a

tax allowance for them. Otherwise no allowance. He has losses, caused by strikes, sickness, unemployment. These are income losses. He doesn't have to pay tax on the money he would have made but didn't. Neither is he allowed, as Joe Grab is, to deduct these losses from the money he did make, thereby reducing the tax.

The \$300,000 man probably needs several automobiles in his business. One or more of them can be used for getting him to and from his office, and for other personal purposes, and the cost can be deducted from taxable revenue. The \$3,000 man, if he has a car or not, gets no allowance for getting to and from work, or for other personal transportation.

NICE SYSTEM

Joe Grab can have his wife on the pay roll. Her income is deductible from his taxable gross, if she pays tax on it at a considerable saving over what he would have to pay. The fact that her salary pays for the upkeep of his domestic establishment, including education of his children, entertainment and vacations, can give Joe Grab a virtual tax exemption for these outlays.

All expenses of the \$3,000 family must be paid out of Joe Goat's taxable income, with no deductions for them.

There are other expenses Mr. Goat is liable to incur that are a legitimate part of the cost of investing his only capital—his ability to earn a living. Included in these are clothing, laundry and similar expenses that are necessary if he wants to hold his job, but could be much less if he had a different sort of job. He gets no deductions for them.

Joe Grab can have a doctor and a dentist and a chiropodist and a masseur and a physical instructor and a psychiatrist and a garage mechanic and a few other specialists on his pay rolls as necessary adjuncts to his plant or office. Their services can be available, without cost to himself and his family—another form of income tax deduction from living expenses.

Looked at from any standpoint, the income tax does not fall in equal proportion on rich, poor and in-between alike; nor on the just and the unjust.

There is too much leeway for the smart guy, if—and he usually is—he is in the upper brackets.

There is an unfair share of the burden on the low-income individuals and families.

A reasonable start on wiping out the inequities would be to exempt all income up to what Government economists fix as a minimum existence income level—around \$2,500 for Joe Goat and his family at present prices.

The House Labor Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 25, 1947

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Miami Daily News of April 25, 1947:

THE HOUSE LABOR BILL

The omnibus labor bill passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 308-107 forbids jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts, requires open financial reporting by labor unions and makes them financially accountable in the courts, defines unfair labor practices by unions as well as employers and authorizes the Government to obtain a 75-day injunction against a strike in public

services or utilities which would "threaten to imperil" the public "health, safety or interest."

These objectives of the House bill are in keeping with the abuse of its power of which labor has often been guilty in the last decade. The heavy House majority which approved them reflects strong sentiment in the country for greater regulation of the giant labor unions which have so altered the political and economic balance of power in the United States.

Their very size and influence require the open responsibility of labor unions in their financial operations. The very effectiveness of the technique of the strike makes jurisdictional strikes, which represent no actual wage or welfare demands on the workers' part, intolerable. Strikes in an industry vital to the national interest last year twice brought our industrial processes almost to a standstill.

Had the House sought actively to write a law which would curtail labor's excesses, the Nation could look forward to a period of health and security in its industrial life. But the Republican dominated House chose otherwise. It chose to make basic labor legislation a purely political issue and to wrap up constructive objectives with a whole-hog-or-none assault on union labor which, if it were written into law, would open up the most turbulent period in labor-management relations the country has known.

It will not be written into law, even without the certainty of a Presidential veto. The House bill has no chance of passage in the Republican controlled Senate, where much less punitive labor measures have failed of approval in the Labor Committee headed by Senator TAFT. Passage of the House bill merely ensures a split in the Republican congressional leadership which the House, had it sought to curb admitted excesses in labor's power, could have avoided.

Indian Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 25, 1947

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include my statement to the Subcommittee on Appropriations, Interior Department, appropriation bill, 1948, Indian Affairs, February 28, 1947:

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before your subcommittee. My interest in Indian affairs is naturally greater than that of most of my colleagues. I grew up in the Choctaw Nation. Some of my warmest lifelong personal friends are Indians. There are probably more Indians in the congressional district which I am honored to represent than there are in any other congressional district in the United States. Most of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, two of the greatest of the Five Civilized Tribes, reside in my district. Members of these tribes have played an important part in the development of the State of Oklahoma. They occupy positions of leadership in practically every community in my district. Many of them have attained high positions within our State and Federal Governments. They have served honorably and with extraordinary distinction in the great war that has just been won.

I would like to call the committee's attention at this time, to a matter about which

vent inflation. I have endeavored to aid and I have supported all legislation to assist our farmers, aged, blind, crippled, unemployed, and those who toil, our independent and small businessmen, and our boys and girls endeavoring to attend school.

In the 7½ years I have been your Congressman, Congress, with the exception of some 6 months, has been in session all or part of every month. I have been at my post of duty, which is exactly what was requested of the membership of Congress by our Commander in Chief, President Roosevelt, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Navy. Yes; I have been at my post of duty just like each of the 21 Texas Members of the House is at his post of duty, just like every Member of the 435 Members of the House and 96 Members of the Senate is at his post of duty.

I have had 9½ years of legislative experience—7½ years in a wartime Congress dealing with war and postwar measures. I might add I have served on seven committees in Congress. I am the sixth ranking Democratic member of 27 members of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, the only committee on which Speaker RAYBURN served and the committee of which Speaker RAYBURN was chairman when he became majority leader and later Speaker.

Always I'm glad to hear from you; write me any time. I always shall be grateful for your friendship. Call on me any time.

Your friend,

LINDLEY BECKWORTH.

TEN-MAN TEAM

(December 12, 1944)

Mr. BECKWORTH. I wish to extend my remarks and include in the RECORD the title of an article and excerpts from the same article which appeared on page 8 of the Dallas Morning News, July 12, 1944. The article follows:

"TEN-MAN TEAM LED BY MAN HE BEAT FIGHTS BECKWORTH IN DISTRICT 3

"(By David Botter)

"GLADEWATER, TEX., July 11.—An in absentia candidate without platform figures as a leading contender for the Third Congressional seat from Texas in the primary campaign of LINDLEY BECKWORTH for a fourth term.

"Instead of a personal campaign, — will be backed by a team of 10 top-ranking east Texas political leaders and attorneys who will stump the district in his behalf.

"BECKWORTH, who upset dope in 1938 by vanquishing the veteran Morgan Sanders, of Canton, and a group of other leading officeholders with more political know-how, is the principal campaign issue.

"Sanders, the man BECKWORTH defeated; Judge Merrit Gibson, of Longview, one of the leading forces which delivered the uninstructed Democratic delegation to Chicago from the State convention in Austin, May 23, and first public advocate of free electors from Texas; Jim Strong, of Carthage; Jack Price, of Longview; W. N. Jones, of Mineola; W. Edward Lee, of Tyler; Carroll and Leslie Florence, of Gilmer; Judge W. R. Hughes, of Longview; and Vernon McDavid, of Henderson.

"They will stump the district consisting of eight counties in the East Texas oil-field area, alleging that BECKWORTH has done nothing for the district in Congress and that the area lacks representation.

"BECKWORTH's platform for reelection shows that he has supported every war measure submitted to Congress, that he advocated fortification of Guam, and has come on down the line in support of the full war program, including endorsement and support of the GI bill of rights.

"The apple-cheeked Congressman, who won election to Congress after one term in the State legislature, went into office the hard way. Lacking sufficient funds for a costly campaign, he used his own personality and his own contacts to win the race from a field.

"He used a loud speaker and toured the side roads, talking with farmers, running his own race against the field. He had his family's assistance. His father, O. J. Beckworth, was his constant adviser and assistant in that race.

"A member of the powerful Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of the House, BECKWORTH's work in recent months has been concentrated in two subcommittees of this group, one dealing with investigation of brand names and newsprint, and another working on civil aviation matters.

"The Congressman is running on a strong war effort platform and cites his record in that connection.

"In addition, —, of Longview, an attorney, is making an anti-Beckworth campaign; — is running his campaign from his office using postal cards to contact people. The cards are provided for friends who wish to mail them to others.

"Counties in the district are Upshur, Gregg, Van Zandt, Rusk, Smith, Wood, Camp, and Panola. Smith, Gregg, and Rusk form a majority of the district in voting strength.

"The result of the above-mentioned race was that BECKWORTH received in the first primary a clear majority over both his opponents; he carried seven of the eight Third District counties, the exception being Gregg County, the home county of his two opponents; the former county and district official, who had held three offices in Gregg County, received 3,745; BECKWORTH 3,380, a difference of 365."

Intervention in Greece

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. BENDER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 2, 1947

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks, I would like to include the following article in the Fortnightly Commentary, published by Arnold Bernhard & Co., Inc., of New York:

INTERVENTION IN GREECE

A day after this letter goes to press, President Truman will address Congress on the subject of American intervention in Greece. We are of the opinion that even if the United States should establish an anti-Communist regime on the Greek flank of the Dardanelles, Russia would not immediately go to war. But American commitments in Greece, if they are to achieve their purpose, would have to be followed by commitments in other parts of the world, and such extensive undertakings would weaken capitalism in the American sphere. In so doing they would prove to be self-defeating.

American investors are deeply concerned over taxation. Taxation far more than Communistic infiltration is threatening our way of life. Lest this opening sentence be interpreted as an expression of sympathy for the poor millionaire who is forced now to get along without an extra yacht, let it be stated at the outset that the problem of the rich in this day and age is not lack of money to spend. Faced with enormous inheritance taxes and little possibility of retaining in-

come under existing income tax schedules, the rich man finds it easier to spend money today than at any other time in history. If he does not spend his money, his government will. He has every inducement to waste capital and no incentive to save it.

The function of rich people is to accumulate capital with which to produce more goods for poorer people to consume. That they have done so here is proved by the fact that America has the highest standard of living in the history of the world. That they will not be able to do so much longer is proved by the fact that anyone who accumulates income over \$100,000 a year, whether for investment in business or personal spending, must pay back about 87 percent in personal income taxes. Under the conditions, the only large capital that is likely to be accumulated is that which the Government takes in the form of taxes and invests in the form of State-owned enterprises, or that which is accumulated by already established companies. In the absence of all possibility of new competition, these established companies gradually develop into national cartels that in one way or another must be integrated into the Government. In short, under existing tax rates, capital formation will in time become the function of either the Government itself or of industrial cartels integrated into the Government. This is the socialist organization toward which we are blindly moving.

It is against the background of American tax crisis that the proposed intervention in Greece takes on added significance. No one could be naive enough to imagine that the United States of America could gain permanent possession of a flank on the Dardanelles, Russia's only outlet to the Mediterranean, for \$250,000,000. The cost will come much higher than that, not only in terms of the commitment in Greece but also in the collateral undertakings in the Near East, in Europe and in Asia—wherever, in fact, the Russian expansion will have to be bottled up if the new foreign policy is to carry through.

The investor can find no prospect of tax reduction in such a foreign policy. The question he must answer is whether he has a better chance to resist Communism by strengthening capitalism or by aiming a gun at the Russians.

THE SHIFT OF BRITISH POWER

The No. 1 fact of life to hold onto in this maelstrom of postwar political readjustment is that the British are shifting their empire. They are moving out of Asia and east Europe to consolidate in Africa and the Near East. Their great adventure is the chance of developing an Arab world and exploiting Africa. From a speculative standpoint, it seems to be good strategy. Britain has neither the economic sinews nor the firepower to hold India and the Far East or to defend Australia and New Zealand. Her land-based planes probably could hold Africa. There she could obtain raw materials produced with cheap labor to be processed in England for export at a profit to Britain. By agreement with either the United States or Russia she might be able to share the rich oil fields of the Near East, whence would come the oil to power the air force and fleet that would defend the African empire. The Arabs offer a brilliant opportunity, for they are a people of great ability and no organization. Their political life is a jigsaw of feudal rivalries. Their economy is totally undeveloped. Their unity lies in their common Semitic race and in their Catholic Moslem religion, which tolerates no racial discrimination within the legions of the faithful. A relatively small force could balance the powers of the rival Arab potentate while the traditional Anglo-Saxon respect for the other fellow's religion would permit the strengthening of religious ties. A certain amount of

industrialization, carefully planned so as not to compete with British industry, might in time be developed.

The big danger to the British scheme is that the Russians may inject themselves into the Near East and North Africa before the British are able to carry their plans for Africa and the Near East to fruition.

It is here that the next American move becomes decisive. If the United States takes up the position in Greece that the British army is evacuating, the burden of defending the British sphere in Africa and the Near East in its formative period falls upon the United States. Not only is Britain's African Empire then protected, but Britain is in a strategic position later on to shift her alliance toward a Russia exasperated by American obstruction. Once Britain's African and near eastern empires are established she would have stock in trade—Arabian oil that could be shared with Russia, and foreign markets in the Balkans and in Asia that might advantageously be shared with the Russian cartels on some basis mutually satisfactory to the two socialist governments. The exclusion of American goods from European and Asiatic markets would naturally be required, since England's production competes in export with America's.

The British shift out of the Far East and eastern Europe into Africa and the Near East, and her political reorientation from the American orbit to the Russian will not come to pass in a day. Britain has still to use up her American loan. She can import only from America, because only America is rich enough to export at this time. But in the long run Britain's interests will dovetail with Russia's more closely than our own and her political alinement with Russia is therefore probable. To think thus may shock the sentiments of many good people. But in the game of power politics, which for four centuries has found England waging wars against Spain, France, Russia, and Germany with complete impartiality, there are no scruples but only interests.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN POWER

Until only a few years ago Russia was an agricultural country with practically no industries. In order to build up her industries—her capital—Russia must keep her current consumption down. That imposes a low standard of living upon the people and requires stern government. It will be difficult for the regime to carry out its program of capital formation—just as if we were to levy heavy sales taxes in order to build TVA's—and at the same time retain its popularity. Therefore it would be quite natural to expect the Russian Government to act like any other government which functions without strong popular encouragement: to emphasize the foreign threat in order to preserve internal unity during a difficult period.

At the same time, the Russian Government is desirous of expanding its sphere of influence to contiguous territories for three reasons: (1) For defense through buffer states, (2) for space in which to build up complementary trading areas, (3) for outlets to the sea.

How then will the Russians react if the United States should formulate a foreign policy that has as its obvious purpose control of the flanks on Russia's only warm-water outlet? Imagine, for a moment, that the United States of America were a landlocked nation without Atlantic or Pacific seaports and that our only outlet to the Atlantic was through the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico. Imagine then that Russia, disapproving the Alemán regime in Mexico, decided to intervene with arms and money to unhorse Mr. Alemán and substitute a regime sympathetic to and in close collaboration with one of the totalitarian governments, let us say the Argentinian. Even without the Monroe Doctrine, America would spring to arms.

To Russia the American decision to take over Greece must be a particularly bitter pill to swallow, because not only is it a threat to Russia's security as well as her expansion but it comes right after the Russians gave their approval to America's claim for control of the militarily strategic Pacific islands. The Russians must think that we Americans want the whole world, including their back door.

The upshot cannot be favorable for the United States. The Russians will be resentful and even more suspicious than in the past. They will close ranks at home, more willingly suffering a low standard of living in order to build up their industrial potential for defense. They will look to Britain as an ally, even as a partner in the development of oil fields in the Near East, and to the exclusion of the United States.

Almost surely the Russians will not go to war over Greece at this time. Rather, like Germany, they will wait until their industrial potential for war—possibly for atomic war—will be fully developed, at which time they can break the American Maginot line around the Mediterranean as easily as the Germans broke it in France. That kind of a line is more dangerous as an illusion than as a weapon.

THE DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The essential quality of capitalism is this: That it is an economy governed by a free market in which prices, demand, and supply are at liberty to reach an equilibrium without government intervention. Under pure socialism, prices and supplies are determined by the government and the demand is regulated by rationing.

The free economy is clearly the more efficient except during periods of deep maladjustment when, the socialists assert, the people are free only to starve. Economists of the Keynes school reply by proposing that the general level of business activity be controlled through compensating government investments, so that though the market for specific goods remains free, the purchasing power of the people as a whole is held within tolerable limits of fluctuation.

In every instance where the people themselves have had a chance to choose between an economy that has a degree of free determination and an economy of complete government regimentation, the people have always shown a strong preference for the free economy. Since this has been so wherever the two systems came into conflict, it may be concluded that sooner or later the Russian people will themselves insist upon a greater degree of freedom in their country. To this the foe of Russia replies that there can be no freedom of choice in that country. That is true today. That is not true of tomorrow. Today the Russians must tighten their belts to produce capital enough to build up their income. Once they have forced through their industrialization—a process which the Russians are attempting to complete in a generation, though other nations have required centuries—they will be ready to live.

The Marxist theory does not contemplate abrogation of personal liberties. To say that it does is to misrepresent. The Lenin theory of taking the leap from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy in a single life span does contemplate dictatorship. But it is a temporary dictatorship and it is worth noting that the goal of personal freedom is not lost sight of. The Russians today are spending about five times as large a percentage of their national income for education as the British and about twice as much as the Americans. Illiteracy has been greatly reduced. No conspiracy of tyrants, determined to deprive people permanently of their liberty and individualism, would sacrifice so much for public education.

The Russian people have a sincere admiration for America and American achievement, as attested by the dispatches of many responsible men who have visited Russia.

Why, then, is it necessary to prove to them at the point of a gun that our way of life is superior to their own? Especially so when pointing the gun requires that we weaken our own way of life?

It is necessary to be practical. There must be some lines within which the contest for men's loyalties can be fought out by force of example. We are not yet such a perfect race that we can eliminate power politics altogether. But in the practical application of power politics, the first rule is not to bite off more than can be chewed. The natural—the practical sphere—in which to prove the superiority of capitalism and individualism is North and South America and the islands of the Caribbean and Pacific. These happen also to be the territories that the United States has traditionally defended. The area is large enough to be economically self-sustaining. Yet one imagines that if any responsible government authority advocated intervention in South American political and economic affairs, he would be denounced as an imperialist by the very same people who shout isolationist at anyone who is reluctant to see American control of the government of Greece.

There is not such a vast gulf between the Russians and ourselves that we could not live together in peace in our own parts of the world. It is implicit in the Russian program to relax the present regimentation of the individual's life. When that happens the difference between us will be no greater than that between us and the Socialist state of Great Britain.

The contest of capitalism versus communism will then get down to a question of which works better. That could be settled without warfare. It would seem to be the part of wisdom for America to strengthen capitalism by removing as many as possible of the controls that make it unworkable, such as tariffs, cartels, subsidized prices, labor monopolies, and income taxes that prevent constructive enterprise. Nobody is going to stop the expansion of communism by sticking a \$250,000,000 thorn into the side of Russia. Communism will be stopped by something that works better. Russian Communists are men. They have the same love of God and their fellow men that other people have. They can learn, but they will not be taught at the point of a foreign gun. Nor will they learn to admire the capitalist economy unless we capitalists see to it that it works. We have more to do in North and South America than on the flanks of the Dardanelles.

The danger to Americans is not the activity of Communist agents but the deterioration of capitalism itself. Sensing our own weakness we look for a foreign devil to blame it on. But this is self-deception. Communism would have no chance at all in a world, or even in a part of a world, in which capitalism was working. Rome did not fall because of the power of the barbarians but because of the weakness of the Romans. In weakening capitalism in order to contain Russia by naked military force, we do not defend ourselves intelligently.

J. H. Lieb Victorious in Fight To Eliminate Caste System in Army Cemeteries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, April 25, 1947

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday of this week, Secretary of War Patterson announced that hereafter

May 2

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued May 5, 1947
For actions of May 2, 1947
80th-1st, No. 83

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	5	Information.....	2	Organization, legislative.	2
Adjournment.....	6,10	Labor.....	9	Personnel.....	7,11
Appropriations.....	1,8,21	Lands, reclamation.....	15	Property, surplus.....	17
Education.....	4,13,19	Marketing.....	16	Soil conservation.....	18
Electrification.....	15	Organization, executive...	7	Trade, foreign.....	14
Foreign affairs.....	3,20			Transportation.....	12

HIGHLIGHTS: House passed 2nd deficiency appropriation bill; agreed to amendment to give surplus CCC potatoes to needy Indians. House agreed to provide for Coordinator of Information to assemble, coordinate, etc., data on legislation, for House committees and members. Senate Expenditures Committee released organization chart showing personnel assignments of Government agencies.

HOUSE

1. SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL. Passed with amendment this bill, H. R. 3245 (pp. 4588-603). Agreed to an amendment by Rep. Case, S. Dak., to authorize CCC to make its surplus potatoes available to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for seed and relief of needy Indians, and providing that Indian relief funds shall be available for transportation of such potatoes (p. 4603). The position up-grading provision was discussed at several points in the debate. For bill's provisions see Digest 80.
2. LEGISLATIVE INFORMATION. Agreed, as reported, to H. Res. 183, which provides for a Coordinator of Information, in the House (at not over \$12,000), to assemble, analyze, coordinate, and make available in digests, compilations and otherwise, data with respect to legislation, for the use of committees and members of the House, without partisan bias in selection or presentation (p. 4587). Agreed to a committee amendment to strike out the provision under which the Coordinator would make available data with respect to proposals for legislation and legislative problems.
3. FOREIGN RELIEF. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. R. 2616, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (p. 4605). The bill is to be debated today (p. D195).
4. EDUCATION. Rep. Redden, N. C., spoke in favor of Federal aid for education (pp. 4604-5).
5. AUDIT. Received a GAO audit report on the U. S. Spruce Production Corporation, July 1, 1945, to Dec. 12, 1946 (H. Doc. 235); to Expenditures Committee (p. 4605).
6. ADJOURNED until Mon., May 5 (p. 4605). Majority Whip Arends announced this week's program as follows: Today, consent calendar and Greek-Turkish aid; Tues., private calendar and Greek-Turkish aid; Wed., conclusion of debate on Greek-Turkish aid; Thurs., State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary appropriation bill, concluding consideration Fri.; Sat., undetermined.

SENATE

7. EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION; PERSONNEL. Sen. Aiken, Vt., announced that the Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee had released an "organization chart showing detailed personnel assignments in the various Federal departments and...agencies," and submitted a report on the objectives and purposes of the chart (pp. 4583-4).
8. APPROPRIATIONS. Agreed to take up on Mon., May 5, H.R. 2700, the Labor-Federal Security appropriation bill, 1948 (pp. 4574-6).
9. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4549-74, 4576-9).
10. RECESSED until Mon. May 5 (p. 4584).

BILLS INTRODUCED

11. PERSONNEL. S. 1219, by Sen. Gurney, S.Dak., to equalize rights to leave of absence and reemployment for Federal employees who are members of the Enlisted or Officers' Reserve Corps, etc. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 4549.)
H.R. 3306, by Rep. Karsten, Mo., to provide additional compensation for employees of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 4606.)
12. TRANSPORTATION. H.R. 3307, by Rep. O'Hara, Minn., to establish a Federal Traffic Bureau. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 4606.)
13. EDUCATION. H.J.Res. 187, by Rep. Bryson, S.C., proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution providing that neither Congress nor any of the several States shall aid any educational institution wholly or in part under sectarian control. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 4606.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

14. FOREIGN TRADE. Rep. Eberharter, Pa., inserted a Christian Science Monitor editorial favoring the International Trade Organization (p. A2161).
15. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Angell, Ore., inserted his recent address on development of waterways (pp. A2162-4).
Rep. Jones, Wash., inserted Seattle (Wash.) City Council resolutions protesting budget cuts for the Grand Coulee and Bonneville projects (p. A2169).
16. MARKETING. Sen. Morse, Ore., inserted a Farmers' Guild News article, "Several Pertinent Questions Regarding Futures Markets" (p. A2165).
17. SURPLUS PROPERTY. Rep. Cunningham, Iowa, inserted a constituent's letter criticizing surplus property disposal (p. A2171).
18. AGRICULTURAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM. Rep. Trimble, Ark., inserted a Benton County (Ark.) letter and report on this program in Benton County (pp. A2173-5).
19. EDUCATION. Sen. Thomas, Utah, inserted Sen. Kilgore's (W.Va.) statement on Federal aid to education (pp. A2177-80).
20. FOREIGN RELIEF. Speech in the House by Rep. Hinshaw, Calif., on relief to countries devastated by war, including various newspaper articles on the subject (pp. A2184-6).

taken machinery, guns, ammunition, tools of war of all kinds, food, clothing, and every type of human necessity back to her native land. She has retained a number of ships, the property of the United States, and declined until recently to negotiate with respect to a return of them. She owes this country approximately \$12,000,000,000 in lend-lease and does not have the slightest conception of paying one cent of it.

Russia's policy has broken the last economic straw of the British Empire and we find England today almost prostrate and at the mercy of this enemy of freedom.

Our President has called on this Congress to appropriate \$400,000,000 for one purpose only—to save a comparatively small nation from being engulfed in communism.

I understand another \$500,000,000 will be requested for Korea for the same purpose.

In addition to these expenditures, we have already loaned England and France billions of dollars and have spent untold millions in every corner of the earth, not alone to save the world from starvation but to save it from communism.

After considering all these facts, when I am told that the present Congress cannot afford to appropriate money for Federal aid to public schools, I am reminded of the sailor's words, "Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink."

It seems that we have money for every purpose except to build up our school system and educate the youth of America. Just recently I listened to a very interesting argument on the floor of this House, where some of the most influential Representatives of the majority party argued that we could not afford to appropriate money for the Federal school-lunch program.

We are economizing at the expense of the health and education of the school children of America.

I believe in the principles of charity. I am proud of the fact that my country has given substantial aid to the starving people of the world. No nation, nor any race of people, can say that America is lacking in the spirit of charity. However, I argue that it is unfair to our own home folk, to our children and to our needy when we say that we must send all these billions to other lands and yet are not in position to spend a few million dollars to stop the expansion of communism right here in our own land. I take the position that while it is well to be charitable, an even greater virtue requires that we must be just before we are charitable. It is not just to deny to our own people the greatest need in America today, the education of our youth, on the excuse that we must spend our money abroad.

All over this country of ours the school teachers, whom most of us know as the classroom teachers of America, have been required to take a most embarrassing position in order to be reasonably compensated for services rendered as a teacher. For the first time in my recollection I heard that teachers were on strike for better pay. I know this must have been a bitter pill to every one of

them. I know that they would not have gone on strike had there been any other way to have brought to bear upon the proper officials the circumstances under which they labored. They are the poorest paid class of people in the United States when considered in the light of public requirements.

In the light of these requirements and the small salaries received it is interesting to observe that the school teachers paid into the Treasury approximately \$200,000,000 in Federal income tax last year. Actually they did not have one single dollar to spare, yet they made these payments without complaint and in keeping with their usual spirit of patriotism. However, I think the time has come when they are entitled to be heard on their complaints. Their appeals are not alone for themselves but for your children and mine and for all America. I hope they will not go unheard and unheeded by this Congress.

(Mr. REDDEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. EBERHARTER (at the request of Mr. BUCHANAN) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. LECOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on May 1, 1947, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 2849. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 58 minutes p. m.) the House, under its previous order, adjourned until Monday, May 5, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

637. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the audit of Inland Waterways Corporation and its subsidiary, Warrior River Terminal Company, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1945 (H. Doc. No. 234); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and ordered to be printed.

638. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the audit of United States Spruce Production Corporation for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1946, and for the period July 1, 1946, to December 12, 1946 (H. Doc. No. 235); to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments and ordered to be printed.

639. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to repeal that part of section 3 of the act of June 24, 1926 (44 Stat. 767), as amended, relating to the percentage, in time of peace, of enlisted personnel employed in aviation tactical units of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

640. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed

bill to authorize the conversions of certain naval vessels; to the Committee on Armed Services.

641. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the training of officers for the naval service, and for other purposes," approved August 13, 1946; to the Committee on Armed Services.

642. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to proceed with the construction of certain public works, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

643. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to transfer jurisdiction of certain lands comprising a portion of Acadia National Park, Maine, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

644. A letter from the Comptroller General, United States, transmitting a report on the audit of the War Shipping Administration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1945; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

645. A letter from the Chairman, United States Maritime Commission, transmitting the quarterly report of the United States Maritime Commission on the activities and transactions of the Commission under the Merchant Ship Sales Act of 1946, from January 1, 1947, through March 31, 1947; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

646. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a revised estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1948 involving a decrease of \$20,750,000 for War Assets Administration (H. Doc. No. 236); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WOLVERTON: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. Senate Joint Resolution 102. Joint resolution to permit United States common communications carriers to accord free communication privileges to official participants in the world telecommunications conference to be held in the United States in 1947; without amendment (Rept. No. 334). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 205. Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey; without amendment (Rept. No. 335). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADLEY of California:

H. R. 3301. A bill to provide for the appointment of conservators, receivers, and other fiduciary officers to take charge of the affairs of Federal savings and loan associations, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 3302. A bill to reestablish the original eleventh and twelfth Federal home-loan bank districts and to reestablish the original Federal Home Loan Bank of Los Angeles and the original Federal Home Loan Bank of Port-

land; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York:

H. R. 3303. A bill to stimulate volunteer enlistments in the Regular Military Establishment of the United States; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BRAMBLETT:

H. R. 3304. A bill to amend Public Law 537, Seventy-seventh Congress, approved May 2, 1942; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GOSSETT:

H. R. 3305. A bill to make eligible for naturalization Japanese persons and persons of Japanese descent who are residing in the United States and whose sons died while serving in the armed forces of the United States during World War II; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KARSTEN of Missouri:

H. R. 3306. A bill to provide additional compensation for employees of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. O'HARA:

H. R. 3307. A bill to establish a Federal Traffic Bureau, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RAMEY:

H. R. 3308. A bill to increase the minimum allowance payable for rehabilitation in service-connected cases; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. CRAWFORD:

H. R. 3309. A bill to amend the Organic Act of Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. BRYSON:

H. J. Res. 187. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that neither Congress nor any of the several States shall aid any educational institution wholly or in part under sectarian control, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. J. Res. 188. Joint resolution authorizing the erection on public grounds in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, of a memorial to the dead of the First Infantry Division, United States forces, World War II; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. BRADLEY of California:

H. Res. 203. Resolution requesting the President to remove from office John H. Fahey, Commissioner, Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, and Harold Lee, Governor, Federal Home Loan Bank System; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. PETERSON:

H. Res. 204. Resolution to authorize the United States Tariff Commission to investigate the differences in costs under section 336 of the Tariff Act of 1930 on sponges; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the legislature of Guam, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States requesting United States citizenship for certain citizens of Guam and the enactment of an organic law for the government of the island; to the Committee on Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States relating to lasting world peace; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to create the Petrified Forest National Park; to the Committee on Public Lands.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Arizona, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to support certain legislation beneficial to veterans and others; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. BRAMBLETT introduced a bill (H. R. 3310) for the relief of Max Schliederer, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

425. By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio: Petition of 56 citizens of Athens County, Ohio, urging favorable consideration and support of S. 265, a bill to prevent the interstate transmission of advertising of all alcoholic beverages and the broadcasting of such advertising by means of radio, and to support any other bills of a similar character; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

426. Also, petition signed by 29 employees of the Chesapeake & Ohio and the New York Central Railroads, requesting that the House of Representatives vote against H. R. 2169, H. R. 2310, and S. 670; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

427. By Mr. JONES of Washington: Petition of the Legislature of the State of Washington, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to set aside forever certain tracts within the present boundaries of Vancouver Barracks, Wash., as a national monument under direction of the National Park Service, and to appropriate adequate funds for the immediate acquisition, research, and construction of buildings reproduced in detailed dimension and exactness to those previously constituting old Fort Vancouver; to the Committee on Public Lands.

428. By Mrs. NORTON: Petition of approximately 450 railroad employees, urging certain amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

429. Also, petition of Lt. Robert P. Grover Post, No. 377, Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Jersey City, N. J., pertaining to the Palestine situation; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

430. Also, petition of New Jersey State Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, Inc., endorsing and urging the enactment of H. R. 1613; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

431. By the SPEAKER: Petition of C. H. R. Hovde, M. D., petitioning consideration of his resolution with reference to change of Government policy and redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

432. Also, petition of Josef and Eugenie Geiger, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Nation-wide passive defense against atom bombing and germ warfare; to the Committee on Public Works.

CONSIDERATION OF H. R. 2616

MAY 2, 1947.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 205]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 205, reports the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

○

House Calendar No. 79

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 205

[Report No. 335]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 2, 1947

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution; which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it
2 shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into
3 the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union
4 for consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for
5 assistance to Greece and Turkey, and all points of order
6 against said bill are hereby waived. That after general
7 debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not
8 to exceed nine hours, to be equally divided and controlled
9 by the chairman and ranking minority member of the
10 Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for
11 amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion
12 of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee

1 shall rise and report the same to the House with such
2 amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous
3 question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and
4 amendments thereto to final passage without intervening
5 motion except one motion to recommit. After the passage
6 of the bill H. R. 2616 it shall be in order to take from the
7 Speaker's table the bill S. 938 and to move to strike out
8 all after the enactment clause of said Senate bill and to
9 insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H. R. 2616.

80TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 205

[Report No. 335]

RESOLUTION

Providing for the consideration of the bill
(H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to
Greece and Turkey.

By Mr. ALLEN of Illinois

MAY 2, 1947

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be
printed

nations in the democratic camp are in such an economically helpless position that all they can do is cross their fingers, try to get as much help from us as possible as quickly as possible, and hope for the best. In occupied Germany and Japan, the democrats can only hope that an economic debacle in the United States does not cause us to pull out and leave them to face the Communist challenge alone before we ever arrive at a constructive policy, much less carry it to completion.

II

This fear with which the United States is regarded takes many forms and is fostered by many factors. One of these is our military policy. To the rest of the nations, our cries of insecurity sound like the rankest hypocrisy. For with our possession of the atom bomb and our demonstrated gigantic industrial potential we seem more secure than anyone else. Agitation regarding our insecurity is therefore interpreted as simply a device to induce the American people to approve a huge navy and naval base system, backed by a mass conscript army. And that, in the eyes of others, is held to mean preparation for other overseas occupations, since a mass army has no other purpose, in days of atomic and rocket warfare, unless it is needed to hold down a revolting population at home. No one believes that the United States stands in danger of that sort. Moreover, the rapid increase of military participation in our administrative and diplomatic processes has not escaped notice abroad. All these things create fear.

Our diplomacy is likewise a source of apprehension. What is our policy in Germany? The kind of naked military rule in which we are now involved is leading nowhere, unless it be to prolonged confusion. We have discarded the outrageous Potsdam policy, and that is to the good. But what policy have we to take its place? Perhaps the Moscow conference will show. So far, however, we seem to others to have no affirmative policy in this key spot. Mr. Dulles' proposal for an economic federation in the parts of the Rhine valley where we have a free hand has awakened no response from the American public. Seemingly, Americans are not interested? Then what are we going to do in western Europe? Because no one knows, everyone is afraid.

What is our policy with regard to Great Britain? How far will we back the interests of that beleaguered empire? And how long? Are we entering into secret commitments with the British General Staff and with the British foreign office? To other nations, it is amazing that the American people should not be any more interested in these questions than they appear to be. What is our policy toward Russia? Is it quarantine, or isn't it? What is our policy toward China? For the moment this has been partially cleared up by General Marshall's statement and by the American withdrawal. But what if Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist government falls, especially if it falls to a Communist uprising? What will we do then? The accumulation of such uncertainties adds up to fear.

Our industrial drive creates fear. We now have a war-expanded productive machine which, largely bereft of Government buying, must find markets for approximately 50 percent more goods than we were turning out in 1938—or else. That or else puts a terrific impulse behind our attempt to penetrate export markets. But it is not yet clear that we do not intend to return to our high tariff policy. The result, insofar as we are able to bring it off, will be that American economic imperialism which is already being denounced all around the globe. Economic imperialism, when it runs into trouble, has a way of demanding support from political imperialism. The result? Fear.

Limitations of space compel me to crowd into a few concluding words what is in some respects the most important fact concerning

America's relations with other nations and our service to lasting peace. Are the American people sufficiently taking into account the tension being generated by our exclusive possession of the atom bomb? I doubt it. Yet all our protestations of devotion to world organization, all our expressed hopes of peace through the United Nations, are discounted by Russia because of this. Russia thinks what we really mean is that we are for peace and a world organization if the other nations (in especial, Russia) accept our blueprints. Otherwise, we fall back on our possession of the bomb.

III

No international confidence, no honest cooperation and so no lasting peace can be built on this foundation. The thing that will come out of it is what is already coming out of it—an atomic arms race. And that will end, when the Communist world gets the atomic and biological weapons it is after, in a show-down. The American people will first be stunned and then enraged by the catastrophic nature of that eventuality.

How is that catastrophe to be escaped? By giving Russia the bomb now? Henry Wallace and those who follow his leadership, as well as Communist Party members and fellow travelers in the United States, say yes. I find it impossible, after seeing Russian expansionist policy in action in so many parts of Europe and Asia, to say anything but no. I do not believe that the men in the Kremlin can be trusted with such a weapon. (I am not now arguing the question whether the men in Washington can be trusted with the bomb. The fact is that we have it, and the pursuit of lasting peace must go on from there.)

But if we do not give Russia the bomb, and the result is an atomic arms race, what then is the hope of peace? At this point I must confess to seeing only a very narrow and flickering ray of light. Perhaps readers of the *Christian Century* will not regard it as a ray of light at all; they may dismiss it as a will-o'-the-wisp. This ray of light which I think I see is the possibility of a sufficiently rapid development of the constructive, peaceful uses of atomic fission to raise living standards everywhere to a degree sufficient to make senseless a military outcome. The scientists tell us this can be done. Of course, we should keep working for the universal adoption of the Lillenthal plan—or something equally promising—for inspection and control of atomic plants. Yet if we fail to achieve this we might still, by pouring our resources of science and materials into raising the standards of living of all peoples, resolve most of the tensions of this desperate world. However, if that is what we mean to try to do, it is terribly late to start.

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

The Palestine Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. T. MILLET HAND

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 2, 1947

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, since my first day in Congress and before, I have been greatly concerned with the Palestine problem. I have done everything that I know how to do to be of assistance. Now that the problem is on the calendar of the United Nations, I have expressed my views to the Hon. Warren R. Austin, our chief delegate, with the hope that

he will urge a solution in accordance with the expressed policy of the Congress.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert a copy of my letter to him dated April 19, 1947, together with his prompt reply:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., April 19, 1947.
HON. WARREN R. AUSTIN,
Chief United States Delegate,
United Nations Organization,
Lake Success, N. Y.

MY DEAR SENATOR AUSTIN: I am, and have been for a long time very gravely concerned with the Palestine problem which seems to worsen rather than approach a solution.

It is needless to point out in detail the bitterly disappointing conduct of Great Britain in repudiating the solemn and official pledges made by His Majesty's Government regarding free immigration to Palestine, and the ultimate establishment of a Jewish National Home. I am taking the liberty, however, of enclosing a statement I made on the subject to the Congress on July 12, 1946, which, I think, points out very clearly the wholly unjustified breach of covenant.

The disappointment with which I have watched the tragic and time-wasting maneuvers of Great Britain has been intensified by the unconscionable and insulting statement made by the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, in London last February, in which, in an amazing piece of political chicanery he attempts to escape the blame, which is properly his, by complaining about American pressure in behalf of Jewish rights in Palestine.

Notwithstanding Mr. Bevin's speech, I sincerely trust that American pressure will continue and increase until a humanitarian solution is found, which will alleviate the tragic suffering of the remnants of the Jewish people in Europe.

The American Zionist Conference held in Washington January 17, 1947, in dealing with the new hope that the United Nations might solve this problem, said this:

"Great Britain's announced decision to refer the Palestine question to the United Nations affords an historic opportunity to the members of that international body. A generation has passed since the nations of the world resolved to end Jewish national homelessness and to reestablish Jewish nationhood. They entrusted the British Government with this great task, but the guardian proved unfaithful to its trust and sought to frustrate its fulfillment.

"Once again the international community, represented by the United Nations, can reaffirm the decision made following the first World War. To that end, the main elements of the solution—freedom of Jewish immigration to Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish state—should be spelled out in clear and precise terms.

"It is only reasonable to expect the United Nations, in dealing with this problem, to be faithful to its role as the guardian of international law by issuing an interim order that pending the final decision, the Mandate for Palestine—the only internationally valid instrument governing that country—be fully applied, free from all restrictive enactments imposed by the mandatory government in violation of that fundamental document."

It is this statement that I want to call most particularly to your attention with the hope, and with the confidence, that you will do your full part in the deliberations of the United Nations on Palestine on April 28.

The American people are deeply sympathetic to the appeal of the Jewish people for a place of refuge. The American Congress has formally expressed its policy in this regard. I pray that you will do what you can.

Cordially,

MILLET HAND,
Member of Congress.

APRIL 23, 1947.

HON. T. MILLET HAND,
Second District of New Jersey,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HAND: Thank you for your letter of April 19, enclosing copy of the extension of remarks made by you on July 12, 1946, Bevin breaks Palestine pledge.

I greatly appreciate your courtesy in making your views known to me in this way. I assure you that I will consider them carefully in connection with all of the evidence available to the United Nations on this subject.

With cordial regards, I am,
Sincerely yours,

WARREN R. AUSTIN,
United States Representative
to the United Nations.

Human Stakes at Geneva

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 16, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, we cannot have political peace without economic peace.

The International Trade Conference being held at Geneva is of paramount importance to every man, woman, and child in the United States.

Under permission to revise and extend my remarks, I include the following article by Malvina Lindsay entitled "Human Stakes at Geneva," which appeared in the Washington Post on April 3, 1947:

HUMAN STAKES AT GENEVA

(By Malvina Lindsay)

PEACE AND PRICES

The average family is probably not aware of how a meeting next week in far-away Geneva, Switzerland, may affect its pocket-book and even its safety. But the International Trade Conference—whose name suggests merely a group of experts about a big table bandying statistics—will be jockeying behind its dry figures with the future budgets, pay checks, jobs, ambitions, and security of billions of human beings.

While the Nation watched eagerly the San Francisco Conference, where the latest political attempt at world cooperation was born, it is not likely there will be comparable breathless waiting to see if Geneva can produce the infant of economic peace. Yet whatever is done at Moscow or Lake Success will be largely a loss if Geneva fails.

Also, oddly, the average citizen repeatedly reads or talks of a predicted depression of 1952 or 1955, wonders idly why somebody doesn't do something about it, yet fails to recognize that the men in Geneva may have that opportunity in their grasp—if their governments will back them up.

A few national women's groups that worked for the Dumbarton Oaks proposals are trying to arouse their membership to what is at stake at Geneva. Yet comparatively few of the masses of women who are the buyers of the Nation recognize that future costs and quality of goods—as well as their husbands' jobs and the avoidance of World War III—may depend on whether the 18 nations in the conference are able to write an International Trade Organization charter and draw up trade agreements with each other.

Also at stake is whether the average family will be freed from the constant toll it pays to business monopolies known as cartels. One of the American proposals for the Trade Organization charter is that cartels be prevented by national and international action from restricting the commerce of the world.

If this were done it would mean that prices of hundreds of products used daily, as cooking ingredients and utensils, cosmetics, apparel, household devices, medicines, foods could not be maintained by secret agreements among industries and by planned scarcity, but would be determined by democratic free competition. It would mean, as Darel McConkey points out in his recent study of cartels, Out of Your Pocket, that the housewife would not be constantly contributing "a few mills into the cartel turnstile."

If tariff agreements are worked out satisfactorily at Geneva, it will mean that many high-class products from abroad, as woollens, linens, pottery, handicraft, foods, will be available to the average American at less cost, and that American cotton, wheat, apples, tobacco, farm machinery, trucks, motion pictures, other goods, will find freer and larger markets abroad.

Thus the expected—and feared—excess production in this country could find a market, industries expand instead of contract, new jobs be created, mass unemployment prevented. History might even be stopped from repeating itself with another world economic slump, and the attendant trade wars which preface the shooting.

Since lessons of the 1930's taught that world trade cannot be a one-way arrangement, that this country cannot export goods profitably without also importing them, so that its customers abroad will have something to pay with, American consumers as well as their Government face the trade problem.

The Government will need to offer tariff concessions on products that can best be produced abroad and on which foreign nations' economic life depends, and ask concessions from other countries on goods this country is best equipped to produce. Consumers will need to become world conscious in their buying, recognize that their use of products of potential customers now trying to beat back economically is not only good business but the main road to peace.

Relief Assistance to People of Countries Devastated by War

SPEECH OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 2, 1947

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 153) providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California [Mr. HINSHAW].

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Chairman, I hope you will realize the facts about a few things that are going on abroad and amalgamate them into your thinking. In these countries that are back of the "iron curtain" there is no possibility whatsoever of any United States agency going in and finding out who is hungry and saying, "Here, my friend, here is

something for you to eat." Those countries all have rationing systems, ration cards, and they are not going to permit you to go in there and find the hungry and feed them. You must do it through the local government organization. That is the first thing.

Then, of course, the second thing that comes along is the question, Who has the ration cards? Of course, many of you know, or you have heard people from abroad tell you that those ration cards that carry the greatest amount of food go to those who are subservient to the Communist way of thinking, and the others get them if they are willing to go along. Many of them have taken out Communist cards in order to get ration cards. It is the Russian Government that is holding back on these people and not us. They use the ration card as a political weapon. If by any means whatsoever our country can devise a way so that the rationing is distributed equally in those countries, and fairly, as we see a thing as fair, then we will have done something worth while and can help in the feeding of those people who are being permitted to starve. That is basic.

The next thing is that they are obtaining from every one of those people behind the iron curtain a complete list of their relatives in the United States by name and address; and here in this country, as I am sure the gentleman from South Dakota can tell you, they are contacting those relatives and saying, "Now, your friends and relatives are with us. Will you go along with us or won't you?" It is a powerful persuader and aids in the building of the Communist fifth column in this country.

We have that sort of thing to combat. It is not such a simple matter as one might assume. In our way of thinking it is hard to understand. We must put ourselves in the same way of thinking in our own minds as they think in Europe before we can understand those things. That is the basic reason why I must oppose the amendment offered by my good friend from Mississippi. I think the gentleman from South Dakota is trying to do the right thing in his amendment, but I am sure it will be not at all effective, because of course the Russian Government would not any more allow that sort of agent to go in there and say who is going to get food in those countries than we would allow the Soviet agents to come into this country and say whether or not their sympathizers here shall obtain their help from abroad.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HINSHAW. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. If the gentleman's contention is correct—and it conceivably may be—then at least the Russian Government, which deprives its own people of food that we are offering to make available to them, is undermining itself.

Mr. HINSHAW. I understand that the Soviet Government has a way of removing nonconformists. More than 20,000,000 of them are said to have disappeared, and many are taken every day to concentration camps worse than Buchenwald or Dachau. Behind the iron curtain it

takes real courage to maintain the human right to freedom.

Mr. Chairman, no one here has denied that these peoples were sold out at Yalta. Under authority to extend my remarks, I include the following articles, the purport of which has not been denied:

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 27, 1947]

**ROOSEVELT OUTTRADED BY STALIN AT YALTA—
MOSCOW PUBLICATION OF PACT SHOWS UNITED STATES COMMITTED**

(By Jay G. Hayden)

The late President Roosevelt's amazing secret generosity to Premier Stalin at Yalta has again been evidenced in the publication at Moscow of the agreement of these two with Churchill dissenting, on a \$20,000,000,000 total of reparations from Germany, 50 percent of it for Russia.

Secretary of State Marshall disputed Molotov's reassertion of this claim on the ground that it had been superseded at Potsdam, and Foreign Secretary Bevin said it was of no standing anyhow because Churchill refused to sign it.

The ink scarcely had dried on the joint communiqué, following the Yalta Conference, before it became apparent that much more went on there than was immediately revealed.

The communiqué was issued on February 12, 1945, and just a week later it cropped up that the Atlantic Charter had been revised. As originally written, this document said its signers, Roosevelt and Churchill, "wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

"AGGRESSOR NATIONS"

At Yalta there was added to this sentence the words, "by the aggressor nations," the obvious purpose being to exempt territories taken forcibly by so-called "nonaggressor nations," such as Russia's conquest of the Baltic States and portions of Poland, Finland, and Rumania.

Since the Atlantic Charter was issued solely by Roosevelt and Churchill, presumably they had the right to change it in the same personal fashion, but it is doubtful if this is so of other secret agreements which were subscribed to at Yalta.

On February 27, 1945, Churchill for the first time revealed details of the agreement respecting Polish borders, including modification of the Curzon Line to give Russia the important city of Lwow, and allotment to Poland of the German province of Upper Silesia and "such other territories east of the Oder River as may be decided at the peace conference."

The latter referred to the Oder-Neisse River line, transferring to Poland territory containing 9,500,000 Germans.

In his Stuttgart speech last year Secretary Byrnes began trying to mitigate that commitment and Secretary Marshall is expected to do the same.

Yalta was little more than a month old before it leaked out successively that the Ukraine and White Russia had been recognized separately in order to give Russia three votes in the United Nations, and that Russia's insistence on an "individual veto" in that body also had been acceded to.

BIGGEST CONCESSION

Not till February 1946 did there come to light the biggest concession of all to the Soviet. This was the grant to her in exchange for a promise to enter the war against Japan "within 2 or 3 months after Germany has surrendered." To win that assurance Roosevelt and Churchill signed away to Russia Outer Mongolia, the whole Kurile chain of islands, half of the island of Sakhalin, and in Manchuria exclusive occupation of the Port Arthur naval base and a half share with China in control of the commercial port of Dairen.

China was not even consulted before this purloining of her territory, and as subsequently developed, Russia's entrance into the Japanese war, on the very last day of her commitment, bred nothing but trouble. Ever since, the United States and Britain have been trying to get the Russian Armies back home.

Not the least interesting element in all this was President Roosevelt's assumption of the right single-handed so to commit the Nation. Members of Congress have searched in vain for any provision, constitutional or otherwise, that invests the President with such broad right, except as his proposals later may be submitted to the Senate and approved by it.

In this instance also there is the fact that Mr. Roosevelt at Yalta was reduced both physically and mentally. He died 2 months later. It is no wonder, perhaps, that he was outtraded by Stalin, but this circumstance calls all the more for some action to assure that this sort of thing shall not happen again.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 21, 1947]

ON THE RECORD

(By Dorothy Thompson)

Bit by bit the falsity and inadequacy of all measures taken during and since the war to keep the peace come to light. These are the falsity of the concept of congenitally good and bad nations, according to which nature has shown favoritism in distributing righteousness and sin; the idea that perpetual punishment is an agent of reform; the belief that the calculated destruction of energies anywhere can contribute to general prosperity; the empty hope that a common law can emerge without a common ethos; and, finally, that the structure erected and hailed at San Francisco is an instrument of collective security, and the "beginning"—as President Roosevelt put it—of a world constitution.

"Murder will out," and so will truth—no matter what is marked "top secret." The truth has been out for a long time for anyone with eyes to see. Even for the nonreligious there must have been some significance in the fact that the San Francisco Conference opened without an appeal for the blessing of God. The peace devised could bear reference to no standards, so prayer was properly omitted.

But, as the roadside posters used to proclaim in the small-town evangelical communities of my childhood: "Be sure your sins will find you out."

They will.

In Moscow it is revealed that the United States, at Yalta, agreed to reparations in the form of the forced labor of human persons—to be delivered regardless of any crimes they may have committed. They were common soldiers, drafted like other soldiers, and by an omnipotent state in which conscientious objection was a capital crime. They were protected during the war by the self-interest of those whose nationals were also prisoners and by those conventions designed somewhat to mitigate the barbarisms of war.

Then, after surrender, to the gallows with those who imported forced labor to Germany, and up with the new slaveholders.

What of you, President Roosevelt, who had sworn on your deepest political conviction and religious faith that the Allies will not enslave the German people, because the Allies do not traffic in human slavery?

Yet your signature was on that infamy. How desperately ill you must have been. Perhaps not always there, already—at moments—as the weeping Churchill reported, as though in another world.

What of you, Mr. Churchill—intrepid lover of freedom? Magnanimous, sanguine, and in some ways wise.

And what of you, Mr. Stalin? For nearly a generation invoking the solidarity of the workers of the world.

Did you think that nazism would be on trial in victory over it?

Democracy, freedom, communism were, and are, on trial.

How broken their citadels.

Now comes President Truman calling for resolute action. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members, but, "we have considered how the United Nations might assist in this [the Greek] crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required."

The definition of a "crisis" implies "urgency."

The UN was never designed as an organization that could create a world law and a world police, through which alone the freedom of all could be maintained. The terrible gaps were in the original Dumbarton Oaks plan. Yet the State Department itself went up and down the country selling it to the American people as an infallible instrument of collective security, and to raise a doubt was almost high treason.

H. G. Wells said of the League of Nations to a lady who thought it a beginning: "You can't make an automobile out of the beginnings of a perambulator." The UN is no better.

It was never possible to enforce peace. Only law can be enforced. Without world law there can be no world police; without a world ethos there can be no law.

The United States has no authority to police the world. The UN has no authority either because it is not an instrument of law, but only an international debating society participated in by sovereign states each swayed by sacred egoism.

That is the trouble and the United States should take its stand, not in Greece nor on German reparations, but on UN reform—making it a genuine law-creating and law-enforcing agency. There we can afford a show-down, because our position will be above reproach.

As Senator TYDINGS said, "The sands in the hourglass grow less and less."

[From the Washington Post]

ROOSEVELT AT YALTA

(By Ernest Lindley)

VIOLATED AGREEMENTS CAUSE TROUBLE

It is being said more and more frequently that President Roosevelt was out-traded at the Yalta Conference. Certainly he made some very important concessions to the Russians. In view of subsequent developments, it is regrettable that certain of these concessions were made.

Roosevelt knew he was paying a high price. But he did not believe that it was too high for what he was promised in return.

First, he obtained specific Russian commitments to join the war against Japan. As it turned out, we did not need Russian aid against Japan. But in February 1945 the prevailing view was that Russian participation would shorten the war against Japan and save many American lives. This was certainly the view of the President's principal military advisers. We did not yet have atomic bombs and could not be sure that we would have them. The first great fire raids with B-29's had not yet been launched. There was, moreover, a widely held view that even if Japan proper were rather thoroughly bombed out—and perhaps even if it were conquered—the Japanese armies on the continent would continue to fight, using Manchuria, with its war industries, as a base.

Secondly, Roosevelt sought assurance that the portions of eastern Europe overrun by the Red Army in the process of defeating the Axis would be restored as independent democratic nations. He sought and obtained assurance that provisional governments in these countries would represent all democratic

parties and that they would be compelled to hold free elections. The Soviet Union agreed that the handling of these matters should be a joint responsibility of the Big Three, not of the Soviet Union alone. These agreements were warmly applauded in Congress. As Roosevelt himself said, they were not all that could be desired. But they would have served adequately if the Soviet Union had lived up to them.

It is true that various ambiguities and loopholes assisted the Soviet Union in evading its commitments. But the Kremlin plainly violated not only the spirit but the letter of these pledges.

Roosevelt saw before his death that the Soviet Union was welching on its pledge concerning the reconstruction of the Polish provisional government. He was anxious and angry.

A third objective which Roosevelt sought at Yalta was to nail down Soviet participation in the United Nations. The Soviet Union had never shown much real interest in the United Nations idea. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference had left unsolved the critical question of great power voting rights. Roosevelt worked out a compromise at Yalta. It was probably as good a compromise as could be obtained. The Soviet Union has been trying to pull away from that compromise ever since. It has consistently stood for very broad interpretations of the veto right of the great powers. It brought the San Francisco Conference to a temporary impasse on this very question.

Concerning several of the concessions made by Roosevelt at Yalta, it should be noted further that he conceded no more than he was powerless to prevent. For example, the United States could not prevent the Soviet Union from moving into Manchuria and reestablishing a base at Port Arthur and control over the Manchurian railroads. It could not prevent the Soviet Union from occupying the southern half of Sakalin Island or controlling Outer Mongolia. Neither China nor any other nation could prevent the Soviet Union from taking these steps. Roosevelt considered it better to have a definite understanding on such questions in advance rather than to wait until the Soviet Union was in physical control of these areas. The Soviet Union also apparently wanted a definite understanding not only with the United States and Britain but with China.

Taken as a whole, the main trouble with the Yalta agreements was not that Roosevelt was outtraded but that the Soviet Union failed to keep some of its pledges. The United States was outcollected. Any bargain which is observed by one side but violated by the other side is bound to be lopsided in its effect.

For the failure to bring more pressure sooner on the Russians to keep their promises many things and men are to blame. But Roosevelt is not among them insofar as the Yalta pledges are concerned.

Henry A. Wallace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ELLSWORTH B. FOOTE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 2, 1947

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a United Press article of April 24, 1947 setting forth the views of my British namesake relative to the latest escapade of Henry Wallace:

FOOT GIVES HENRY THE OLD BOOT

BOURNEMOUTH, ENGLAND, April 24.—Henry Wallace was censured for criticizing his own Government today by Dingle M. Foot, one of the top leaders of the British Liberty Party.

"We should make it quite clear that we have no sympathy with Mr. Wallace's criticism of his Government," Foot declared at the opening of the Liberal Party's annual conference.

Foot, who is the son of Isaac Foot, newly elected president of the Liberals, said his party always had admired and respected Wallace, but that now it appeared some distinction must be made between Wallace's policies and his economics.

"We welcome President Truman's action with regard to aid for Turkey and Greece," he said. "No one should make the mistake of supposing that Mr. Wallace speaks for the whole or even for the majority of American liberal opinion."

"The picture which he draws of a reactionary United States wantonly seeking a quarrel with a demure U. S. S. R. is a picture which I do not recognize," Foot said.

The remarks came as Foot moved adoption of the Liberal Party's 1,000-word policy statement on world affairs. Earlier, his father called on the party to declare its complete independence of other British political groups.

Opportunity Implies Responsibility

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 2, 1947

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the forward-looking industrial organizations in my district is the Young Radiator Co. at Racine, Wis. Mr. Fred Young, president, is a progressive and outstanding industrial engineer. The firm that bears his name is one of the leaders in its chosen field, and it has at all times endeavored to maintain harmonious relationships with its employee group. From time to time Mr. Young brings home to his workers thought-provoking articles. As a part of my remarks, I am including the most recent, entitled "Responsibility":

STEADY WORK

Week in and week out, the Young Radiator Co. has provided steady employment for those who want to work. Never has the work week been less than 40 hours. There is an ever-increasing demand for our product, and our production curve is forward and upward. With more than a quarter of a century of engineering skill and reputation in the field of heat transferring equipment back of Young Radiator products, it is with confidence and pride that we look to the future for business which will provide you—our workers—with steady work and income.

STEADY PAY

Opportunities to advance—with steady work comes steady pay. You have reasonable assurance of a steady income here that few companies have. For unskilled labor for 40 hours per week your earnings per week for the first month will be \$36.40, second month \$37.40 per week, third month \$39.10 per week. From then on, if you are industrious and your aptitude and interest increases, you can make application for a production job. The average wage for production workers is \$60 per week; some men are making \$100 per week.

YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO YOUR FELLOW WORKER AND THE COMPANY

You and your family, too, all have an interest in our business—so here is where you come in.

All of you are important in our organization and program. Each of you are important to our success as a whole. Everything you do, either good or bad, affects your fellow worker and your department, too. When you are absent, unless you are quickly replaced, production goes down. If ever you should decide to leave us—cooperate with us and your fellow workers, giving us a week or two notice in order that we might replace you and not disrupt the work in your and other departments. Every job is dependent on every other job because of continuous flow of work from department to department.

COMPANY RESPONSIBILITY TO YOU

Our responsibility to our workers: To keep sufficient market and work in varied products so you can be assured with reasonable conditions, a weekly and monthly pay return. Your company has never lacked in this and we pledge ourselves in your and our mutual behalf to providing jobs and work and within these precepts, viewing our responsibilities, we ask you to respect your part in return.

AS WE WORK TOGETHER

Because so much of our time is spent at work, we like to work with friendly, agreeable people. Each member of the force can help to make it a more pleasant place to work by your own attitude and conduct on the job. Young's is noted for its friendliness and character of its personnel, and, therefore, is a good place to work.

Let us all work together for the future of our company—for as it progresses, we will all progress. Our company's reputation is your future.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver, upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued
For actions of

May 7, 1947
May 6, 1947
80th-1st, No. 85

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	7,19	Fisheries.....	18	Personnel.....	23
Banking and currency.....	27	Flood control.....	29	Prices, support.....	8
Budgeting.....	3	Food, prices.....	13	Remount service.....	11,17
Commodity exchanges.....	4	Foreign affairs.....	14,33	Research.....	28
Cotton.....	4	Forests and forestry.....	1	Roads.....	1
Education.....	20,30	Grains.....	13,28	School-lunch program....	10
Electrification, rural..	12,16,29,31	Housing.....	1	Soil conservation.....	8,25
Expenditures.....	32	Labor.....	9	Statistics.....	6
Farm program.....	8,22	Lands, reclamation.....	5,26	Sugar and sirups.....	2,15
Federal aid.....	30	Loans, farm.....	21	Tobacco.....	24
				Trade, foreign.....	8

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate passed bill making \$10,000,000 more available for access roads in housing program. Sen. Young and others defended price-support program against high food-price charges. Rep. Hope introduced bill to provide for loans similar to Land Bank Commissioner loans but through land bank system. Both Houses received Secretary's letter on possible Sugar Act amendments. Senate committee reported measure for automatic budget balancing. Rep. Andresen criticized CCC's foreign-relief purchases as a cause of higher food prices.

SENATE

1. FOREST ROADS; HOUSING. Passed without amendment S. 800, to amend the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946 so as to increase by \$10,000,000 the amount available for expenditure through the Housing Expediter for construction of access roads to standing timber on Federal lands (pp. 4689-90).
2. SUGAR. Received from this Department a recommendation that Congress consider amendments to the quota provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937. To Finance Committee. (p. 4681.)
3. BUDGETING. The Appropriations Committee reported with amendments S. J. Res. 61, which prohibits appropriations in excess of estimated receipts (except during a war emergency), except by a 3/5 vote of each house; and provides that, if this provision is not complied with, the President shall reduce appropriations, except for certain purposes such as interest on the public debt, by a uniform percentage. The measure was referred to the Judiciary Committee, and Chairman Wiley stated that "immediately...a subcommittee will be appointed and we shall do all we can to facilitate action on the matter." (pp. 4683-5.)
4. COMMODITY EXCHANGES. At the request of Chairman Tobey of the Banking and Currency Committee, Secretary Anderson's letter of Mar. 26, regarding consideration of legislation on decline of cotton prices, was taken from that Committee and referred to the Agriculture and Forestry Committee (p. 4686).
5. RECLAMATION. Passed without amendment H. R. 804, authorizing reduction of interest payable by the farmers' irrigation district, North Platte project (p. 4688). This bill will now be sent to the President.

6. STATISTICS. Passed as reported S. 554, to provide for collection and publication of statistical data relating to manufactures, mineral industries, the distributive trades, and other businesses, beginning in 1948 and continuing each fifth year thereafter, through the Census Bureau (pp. 4692-3).
7. FISCAL OFFICERS. Passed as reported S. 273, to provide that, effective 3 years after enactment, the monthly or quarterly accounts of any disbursing, accountable, or certifying officer shall be settled by GAO within 3 years, except during war (p. 4697).
8. FARM SITUATION. Sen. Young, N. Dak., defended the price-support program against charges that it keeps food prices high, urged funds for the soil-conservation program, supported export-control continuation, spoke against corporation farming, etc.; and several Senators made brief statements agreeing with him (pp. 4698-701).
9. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4701-25). During the debate Sen. Kilgore, W. Va., stated that "Agriculture is being set up against labor...by the divide and conquer method of the National Association of Manufacturers" (p. 4704).
10. SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM. Received an Okla. Legislature resolution favoring continuation of this program (pp. 4681-2).
11. REMOUNT SERVICE. Received an Okla. Legislature resolution favoring transfer of the remount service from the War Department to Agriculture (p. 4682).
12. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. Received an Alaska Legislature urging extension of the REA programs to Alaskan municipalities, irrespective of size (p. 4682).

HOUSE

13. FOOD PRICES. Rep. Andresen, Minn., blamed the Government foreign-relief purchases, and CCC's grain purchases in particular, for higher prices in certain food products, stating, "Without criticizing the need for an export food program of grains and other food by the Government, a careful study of daily purchases of grains and other food by the Government discloses that prices were driven up by reckless and ill-timed buying for shipment abroad," and announced that the information he had gathered on Government grain-buying would be presented to the Agriculture Committee for investigation (pp. 4742-3).
14. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began debate on H.R. 2616, the Greece-Turkey aid bill (pp. 4734-70).
15. SUGAR. Received from this Department a recommendation that Congress consider amendments to the quota provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937. To Agriculture Committee. (pp. 4771-2).
16. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. Received an Alaska Legislature memorial favoring the extension of REA programs to Alaska (p. 4772).
17. REMOUNT SERVICE. Received an Okla. Legislature memorial urging the transfer of the remount service from the War Department to Agriculture (p. 4772).
18. FISHERIES. Received an Alaska Legislature memorial urging protection of Alaska's fishing industries against encroachment by any foreign power (p. 4772).

Institution accomplishments and inserting a Kansas City Star article on the grain-milling process evolved by that institution (pp. A2207-8).

29. FLOOD CONTROL; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Larcade, La., inserted a Washington Post article reporting deliberations of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress on developing U.S. flood-control, reclamation, and power projects (p. A2214).
30. EDUCATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Morrison, La., discussing and including his bill, H.R. 2525, to provide Federal aid to States for education (pp. A2233-5).
31. ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Angell, Ore., inserted Dr. Paul J. Raver's (Bonneville Power Adm.) statement on the work of the Bonneville Power Project (pp. A2235-7).
32. EXPENDITURES. Rep. D'Ewart, Mont., inserted a Phillips County (Mont.) News item "Snappy Fight at Washington Over Expenditures" (p. A2246).
33. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on Greece-Turkey aid (pp. A2209, A2212-3, A2213-4, A2215-6, A2241).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for May 7: H. Agriculture, long-range farm program (Kitchen); H. Public Lands, veterans' settlement in Alaska (Granger, Heintzleman, Aamodt to testify); S. Public Works, water pollution; S. Public Lands, Central Valley reclamation; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; S. Agriculture, committee calendar (ex.); Joint Committee on Economic Report; H. Appropriations; Government corporations and independent offices appropriation bills (ex.); H. Ways and Means, trade agreements; H. Education and Labor, Federal aid to schools on Government reservations. For May 8: H. Armed Services, national rubber policy (Lambert). For May 15: H. Agriculture, FPMC loans through land banks (Duggan to testify). For May 21: S. Expenditures in the Executive Departments, dissemination of scientific information (Lambert to testify).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654. or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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19. ACCOUNTING. Received from the Treasury Department, Budget Bureau, and the GAO a proposed bill "to establish a procedure for facilitating the payment of certain Government checks." To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 4771.)

BILLS INTRODUCED

20. EDUCATION. S. 1239, by Sen. Morse, Ore., to coordinate the educational function of the Federal Government in a single agency; and to define its organization, powers, and duties. To Labor and Public Welfare Committee. (p. 4685.) Remarks of author (pp. 4685-6).
21. FARM LOANS. H.R. 3330, by Rep. Hope, Kans., to amend the Federal Farm Loan Act and the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation Act to make available to farmers through the Federal land bank system loans similar to those made by the Land Bank Commissioner on behalf of the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation; to transfer the existing Land Bank Commissioner loans and related assets of the FFMC to the Federal land banks; to provide for the FFMC to repair its Government capital with interest; and to authorize the Federal land banks to establish a Federal land bank system reserve fund. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 4772.)
22. AGRICULTURAL INVESTIGATIONS. H.Con.Res. 46, by Rep. Hoeven, Iowa, creating a joint committee to investigate certain matters affecting agriculture. To Rules Committee. (p. 4772.)
23. PERSONNEL. H.R. 3329, by Rep. Hedrick, W.Va., to provide for the national security of the Nation by requiring that all qualified young men undergo a period of training. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 4772.)
- H.R. 3331, by Rep. Jones, Wash., to reclassify the salaries of certain employees in the motor-vehicle service. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 4772.)
- H.R. 3337, by Rep. Butler, N.Y., to provide temporary additional compensation for employees of the Federal and D.C. governments. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 4772.)
- H.R. 3342, by Rep. Mundt, S.Dak., to enable the U.S. Government more effectively to carry on its foreign relations by means of promotion of the interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills between the U.S. and other countries. To Foreign Affairs Committee. (p. 4772.)
24. TOBACCO. H.R. 3345, by Rep. Jenkins, Ohio, to assist States in collecting sales and use taxes on tobacco. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 4772.)
25. SOIL CONSERVATION. H.R. 3346, by Rep. Mansfield, Tex., authorizing preliminary examinations and surveys of the streams, and their larger tributaries, flowing through the Brazoria-Galveston, Trinity Bay, coastal plains, and Matagorda County soil conservation districts. To Public Works Committee. (p. 4772.)
26. RECLAMATION. H.R. 3347 and H.R. 3348, by Rep. Phillips, Calif., to declare the policy of the U.S. with respect to the allocation of costs of construction of the Coachella division of the All-American canal irrigation project. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4772.)
27. BANKING AND CURRENCY. H.R. 3351, by Rep. Wolcott, Mich., to provide for control of bank holding companies. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 4772.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

28. RESEARCH. Extension of remarks of Sen. Ken, Mo., commending the Midwest Research

Whereas the sum of \$3,053.88 has been paid to the Southeastern Sand & Gravel Co. as assignee of the Southern Bitumen Co. in part payment of the sum of \$13,685 due under said contract: Therefore

Be it enacted, etc., That the Administrator of the Federal Works Agency is hereby authorized and directed to pay to the Southeastern Sand & Gravel Co., or its assignee, the sum of \$10,631.12 in full satisfaction of all claims of the Southern Bitumen Co., the Southeastern Sand & Gravel Co., and Roberts Blount arising out of the construction of the afore-mentioned sewer at Anniston, Ala., under project No. Ala. 1-160 (F).

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ADOLPHUS M. HOLMAN

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 619) for the relief of Adolphus M. Holman.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. DOLLIVER and Mr. POTTS objected, and, under the rule, the bill was recommitted to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NORMAN ABBOTT

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 770) for the relief of Norman Abbott.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Norman Abbott, Baltimore, Md., the sum of \$7,500. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims of the said Norman Abbott against the United States for damages resulting from personal injuries sustained when he was struck on March 26, 1944, while standing at the intersection of Patapsco Avenue and Ninth Street, Baltimore, Md., by a United States Coast Guard automobile: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 per centum thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "\$7,500" and insert "\$3,500."

Line 8, strike out "damages resulting from personal injuries" and insert "personal injuries, medical and hospital expenses, and loss of earnings."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ROBERT HINTON

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 1954) for the relief of Robert Hinton.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to pay, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to Robert Hinton, Santa Barbara, Calif., the sum of \$7,500. The payment of such sum shall be in full settlement of all claims of the said Robert

Hinton against the United States on account of personal injuries, sustained on September 23, 1944, when the automobile which he was driving was struck at the intersection of Valerio Street and Chapala Street, Santa Barbara, Calif., by a United States Marine Corps truck: *Provided*, That no part of the amount appropriated in this act in excess of 10 percent thereof shall be paid or delivered to or received by any agent or attorney on account of services rendered in connection with this claim, and the same shall be unlawful, any contract to the contrary notwithstanding. Any person violating the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be fined in any sum not exceeding \$1,000.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 1, line 6, strike out "\$7,500" and insert "\$2,000."

Line 9, after "injuries", insert "medical expenses, and loss of earnings."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CHARLES F. BARRETT

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 2631) for the relief of Charles F. Barrett.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON

The Clerk called the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 86) to authorize Herschel V. Johnson, Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council of the United Nations, to be reappointed to the Foreign Service.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That, notwithstanding any provision of law to the contrary, Herschel V. Johnson, Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council of the United Nations, may continue in such office and be reappointed as a Foreign Service officer, in the class of career minister, and such reappointment may be effective as of November 25, 1946: *Provided*, That the total compensation to be paid him as a Foreign Service officer of the class of career minister and as Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council shall be that provided by law for a Foreign Service officer in the class of career minister or that provided by law for Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council, whichever is the higher.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LT. COMDR. PAUL A. SMITH

The Clerk called the bill (S. 874) to authorize the President to appoint Lt. Comdr. Paul A. Smith as alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, and as representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organiza-

tion, without affecting his status and perquisites as an officer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That notwithstanding the existing provisions of law or any rules or regulations issued thereunder, the President is authorized to appoint Lt. Comdr. Paul A. Smith, an officer in the Coast and Geodetic Survey, as alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, and as representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, and his appointment to, acceptance, and service as such alternate and representative shall in no way affect any status, office, rank, or grade he may occupy or hold in the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the United States or any emolument, perquisite, right, privilege, eligibility for promotion or retirement, or other benefits incident to or arising out of any such status, office, rank, or grade: *Provided*, That during the time he holds the office of alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor and representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization he shall have the rank of rear admiral (lower half) of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and shall receive such compensation and allowances as the Secretary of State shall prescribe payable from appropriations made by law for the Department of State: *Provided further*, That so long as he remains alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, and representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization he shall retain his permanent rank and grade or such rank and grade to which he may be promoted by reason of his position on the lineal list of the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

SEC. 2. In the performance of his duties as alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, and as representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, Lieutenant Commander Smith shall be subject to no supervision, control, restriction, or prohibition other than would be operative with respect to him if he was in no way connected with the Coast and Geodetic Survey.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

MARY LOMAS

The Clerk called the bill (H. R. 1742) for the relief of Mary Lomas.

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the bill be passed over without prejudice.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. This completes the call of the Private Calendar.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Obviously a quorum is not present.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 49]

Abernethy	Halleck	Nodar
Barden	Hand	Norrell
Bell	Harless, Ariz.	O'Toole
Bennett, Mich.	Harness, Ind.	Pfeifer
Bland	Harris	Philbin
Boykin	Hartley	Poage
Buckley	Hébert	Powell
Bulwinkle	Hess	Rabin
Chelf	Hinshaw	Reed, Ill.
Clark	Howell	Richards
Clements	Jenkins, Pa.	Rivers
Cole, Kans.	Kearns	Rooney
Cole, N. Y.	Kefauver	Scoblick
Cooley	Kelley	Scott, Hardie
D'Alesandro	Kunkel	Short
Dawson, Ill.	Lane	Sikes
Dingell	Latham	Smathers
Doughton	Lesinski	Smith, Maine
Ellsworth	McDonnell	Somers
Elsaesser	McDowell	Taylor
Elston	McGarvey	Thomas, N. J.
Fallon	McGregor	Towe
Fellows	Madden	Trimble
Fletcher	Maloney	Van Zandt
Fuller	Mansfield, Tex.	Vinson
Gallagher	Meade, Ky.	West
Gifford	Mitchell	Wood
Gillie	Morrison	
Gregory	Nixon	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 343 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. O'HARA asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include excerpts.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 205 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and all points of order against said bill are hereby waived. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 9 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit. After the passage of the bill H. R. 2616 it shall be in order to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 938 and to move to strike out all after the enactment clause of said Senate bill and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in H. R. 2616.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the ranking minority member of the Committee on Rules, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH].

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, this rule makes in order the consideration of H. R. 2616, a bill to authorize the expenditure of some \$400,000,000 for relief, rehabilitation, and certain military purposes in Greece and Turkey. The rule provides for 9 hours of general debate, following which the bill will be open for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

I might interpolate to say I will support this rule because I believe in majority rule, and the Committee on Rules did report this rule.

Never in my experience have I encountered a legislative measure concerning which so many people know so little. We have been told that this is a bill to feed the hungry and to clothe the destitute in Greece and Turkey; and to provide for the rehabilitation of those countries. We are also told that this is a bill for military purposes—to stop the spread of communism and the march of the aggressor.

There is no doubt of the need for food and clothing, medicine and housing, reconstruction and rehabilitation in war-torn, tragic Greece. But no such situation exists in Turkey, where food and clothing are abundant, and the people have grown fat on the profits of war. There is no suffering, no destitution, no wreckage of war in Turkey—for Turkey was neutral in World War II. So, while there may be need for additional funds to help Greece—funds greater than those already being furnished under our general European relief program—surely the only purpose behind the Turkish loan is a military one.

No one in this House knows how much the new foreign policy we are embarking upon will cost, or when that cost will end. No one knows how many other countries will demand aid of us to stop the spread of communism; or to drive back the aggressor. No one knows whether the enactment of H. R. 2616 will result in war or in peace. No one knows whether this is the best way or the worst way to accomplish our desired purpose of bringing peace, liberty, and freedom to the peoples of the world. Little or no real information has been given us by those who favor this bill.

So in the belief this is one of the most far reaching and important measures ever to come before the Congress—for it establishes a new American foreign policy from which we cannot easily turn aside—I opposed the granting of the rule until we could first hear from Secretary of State Marshall and ask for answers to many of the questions which are now giving us such grave concern.

I do not know where this legislative step—if we take it—will lead. I do not believe anyone knows. I do not know how long we will have to continue furnishing aid to Greece and Turkey to stop the spread of communism in those lands, or if we start, what the full cost will be. I do not know what other peoples or countries will be appealing to us for money, munitions, and men with which to combat the spread of communism. I

do not know whether this is the road to peace or to war.

However, there are some things I do know. I know that 30 years ago we entered a great war—the World War we called it then—to save democracy by destroying kaiserism, and that we expended billions of dollars and many thousands of lives in that cause. We helped to win that war, but with the victory came disillusionment, and less democracy and freedom than prevailed before the struggle began.

I do know that of the tortured and decaying remains of a war-torn Europe there arose an even greater autocracy than that which prevailed under the kaisers and the czars. Fascism, nazism, and communism spread their cancerous growths across the continent and into the far reaches of Asia. As the strength of these political ideologies grew, human liberty lessened and disappeared. The sound of military boots was heard everywhere. Force, violence, and a total disregard for the rights or dignity of man became the order of the day. Then suddenly the growing monsters reached out to take the land, the property, and the lives of weaker peoples. Italy seized Ethiopia and Albania. Russia wrested territory from little Finland, from Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. Germany marched into Czechoslovakia and Austria, and divided Poland with Russia. Later came the invasions of Norway, France, Belgium, and Holland, and of the Balkans, and Greece. Once more the cry came for America to save democracy. First we extended credit and loaned our money. Then we sent our guns and ships—and last our men.

Finally the eagles of victory perched upon our war banners. Hitlerism was destroyed. Treacherous Japan was defeated. We had fought and won two conflicts on opposite sides of the earth—two great victories at the cost of more than 300,000 dead, 700,000 wounded, and nearly five hundred billions of dollars.

Once again we had saved the world for democracy. The Four Freedoms would live, we were told. Yet even before the victories were won in what we know as World War II, the seeds of a third great world struggle were being sown—planted at Cairo, Tehran, and Yalta—yes, even at Potsdam.

Now it is communism we must fight. We find it here at home, as well as in almost every other part of the globe. Now we are being told once more that we can save the world with our money, with our food, with our tools—all short of war. However, we are not being told the whole story. Are we to fight the spread of communism only in Greece and Turkey? What about France and Italy, and Egypt, Palestine, and Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, India and the East Indies, China, Korea, the Philippines, and all the rest of the world? What about communism here at home? Are we to oppose it elsewhere and permit it to thrive unopposed here in America?

Must we fight another war? I believe that answer will be given by Russia, rather than by ourselves. If another war does come it may matter little whether

we win or lose, for civilization cannot stand another world conflict. The United States cannot stand the winning of another great victory. As certainly as I speak here, if another world war does not mean the end of civilization, it will, at least, mean the end of representative government, and liberty and freedom for the average individual.

After every war there is always less liberty and less freedom, and more hunger and greater suffering. If it is not to be war, how long can the 140,000,000 people here in the United States feed, finance, and police the world, or any great portion of it?

If this new proposed foreign policy is to cost the fifteen to thirty billion dollars many estimate it will; if we are to continue to furnish the food, the clothing, the machinery, and the equipment the world needs and demands; if we send hundreds of thousands, and perhaps millions, of our young men to police humanity's danger spots; there is a strong likelihood we shall so weaken ourselves here at home as to fall an easy prey to those Communists and radicals within our own ranks who even now are attempting to destroy our representative government, and to set up in its stead some sort of a socialized state here in America.

Two years ago the nations of a war-weary world sent representatives to San Francisco to endeavor to work out some means of preventing a third world war. Asking, in every tongue, the guidance of divine providence the delegates to the San Francisco Conference labored and brought forth a new international organization—the United Nations. Its purpose was to preserve the peace of the world and to protect the territorial and political integrity of the smaller nations.

In less than a year the first real test of that organization came, when Russia, who had insisted upon being given the veto power in the Security Council as the price for her joining the United Nations, broke an agreement to withdraw her troops from Iran, and insisted upon keeping them in that oil-rich land. The United States did not move as an individual nation to force withdrawal of the Russian troops from Iranian territory. Instead an appeal was taken by the Iranian Government to the United Nations and with the support of the delegates from this country, and from almost every other freedom-loving nation on the face of the earth, the United Nations organization was able to marshal public opinion throughout the world and, through it, to force the withdrawal of Russian troops from Iran. It was a great victory for the United Nations. It augured well for the future.

Yet, here a year later, when no Russian troops are in either Greece or Turkey, we propose by this legislation to ignore and bypass the United Nations, to lay ourselves open to the false charge of imperialism and to take upon ourselves the single-handed responsibility of stopping the spread of communism in those countries.

Let me say to you, in all sincerity; by the enactment of this bill we shall drive a dagger into the very heart of the United Nations. We shall destroy it. We shall

make certain of its death. How much wiser it would be if we were to appeal to the United Nations to aid Greece and Turkey in protecting their political and territorial integrity, while we serve and help the hungry and destitute of Greece. How much better it would be were we to loan our strength to the support of the United Nations in solving the Greco-Turkish situation, rather than to risk it on a single game of pitch and toss in the Mediterranean. How much better if we would furnish most of the financial aid, the goods and the men, to the United Nations, and then, under the auspices of that organization, and with the moral support of the other liberty-loving peoples of the world, make a united stand against the spread of communism and the threats of aggression.

No, my friends, if you really believe in world peace, if you want to stop the spread of communism and the march of the aggressor, you will not by-pass the United Nations, but instead will strengthen and use it as the one vehicle by which the great goal we all seek can be gained.

Let us test the sincerity of Russia. Let her join with the rest of the peace-loving nations of the earth in making the United Nations work in preserving the peace, and in protecting the territorial and political integrity of the weak. Or, if she chooses, let her refuse to cooperate and give her the opportunity to withdraw from the United Nations, or to be expelled if she does not wish to keep her solemn promises and pledges as made at San Francisco. If that last final step becomes necessary, then let the peace-loving countries of the earth ostracize Russia from the society of decent nations. Let diplomatic and commercial relations be severed. Let the iron curtain become effective both ways.

It is with the firm conviction that not until the United Nations and the ostracizing of Russia have failed, should we, as an individual Nation, take upon ourselves the responsibilities of either feeding, financing, and policing the whole world, or of fighting another world war.

Therefore, at the proper time I shall offer or support an amendment which would refer this whole matter to the United Nations, while, in the meantime, we can move to relieve the sufferings of our friends in Greece.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox].

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, some of the 1-minute speeches made here on the floor this morning, including the speech of my friend the gentleman from Ohio who just yielded the floor, pain me very much. It is difficult for me to realize that they represent the sound and informed judgment of their authors. Some of them are speeches that you would expect to hear in a political campaign addressed to a complacent and uninformed constituency. Make no mistake about it, they are the kind of speeches that will pierce the iron curtain drawn by Russia.

Mr. Speaker, I indulge no false illusions about what is here proposed. To me this is a solemn moment. We are here called upon to make a decision that will affect for good or evil the entire

world. Following the policy of appeasement, we have come to the brink of disaster. Our situation is somewhat like that of the eagle observing the arrow that had pierced his heart that was heard to say, "With our own feathers, not by others' hands, are we now smitten." We have done much which we must now undo.

The whole world is divided into two camps—Russia on one side and the United States on the other. There is no intermediate ground upon which people can long stand.

There are those who hesitate to support this resolution because of its military aspects and for them I have great sympathy. The resolution is military in character and for that reason, and that alone, I give it my wholehearted support. While it is a defense measure, it is also a declaration to the world that for the preservation of liberty we will war, and that America shall never be fed into the greedy maw of Russia.

That we are forever abandoning our historic doctrine of no entangling alliances with other peoples, I concede, but remember that when that doctrine was promulgated we were a small and weak nation. We were protected from foreign aggressions by the Atlantic to the east of us and the Pacific to the west, but this is no longer the case. This is a new age and a new world in which we now live. We now move forward or else we perish. We are in the hands of fate and must do her bidding. Our time for world leadership has come and we must not falter.

Men whose hearts have surrendered to fear and whose hopes grovel in the dust may seek refuge in the torn-down house of isolationism, but those of lofty souls and stout hearts, taking account of realities, will go forward in the determination that liberty shall not perish from the face of the earth.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COX. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to correct one error made by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown], when he said a while ago that at San Francisco the delegates prayed to Almighty God. The only prayer we heard during that entire conference was the prayer of Harry Truman, President of the United States, in his broadcast to the conference.

MOST IMPORTANT LEGISLATION EVER
PRESENTED HOUSE

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 10 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, we are today considering, as I view it, the most important legislation that has ever been submitted to this House. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] who preceded me—and I know he is sincere; I know he is honest—told us that this legislation is military in character. I was fearful of that. The people of this country on every occasion when they have had the opportunity have shown they are against war. The polls now show they still are against war. Are we today by passing this legislation going to declare war? I

hope to God that we will not bring about such an eventuality.

Mr. Speaker, a few days ago the press reported that I voted against this rule. Yes, I did vote against it, although I did not give out that information. I believe that my vote was in the right direction. I voted to postpone consideration for a few days so that the Members and the country would have an opportunity to familiarize themselves with this great and important matter on which we were about to grant a rule.

MANY WELL-INFORMED WITNESSES NOT CALLED

We have in this country, Mr. Speaker, many outstanding and completely loyal men who are better informed, by personal knowledge and investigation, than the small number who appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee, and on whose judgment the committee acted.

Mr. Speaker, I had hoped that we might have the benefit of the direct views of such disinterested and personally informed individuals as Secretary of State Marshall, Former Secretary of State Hull, former Secretary of State Byrnes, former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles, former Ambassador Joseph Kennedy, former Ambassador Joseph Davies, former Governor Harold Stassen, Col. Eliot Roosevelt, and above all of Paul Porter, former Price Administrator and lately head of the American Economic Mission to Greece and as such the President's personal ambassador.

I am satisfied that it was not the intention of the President to recommend this legislation as a war measure.

I have the utmost confidence, and the country has the utmost confidence, in President Truman.

He is honest, sincere, and patriotic, and he has always at heart the best interests of this great country and the masses of the people.

PRESIDENT LED ASTRAY BY FALSE ADVISERS

I am fearful only that the President may have been imposed upon and led astray by officials and advisers in whom he has reposed undeserved trust who are actually dominated by Wall Street finance and certain oil interests.

Such men almost inevitably confuse their private interests with the public interest, to put it in the best light; and some deliberately work for their private interests, knowing they are in direct conflict with the public good. Their environment and their conditioning and their affiliations make the distinction difficult even when the motives are pure.

Certainly I should not undertake to reflect on the honesty and sincerity of the Honorable Dean Acheson or of the Honorable Will Clayton. Yet Mr. Acheson was, prior to his appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, a partner in a prominent Wall Street law firm, and his family connections are with the conservatives inclined to think that wealth can do no wrong.

Mr. Clayton, a man of great ability, is a senior partner of the greatest firm in the cotton industry, intimately associated with uninhibited bigness of holdings, volume, and world-wide interests. He is a big man, and associated with big men, and in viewpoint is unavoidably in sympathy with Wall Street financial groups.

The close connections of John Foster Dulles, the Republican adviser to the State Department, with international finance and cartelism, with the Nazi-Fascist governments, and with the ruthless exploitation of Big Business, are so well-known and have been so widely publicized they need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that his law firm found it easy and advantageous "to do business with Hitler."

CONFIDENCE IN GENERAL MARSHALL

I have thorough and great confidence in the judgment of Secretary Marshall in guiding and safeguarding the interests of our own country, and accordingly I have been favorably impressed by his expression of belief that there is a real and potential opportunity to effect an amicable adjustment of the differences between the United States and Russia, thereby assuring peace not only to our own country but to the whole sick world.

As I may not have another opportunity to speak on this legislation, I appeal to the membership to read the full text of General Marshall's report to the people, and of the interview between former Governor Stassen, of Minnesota, who resigned that great office to enter the service of our country as a naval commander and served with distinction in the war against nazism, and Generalissimo Stalin.

Remember that Stalin told Commander Stassen: "I want to bear testimony to the fact that Russia wants to cooperate."

Just yesterday you saw the headlines in the Washington Star, "Stassen says arming of Greek regime will be tragic mistake."

I should have liked, Mr. Speaker, to insert the full text of that interview at this point; but because of the length I insert instead the summary of the interview published in the Christian Science Monitor, which is concise and fair:

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Harold E. Stassen, Republican Presidential aspirant, has brought home from Prime Minister Joseph Stalin words of promised cooperation on a wide range of issues, from world atomic control to exchange of students, which continue to divide the United States and Russia.

From the verbatim transcript of the 80-minute exchange which Mr. Stassen had with him at the Kremlin and which Mr. Stassen has now issued in full text, it develops that the Russian Premier offered to his visitor these views:

1. Stalin said he believed it is possible for Russia's Communist economy and America's free-enterprise economy to exist together in the same world in harmony.

COOPERATION

2. He held that cooperation between the two systems which was possible could not be realized unless both sides "wish to cooperate," and he told Mr. Stassen that he wanted "to bear testimony to the fact that Russia wants to cooperate."

3. He argued that if Americans will stop calling Russia "totalitarian" and if Russians stop calling America "monopolist," there will be a good chance of achieving cooperation. "We must start," he said, "from the historical fact that there are two systems approved by the people."

4. Stalin thought it would be difficult for Russia to dispense with censorship.

5. He "hoped" there was a "reasonable prospect" of working out agreements for

world control of atomic energy, and used the words: "I think we shall succeed in establishing international inspection and control. Things are leading up to it."

6. He revealed interest and concern over the possibility of an economic crisis in the United States. Twice he asked Mr. Stassen this question and referred to the fact that "magazine analysts and the American press carry open reports to the effect that an economic crisis (in the United States) will break out."

The record of the interview shows that Mr. Stassen replied that he did not think a depression would develop. To the specific question "Do you expect a crisis?" Mr. Stassen answered:

"I do not. I believe we can regulate our capitalism and stabilize our production and employment at a high level without any serious crisis. But it is the main problem to avoid a depression in our economic system. With wise policies in Government and through learning the lessons of 1929 and the 1930's, we should have a successful, regulated, but not monopolistic, capitalism with which we can avoid economic crisis."

Stalin himself volunteered this explanation of America's development and favorable postwar position:

"Things are not bad in the United States. America is protected by two oceans. In the north there is a weak country, Canada, and to the south a weak country, Mexico, and so you need not be afraid of them. After the War of Independence the United States did not have another war for 60 years, and that was a great help to the rapid development of the United States of America. America's population is made up of such people as fled from monarchy and tyranny and kings and landed aristocracy, and that was also a great help, and that is why America developed in leaps and bounds."

Mr. Stassen's interview took place on April 9 in Moscow, where he was visiting during the course of a 2-month trip to study economic and political conditions throughout Europe.

MOLOTOV PRESENT

Present at the interview were Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov; Messrs. Pavlov, Russian interpreter; Jay Cooke, Philadelphia Republican leader, war veteran, and associate of Mr. Stassen on his journey; and Robert Matteson, of St. Paul, Minn., war veteran and research assistant on Mr. Stassen's staff.

The transcript prepared from Mr. Matteson's notes in English of the entire conference and reviewed with interpretation of Mr. Pavlov's transcript in Russian, copy of which was obtained upon request.

Permission to release the transcript was requested and obtained from Prime Minister Stalin at the conclusion of the conference.

ALEMAN FLEADED FOR PEACE

You have heard also the stirring appeal of President Miguel Aleman, of our friendly sister Republic of Mexico a few days ago, when he appeared before us, for world peace and justice and freedom.

You heard him say, in part:

Amity between governments is short lived, unless it be the outcome of a genuine desire of their people to cooperate. Were we to limit the efficacy of good neighborliness to the covenants to safeguard the theoretical equality of all states, the respect of territorial integrity, the principle of nonintervention, as well as the joint defense of the continent, we would still be defrauding some of the most cherished hopes of our peoples. The fact that nearly 300,000,000 people live side by side in our hemisphere involves not only juridical problems and not alone problems of military strategy. As much as in the political solutions—and perhaps much more than in the political solutions—those millions are concerned not only with assistance to ward off foreign aggression, but also with common efforts to overcome the dangers of

poverty and despair in the difficult years of the peace.

The true significance of good neighborliness is cooperation. It springs from the democratic tenets that bind us together. It surpasses the scope of diplomacy. It goes beyond the exchanges of military staffs. It brings our peoples closer to one another, holding fast to their inalienable rights, those very rights your Declaration of Independence sets forth as supreme goals—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

NOT PRESENTED AS WAR MEASURE

The witnesses who appeared before the committees of the House did not state, as my colleague from Georgia has said, that this is a war measure, but, Mr. Speaker, if I could persuade myself that this is not a war measure I should gladly support it.

Mr. Speaker, I certainly have no objection to helping the needy and tragic people of the countries devastated by the horrible Nazi war against humanity.

There can be no possible doubt of my position on that, for I have explained it over and over.

I voted to provide \$350,000,000 for foreign aid in Europe, and I am willing to vote for any additional millions necessary to feed the starving or to help rehabilitate the war-devastated areas, but I am unwilling to vote any millions for foreign military operations in peacetime when our direct interests are not affected.

At this point I want to make my position equally clear on another point.

I am not in favor of permitting Russia to expand in a way which would affect our legitimate interests anywhere, or which would jeopardize world peace, and I am opposed to any unjustified and aggressive Russian expansion at the expense of the freedom of any smaller nation.

TURKEY NOT IN NEED

As for Turkey, I have heard no convincing arguments that she is in any need of financial or military aid. Her economy is in good shape. Her agricultural economy is the best she has ever known.

Turkey fought against the Allies in the First World War, and in the Second World War, notwithstanding her promise to join the United Nations, she remained friendly with Hitler and flirted with both sides.

All through the war, far from suffering, Turkey fattened on bribes from England and the United States.

Official figures show that Turkey already has received more than \$100,000,000 from the United States in subsidies or bribes to keep her out of the war.

Turkey's on-the-fence attitude during the war caused the United Nations great anxiety, and in addition to those huge bribes we had to keep armies ready for action if she joined Hitler.

Turkey continued negotiations with Von Papen, Hitler's emissary, all through the war.

Nobody with whom I have talked feels that Turkey deserves any aid.

As it has been stated, all that Turkey needs is help to equip her standing army of 600,000 men. Is that for the purpose of enabling the Turkish Army to kill off the remaining Christian Armenians, as has been the national custom in Turkey for generations past?

For the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, to say, as he is reported to have said, that Greece and Turkey are democracies is ridiculous.

I have no doubt that there has been some improvement over the days of the Sultans; but Turkey is still the "sick man of Europe." Her huge standing army is a constant drain on the national economy and on her manpower.

Greece is little better. The monarchy is German, imposed by British bayonets. Religious and political persecution there is reported to be about as bad as in Nazi Germany, and it is said that people are imprisoned or executed without trial merely on suspicion of criticism of the existing government.

UNITED STATES ABANDONED LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Twenty-five years ago we foredoomed the League of Nations to failure by refusing to join our great power and strength with other peace-loving nations.

Are we now going to let another great effort at world peace go by default by by-passing the United Nations?

The people of the world have pinned all their hopes on the United Nations to bring a just and lasting peace.

Shall we dash those hopes by embarking on a one-nation war of nerves to save the investments of financiers and oil cartels in the Middle East?

It is my belief that had we entered the League of Nations we might have so strengthened the League that the Second World War could have been warded off, and I am fearful that today we shall threaten the stability and effectiveness of the United Nations, organized for the same purpose: To bring peace to a troubled world and to create the conditions under which all people can live in harmony in the democratic way of life.

FORMER ISOLATIONISTS EAGER FOR THIS LEGISLATION

Is it not strange, Mr. Speaker, that many former isolationists are now so eager for war?

It is possible that had our isolationists not so opposed and delayed our preparations, the Second World War could have been avoided.

I feel they are making a mistake now as they did before, and I hope they will come to the realization that we owe it to the country, we owe it to ourselves, and we owe it to the world not to weaken the United Nations but to strengthen it.

Actually, it has been brilliantly argued by many international lawyers that under the United Nations Charter this legislation is illegal.

Whether or not it is illegal, it certainly contains grave dangers that we may weaken the cause of international government and international law by acting alone in this way.

CANNOT EXTERMINATE ALL WHO DISAGREE WITH US

I know the President is honest, sincere, and patriotic, a great Democratic President, with the welfare of the people always close to his heart, and I know that he does not intend and did not intend by recommending this measure to involve us in any global war such as this might conceivably bring about.

I fear only, as perhaps I have said before, that he is being advised by gentlemen whose views differ from those of most of us, and to whom, somehow, matters which might be to British interest seem paramount, or to whom true democracy is not very real or meaningful, and who put their own interpretation on events.

Our ruling monopolists perhaps think that we can exterminate by force of arms all who disagree with us.

They are wrong.

The strong hopes of the people for peace and freedom are stronger than all the armaments of reaction.

(Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include several editorials and articles.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. RIZLEY].

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Speaker, of course, it is impossible in the short period of 3 minutes to express intelligently our views on an important matter of this kind.

I shall vote for this rule, but I am opposed to the legislation which the rule makes in order.

I think it extremely unfortunate that the information has gone out from the press that there was an attempt to kill the bill outright in the Rules Committee.

The informant for the press who gave the information in respect to the proceedings of the Rules Committee in executive session last Friday, when it was considering the pending resolution having to do with the Greek-Turkish loan was quite accurate in most respects. However, in order that the press may now be fully informed, we think the informant who made the report should, as the lawyers would say, have told "the whole truth." Of course, I do not know who furnished the press with the information concerning the proceedings of committee in executive session. Ordinarily, and there was a time, when executive sessions of committees were presumably off-record for the public generally; but I am sure that most Members of Congress have long since learned that nothing is off the record so far as congressional procedures are concerned. Quite often conferences of either of the parties which deal with strictly party matters, also cloaked in utmost secrecy, are made available to the press as soon as the conferences are adjourned. There is nothing secret any more except the facts that are withheld from the American taxpayers, which they would no doubt like to have before agreeing to pay for a third world war. As far as I am personally concerned, it was perfectly agreeable with me to inform the press, not only of the results, but as to the entire discussion that was carried on in the Rules Committee in executive session; but certainly the informant should have been fair enough to tell the gentlemen of the press that the postponement of the bill at that time, on the part of some of us, was not for the purpose of permanently killing the bill, which seems to have been the impression that was given the press either inten-

tionally or unintentionally; but that the real reason for the temporary postponement was to make available to the committee further information which they believed it was possible to get from General Marshall.

Some of us wanted to ascertain from the Secretary of State, General Marshall, the position of the State Department in respect to continuing shipments of equipment, heavy materials, and other commodities to Russia. To some of us it seems that the two policies, namely, the policy to stop communism by making a military alliance with Turkey and Greece against Russian expansion, and at the same time continue to pour American goods into Russia, are somewhat inconsistent. Some of us believe that the American people should be told the truth about this Greek-Turkish loan. Apparently the State Department assumes for itself that it can label such legislation as a relief bill, pretend that the bill is for the purpose of giving relief to hungry and naked people, and that the House and the American people will be fooled by such hypocrisy and take the bill as labeled.

All of us know relief is desperately needed by the Greek people and we just last week voted \$200,000,000 for relief, a part of which is to go to the people in Greece. I supported that bill. Certainly I am willing to vote for funds necessary to assist the brave and heroic Greek people in food, clothing, and shelter, but the policy of a military alliance with Greece and Turkey is a matter which should be considered very carefully and prayerfully before the final step is taken.

Yes, Mr. Speaker; this country wants peace, the whole world wants peace, and we were hopeful that when we joined in the creation of the United Nations Organization that we had created the machinery where questions of the character involved in this bill could be settled and would be settled by the United Nations and that thereafter no single one country would attempt to form a military alliance or a military compact with one country or two countries or a group of countries without first consulting the United Nations, and thereby attempt to bring about settlements through that organization.

It is said that the United Nations is impotent. That may be true; but at least it could have been consulted, and if the United Nations, with the exception of Russia, had concluded that the intention of Russia was to encircle Europe, the Balkans, including Turkey and Greece, or were attempting encirclement of any other section of the world, contrary to the rules and regulations and understanding contemplated in the United Nations Organization, then would have been the time for this country to have spoken. In other words, if we are to disregard entirely the United Nations Organization at any time and under any circumstances that we desire, then we should make that policy known, we should withdraw from that Organization so that the whole world, and especially our own people, will know that we intend to make such deals at such times and under such circumstances as we deem advisable with reference to the other part of the world.

I do not surrender to the gentleman from Georgia or anyone else in my devotion to America and to American principles, but military agreements and compacts of this character usually mean war. I do not believe the American people want war. I think they are crying and praying for peace.

And another thing, Mr. Speaker, this country is not strong enough economically to police the world alone. If we follow this course we are now charting, we must have a military establishment strong enough to go into every section of the world on a moment's notice prepared to wage war against those who attempt to foster some other form of government which we construe to be imperialistic. Maybe we will spend untold billions fencing Russia in so that they cannot infiltrate into Greece and Turkey. When we have spent those billions, then it may be that the next infiltration will be into France or into some other part of Europe, and we will be called on for more billions and more soldiers. After Europe it may be India; after India it may be China; and after China, perhaps Korea. These billions that we will be required to expend, when added to our present debt of more than \$250,000,000, will bankrupt this Nation just as sure as you and I are here today. Then, with a bankrupt United States, what will happen. The men on horseback will come along here. Nothing breeds communism as much as poverty; and if we are not very careful in this world-wide attempt to fight communism, we will ourselves become insecure and communism will enthrone itself in a bankrupt America, brought about by our own stupidity.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. RIZLEY] has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. RIZLEY. May I inquire, in passing, what governments are we going to support and just what governments are we not going to support? Does anyone claim that Turkey is a democracy? Has Turkey done anything to demonstrate its love for this country or its love for democratic principles? How long has it been since they were murdering the Armenians and Christians? Just how strong do we want to make Turkey from a military standpoint? The answer is, according to our friends who are sponsoring this legislation, Yes; we admit it is fraught with danger, it is bad, but the alternative is much worse. Where are the facts that warrant such a conclusion as the alternative? What has this administration, which is sponsoring this legislation under the theory that it is being done to thwart the Red menace, done in America to stop communism? In every branch of our Government now we have Communists. Yesterday, if we are to believe the press, Communists in Army uniform were marching in May Day parades in America. Has anything been done to weed the Army of Communists? Had we not better stop Communists at home and make America strong before we attempt this policy abroad? Before we pass this legislation we better have a breathing, praying spell, so to speak. We better get our own

house in order; we better be sure that this is not an OPA or a WPA to further the ideologies of the genuine New Dealers. Only a strong America can survive, and bankruptcy and strength do not go together.

(Mr. RIZLEY asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

(Mr. HERTER asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this brief time under the rule to explain my views with respect to the pending legislation.

This legislation has now been debated in the country at large for over 2 months. It was recommended by the President, and it was passed by the Senate in substantially the same form in which it now comes to us. A bill of the far-reaching importance of this one requires just such free and full discussion, and I am glad that the rule now before us provides for 9 hours of general debate.

I am going to vote for the bill. I shall do so, and I believe that many others on the floor of this House will do so, without great enthusiasm. Our lack of enthusiasm stems from the fact that no one can tell us where ultimately the policy on which we are about to embark will lead. On the other hand, we do know this—we know that the Soviet Union has adopted a course, the outlines of which are quite clear. That course has for its objective bringing within the orbit of communistic totalitarianism as many nations as can be weaned away from their present social and political concepts. Where this cannot be done by infiltration and revolution it has been done by occupation and force. It is a policy which is very similar to the policy adopted by Hitler of picking off one nation at a time, hoping thereby to avert an open clash but hoping likewise thereby eventually to become so strong that no single power nor remaining combination of powers could challenge his world-wide ambitions. A halt had to be called to that policy of Hitler's. So today a halt must be called to the aggressive ambitions of the Soviet Union. The legislation now before us attempts to do this.

I am convinced that we have but two alternatives to choose from. The first is to reject this legislation and in effect say to the Soviet Union that in spite of the recommendation of the President and the action of the Senate we do not propose to interfere with her expansionist policy. The second alternative is to accept this legislation and say to the Soviet Union that we are giving this help to allow two nations to continue their existence without Soviet domination. In choosing between these alternatives I feel that the latter course is the wiser and in the long run is much less likely to lead to open conflict.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and the measure which it makes in order. No

one can question the terrible import and importance of this legislation. We all I think, realize that this policy perhaps will affect generations yet unborn, but it seems to me that we have here a proposition that should appeal to our common horse sense. In a matter of this great importance I would ordinarily hesitate to raise my feeble voice and express my views on so transcendent a proposition, but what have we here today? We have the considered recommendation of the President of the United States. It has the support of the responsible leadership of the Democratic Party and of the Republican Party. It comes to us with the endorsement of the United States Senate.

The plain, common, horse-sense question that is presented to the membership today is whether or not they are going to repudiate the foreign policy laid down by the President, by the responsible leadership of both parties and by the Secretary of State who we have designated as our representative to formulate our negotiations with foreign nations.

What has happened in this matter? For years this Nation has attempted to appease Russia. We have reached the conclusion that that cannot be done, and that is what this measure means, that this Government intends to stiffen its policy. That is the plain truth of the whole situation.

When I came on the floor this morning I happened to pick up a newspaper and this was the first thing that struck my eye. I am going to read it to you. It is dated Paris, France, yesterday:

PARIS, May 5.—Faced with the threat of a general strike, spearheaded by striking workers of the nationalized Renault automobile plants, uneasy France was wondering tonight just which direction it was headed.

Yesterday's vote of confidence for Premier Ramadier and the expulsion of five Communist Cabinet Ministers was conceded in authoritative quarters to be motivated by President Truman's program for assisting democracies endangered by Communist domination.

Someone during the course of the debate this morning asked where this would lead us, which way it would lead us. Do you not think this article from the morning's paper is significant? It shows that this policy has already begun to pay dividends throughout the world. It shows that this stiffened policy of the American people is indicating to certain foreign countries that this country will no longer yield at every point.

We had to face a similar decision in the last World War. We repudiated the League of Nations and then decided through a policy of appeasement and doing nothing that we would let the dictatorships go to the point where they could challenge the civilization of the world. Are we going to do that again?

It seems to me when I hear certain Members of this body, certain Members I say, get up here and espouse the same cause as is espoused by the followers of Henry Wallace, it seems to me that when certain Members of this body join forces with the Wallace forces, then I have seen everything that there is to be seen.

Are we going to return to the old policy of isolationism that destroyed the

League of Nations and brought on the last World War?

Does history teach us nothing?

In these days are we ever going to learn that we cannot stick out heads in the sand and hope that these tides are not going to flow over us? Let us look at the realities of life. Let us realize that we cannot repudiate our Secretary of State and our President, as well as the leadership of the Democratic Party and the leadership of the Republican Party. Whatever else might be done about this matter, let us resolve ourselves in favor of following a leadership that so far has been successful.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the rule and the bill. I shall vote against both. President Truman, on the skinny pretext of stopping communism, has asked this Congress to authorize the intervention of this country in the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. He has been honest enough to admit that this calls for a basic change in our foreign policy, contrary to all precedent. Certainly it contradicts historic American policy, and if approved, will lead us into World War III—the first atomic war, if you please.

So long as we remain free and strong we shall never permit the entry of European or Asiatic nations in the Western Hemisphere. We would resist such an effort with all our resources. That is the essence of the Monroe Doctrine. As late as July 6, 1940, Secretary Hull said:

The Government of the United States pursues a policy of nonparticipation and non-involvement in the purely political affairs of Europe.

If this request is not political intervention in Greece and Turkey, what is it? President Truman reverses the Roosevelt-Hull policy and now asks us to approve a policy that justly might be called "intervention unlimited."

Admiral W. H. Standley, retired, and United States Ambassador to Russia in 1942-43, recently said:

We should not assume responsibility of maintaining economic and political order in the Mediterranean area, or in any other area, without giving full consideration to its implications.

Never again should we assume political commitments which we are either unable to support financially or unwilling to support with our full military power.

We are asked to support this legislation on the ground that our national security is involved because of communistic expansion. If that is true, then we share a great measure of responsibility. The cause of Russian expansion was accelerated in historic secret conferences at Teheran and Yalta, where Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill partitioned the postwar world. At those conferences—mark you well—those gentlemen turned over control of all of eastern Europe to Russia. Only Greece was exempt from those operations because of the strategic importance of that country. Churchill did not want Russia flanking Britain's life line to the Far East, and he fondly

hoped that Soviet expansion would stop at the Greek borders. Stalin had other ideas. He insists that Greece is as properly within the Soviet sphere of influence as Cuba is within that of the United States. If we are honest and realistic, we will admit there is some merit to this position. So today we are in our present position by our own choice. We are reaping what we have sown.

Before embarking upon uncharted seas prudence demands that we count the costs. There is nothing in this bill which justifies taking a leap into oblivion, for that is what it is.

I am opposed to this measure for the following reasons:

First. It is purely a military venture.

Second. It will ultimately lead to economic disaster.

Third. It is properly a matter to be considered by the United Nations.

I urge that the rule be voted down.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield three minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RICH].

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 1 minute.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, we are today embarking upon a proposal such as has never been presented to the American people up to the present time. This is a military bill and should have been referred to the Committee on Military Affairs rather than to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. There is also appropriated in it \$400,000,000 which should have been referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

May I ask, where are you going to get this money?

Mr. Speaker, the administration has been spending money in the last 10 years like drunken sailors so that the country at the present time is about wrecked, financially it is \$259,000,000,000 in debt, and if we do not build up the United States and make it strong in every way instead of tearing it down and down, making it weak by such bills as this, we will not be of service either to ourselves or any other country in the world. Bankrupt the Nation and anything can happen to America.

Mr. Speaker, this bill will result in a hardship on the taxpayers of America. It will go to build up a military machine in Turkey and Greece and we do not know how long these countries will be under control of men in whom we have faith. This build up of a military machine is just as liable to be turned against us as to be used for us when we want them. This will not stop communism in Greece or Turkey.

Great Britain withdrew from Greece and asked us to go in there and pull her chestnuts out of the fire and to perpetuate in Greece a monarch who does not have a drop of Greek blood in his veins. That is the kind of dynasty we are now trying to build up for the Greek people. Do you think for one minute that is going to be a country which will be loyal to Greeks? I question it very much.

We are taking as an ally the Turks. Never before have we condoned the things that the Turkish Government did and, in my judgment, they too will turn

against America after we have built up a military machine that they can turn against America. Oh! how foolish a proposal this military bill is for us here in America.

The Rules Committee was told by members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, very little what the bill was intended to do with the exception of the gentleman from South Carolina, that this is to build up a war machine for Greece and Turkey. The gentleman from South Carolina told us that we are going over there to build up a military machine in order to keep the Dardanelles from falling into the hands of Russia, that we are going to build up a military machine over there to protect certain oil interests in the Near East.

Mr. Speaker, this bill smells too much of oil to suit me and the quicker the American people realize we are going over there to protect oil interests the better it will be for the American people. Be honest about it:

A few years ago I remember in a political campaign a great radio voice said and I quote: "I promise you mothers again, again and again I will not send your sons to fight on foreign soil." Mr. Speaker, if we pass this legislation we will be sending the sons of America over there to fight on foreign soil again and that in the very near future. Do not by pass the United Nations or you kill it. Keep America strong—build up our own country, our own resources, our own Flood Control our own Reclamation, our own Army and Navy, our own Air Force, our own Marine Corps, our own Atom-bomb.

If we become bankrupt we are no good to ourselves or anybody. Be wise and economize.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the rule and also do not hesitate to say that I shall support the bill itself. Obviously, in the time assigned to me it is utterly impossible to discuss the bill. I can merely express my opinion in two or three sentences. I believe the passage of this measure will serve as a deterrent of war rather than encourage it. And I believe further—and this is more important, in my view—that the passage of this measure will insure to the safety of the United States.

My plea now is, however, that the House of Representatives adopt this rule so that we may go into this thing in an open debate, in which the Members interested in the matter may take part; a public debate, which may contain utterances heard around the world. I am for that kind of debate, and whether you are opposed to the legislation itself or in favor of it. I hope on this occasion, when the House of Representatives is facing the world and world opinion, that we shall go forward, debate this matter, and make the great decision.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, what does the Truman doctrine cost? Where does it end? Does it destroy the United Nations? Is it an undeclared declaration of war?

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, the President has proposed a policy which stabs the United Nations in the back. Mr. Truman advocates that we and we alone decide what should be done about aggression. In the Greek-Turkey bill he has asked the Congress to adopt as a policy intervention in every civil war in the world. In so doing the President has violated our Nation's commitment to the United Nations to bring before that body any condition—economic, political, or military—which threatens the peace of the world. His policy destroys the United Nations, and in so doing the President makes inevitable a third world war. The sons and daughters of America will die on the battlefields of Asia and Europe to carry out this policy.

Financially, we cannot afford to divide the world into two armed camps. We already owe \$260,000,000,000. Now Mr. Truman asks us to give away anywhere from ten to twenty billions of dollars every year. This fancy doctrine should be called the bankruptcy policy for America.

Our taxes are already too high. How can taxes be reduced if we continued to send \$20,000,000,000 of goods and services abroad every year? The simple answer is that it cannot be done.

Mr. Speaker, there are other excellent reasons for opposition to this violation of our commitment to the United Nations. In Greece, Mr. Truman would use our money to sustain a corrupt and venal monarchy. One Greek king was assassinated; three Greek kings were driven into exile. The Greek people hate monarchy; yet Mr. Truman wants to spend three hundred millions of good American money to keep him in power.

The story on Turkey is even worse. That country for a thousand years has persecuted Christians and Jews. Turkey has been a military dictatorship for the past 20 years. They have no freedom of speech—no free press—and in the last war they sold out the Allies to the Nazis. They violated their sworn agreements; yet, it is proposed that we should form what in effect is a military alliance with Turkey, despite the demonstrated unreliability of their military dictatorship.

He is asking us to cut the American standard of living in order to form a military alliance with Turkey. Every old, worn-out, moth-eaten shiek in the Middle East will be filling his pockets with our tax money.

Mr. Speaker, our money will be poured down every international rat hole from Singapore to Constantinople.

Fortunately, there is another way—an honorable way—and an effective one. We should keep our commitment with the United Nations. We should join with the other nations of the world in preventing aggression. Fortunately, we do have enough money to contribute relief and clothes to the Greek people, but Mr. Truman, under the guise of feeding the hungry, is asking us to form a military alliance with a Turkish dictatorship.

This policy destroys the United Nations—it leads to war.

FAVORS ADOPTION OF RULE

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I want to make my position clear. As the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. RIZLEY], a member of the Committee on Rules, has explained, we wanted to postpone the action on the rule until we could obtain additional information. My position for years, and I still adhere to it, has been that I shall not deprive the House by my vote or action of the opportunity to pass judgment on any important legislation. I feel, however, since I voted to postpone action, that I owe it to myself and the House to say that I feel that the rule should be passed, because that has been my belief and my practice.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I point out that on March 12 when the President addressed the joint session of Congress he stated:

We have considered how the United Nations might assist in this crisis. But the situation is an urgent one requiring immediate action, and the United Nations and its related organizations are not in position to extend help of the kind that is required.

This statement of immediacy and urgency was made on March 12. It was made to justify the bypassing of the United Nations. Almost 2 months have gone by. I think the time element and events have negated the urgency of the request, in view of the fact that nothing has happened to substantiate the alleged urgency, urged as an excuse to bypass the United Nations.

May I add further that no one up to now, including the President, particularly, with the Assembly of the United Nations and the Council in session, has been able to explain the reason why the United Nations should be bypassed.

GREAT BRITAIN GAVE UNITED STATES RUSH ACT

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I fully believe that Great Britain has, by her usual conniving methods, given us the rush act, feeling that if our country had time to consider this matter carefully there would be no chance to maneuver us into pulling her hot chestnuts out of the fire and permit her to unload many of her responsibilities upon us. May I ask: What has Great Britain ever done for America that we should assume her burdens and commitments?

Few have taken the trouble to examine the patent absurdity with which Britain announced 6 weeks ago her financial inability to further maintain an illegal occupation army of perhaps 12,000 officers and men in Greece, and her subsidies to the rotten Turkish autocracy, while continuing to maintain and finance an illegal occupation army of more than 100,000 officers and men in Palestine.

Through a tremendous propaganda campaign Great Britain is skillfully placing herself in a position of arbiter between the United States and Russia, when there is only imperial jealousy and economic conflicts between England and Russia.

This is an absurd situation.

As the richest and most powerful Nation in the world, with no national aspirations toward imperialistic exploitation, but desiring only peace and freedom of commerce and travel and of establishing a democratic way of life, we should be the arbiter, the world umpire.

Our only aggressive and dangerous enemies—and I want to repeat this again and again—were the Nazis and the Japanese war lords. We fought those countries and defeated them, in alliance with Russia and the other United Nations.

It is the English bankers and investment brokers who have been bleeding Greece and Turkey and much of the rest of the world with high-interest loans and absentee ownership of utilities and resources, and it is the British Empire's life line that stretches through the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas—not ours.

DANGERS EXAGGERATED

As I have stated frequently on this floor, I believe that the great hue and cry about imminent danger from communism is a blown-up fraud perpetrated by those spokesmen of reaction who oppose the the slightest progress.

I sincerely believe that there is greater danger to our country, and to international peace, from stubborn reactionaries, from brutal cartels playing for monopolistic power, and from the adherents of the Nazi-Fascist ideology than from our handful of Communists whose potential power has been so fantastically exaggerated.

There is little doubt that England played a double game throughout the rise and reign of Hitler.

Without the tacit consent of England the Hitler legions would never have marched into the Saar and the Ruhr over the protests of France and Russia. The sacrifice and betrayal of Austria and Czechoslovakia could not have been accomplished without British complicity.

It is a matter of history that the British delegation deserted Russia at the crucial time that Hitler might have been checked.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

Surely Hitler must have believed that Chamberlain intended to betray Poland, as he had betrayed Czechoslovakia, and to renounce the defensive treaty with Poland, or he would never have risked the Polish invasion.

True, England did meet her treaty obligations by declaring war on Germany to protect Poland; but only after Germany had amassed the most powerful army, up to that time, the world had seen, and when it was too late to aid and protect Poland from devastation and misery.

Even when England was fully in the war, she never lost sight of her own economic and political stake in Poland.

More than that of any other government in exile the Polish Government in London was a government in captivity which was directed and supported by the British with a view to recapturing her own economic domination of that brave unhappy country when peace came.

She broke her promises and pledges to that Polish Army when she could no

longer use it, and there seemed no profit to be extracted from it. It is to be regretted that she has once more failed to keep her promises, and after using the Polish soldiers attempted to force them to take the most degrading employment.

One of the most ancient democratic documents in history is the Constitution of Poland.

The pride and courage and the democratic strength of the Polish people runs strong and true, and have for centuries.

There are, therefore, many strong bonds of sympathy between the brave Polish people and the common people of Greece and Turkey.

It is perhaps not well known in this country that Turkey was the only state which refused to recognize the partition of Poland.

Similarly, the Polish people have sympathized in the struggles of the Greek people for freedom from foreign and domestic tyranny.

During the war Poland and Greece suffered equally from the brutal destruction and slaughter of the Nazis, and thousands of Greeks died in Nazi concentration camps on Polish soil.

I have tried to show not only the bonds of friendship and of common experience between the people of these countries but also to suggest some parallels.

Germany found her excuse for invading Poland with Hitler's overwhelming war machine in manufactured "border incidents."

We have heard, and always from British sources, reckless charges of "border incidents" in northern Greece, and of allegations that Greek guerrillas tagged with the term "Communist," were helped from across the border, always intended to create prejudice in America against the Greek patriots who resent British rule.

For many weeks now a United Nations investigating committee has been looking into those reports.

We have had a lot of gossip about burglars and straying delegates, all of which have been officially denied, but no authentic information that the Commission found any truth in the rumors of trouble on the border:

Many similar unfounded stories, rumors, and suspicions have been published with great headlines, but the truth of the facts denying the original stories receives scant press publicity.

The report of the investigators is being drawn up now in Geneva. I feel that the House should have that report before acting on this legislation.

THIS IS USING RELIEF FOR POLITICS

It has been stated, even before the bill is passed, that other financial assistance will be extended to France if the new Cabinet is free of Communists, and there is talk of similar aid to Italy and other countries on the same conditions. This, I submit, is using relief and rehabilitation for politics very openly, although we condemn that practice when it is even suspected of other countries.

Some Members have said frankly that they intend to vote for this bill, not for the sake of aiding Greece in establishing a sound economy and a sound govern-

ment, but because it is clearly a war measure directed against Russia.

Mr. Speaker, my urgent plea to this Congress, and to my country, is to take a positive and constructive approach to the whole question of aid to the war-torn countries of Europe.

Our task is not to restore and strengthen the brutal exploitation of Greece, Turkey, Poland, Rumania, and the other countries there by the British, no less than the Germans, but to aid them in rebuilding their countries.

Soup lines and doles are not the answer; but machinery, agricultural implements, irrigation and drainage projects, fertilizer and seeds, insecticides, tools, medical care, for all the people, without regard to race, creed, or political inclinations.

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. Is the gentleman in agreement with the observation made by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO]?

Mr. SABATH. He read what the President stated. Those were not his views, they were the expressions of the President.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further since my name was mentioned?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Will the gentleman from Georgia, who has admitted that this is virtually a step that will lead toward war, explain in his time what reasons he can give for the bypassing of the United Nations?

Mr. COX. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield again?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. COX. If I have one virtue it is frankness. I am seeking no alibi. I regard this argument that this matter should be referred to the United Nations as an alibi, because every informed Member of the House knows that under existing conditions the United Nations can do nothing because of the veto power held by Russia.

Mr. SABATH. I disagree with the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] because a year ago the United Nations did act in the case of Iran and forced Russia to withdraw its troops. It was capable of acting there and I believe it can act now, if the right cooperation is given.

REACTIONARIES WILL SUPPORT BILL AS WAR MEASURE

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, I am fearful that the coalition of Democratic reactionaries and Republicans will support this measure for its warlike sound and meaning, and not for the sake of helping to rebuild the Greek economy and to establish a sound, democratic government in Greece, and not to help the Turkish people to progress further in their slow way toward democracy.

It is a sad commentary that those wealthy and powerful forces who seem to control our industry and business and finance and to maintain their own invisible government favor this high-handed military intervention in Greece because they believe that through it they can bring about the elimination of the threat

of communism and perhaps the defeat of Soviet Russia.

They appear more interested in the welfare and the economic rehabilitation of the Germans and the Japs than in the nations who fought side by side with us against the enemy, and who suffered the cruel ravages of barbarous warfare, with the wanton murder of their nationals and destruction of all their industrial and agricultural wealth.

WHAT WILL IT COST?

God alone knows how much it will cost in years to come in American dollars and American resources and American lives to stop communism as the proponents of this wild plan claim.

You cannot stop communism by war and murder and military rule.

On the other hand, war and murder and military rule create the conditions which bring anarchy and socialism and communism.

Furthermore, you cannot bribe a whole people into submission with any amount of money against their own powerful aims and hopes for freedom and self-government and decent living conditions.

That is the outstanding reason I cannot support and vote for this bill; though a war crusade might, which I doubt, destroy communism, it might also and probably would destroy civilization. Such a war would, beyond any doubt, be not only a most unfortunate thing for our country but for the world; if that sad eventuality comes about it will be the most destructive of all wars in lives and property.

Therefore, I feel we should consider long and carefully before we take this fateful step.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert at this point an editorial from the Chicago Sun of Sunday, May 6, commenting on the published interview between Commander Stassen and Generalissimo Stalin:

STALIN ON THE RED DOGMA

Harold Stassen may have risked his standing with some Republican leaders by talking with Stalin, but he has brought back one of the most illuminating interviews yet to come out of the Kremlin.

We all knew beforehand that Stalin wants peace. What is new and important is the great emphasis which Stalin, under Mr. Stassen's prompting, laid upon the compatibility of the Communist and capitalist economic systems.

Mr. Stassen was on perfectly sound ground in pointing out that some of Stalin's own past statements suggested the contrary view. The Leninist orthodoxy has often assumed an irrepressible conflict with capitalism. But Leninism, like other orthodoxies, has many facets, many tenets. Stalin was able to argue that the true religion does not exclude the possibility of peaceful co-existence with capitalism. And he could point to "the book" to prove his case.

The significant thing is that Stalin should find it desirable to make this point so emphatically. There have been many indications that western suspicion and fear of communism were based in part on an outmoded interpretation of its principles. Many of us have gazed with rapt fixation on that part of the doctrine which spoke of inevitable struggle for world rule. If Stalin now chooses to underline that part which points in the opposite direction, Communist hierarchs everywhere are reminded that the line has changed, and the world is reminded that the line does

leave a basis for the composition of power conflicts.

One may say that this shift in the line is no more significant or trustworthy than others of the past; that, when circumstances change, the old idea of world domination may come forward again. But this is not important. The cardinal error would be to base our own policy on the assumption that communism has fixed and rigid purposes, when in fact it is opportunistic, flexible, and capable of infinite adaptation to practical situations.

The very fact that the Red orthodoxy is elastic enough to include theoretical compatibility of its system with ours is significant of itself. For this means that, with wit and wisdom, we have a chance to attain a peace settlement and an organization of the world which, once established, will be proof against a revival of the world-revolution idea.

If we begin with the premise that the world must divide, then on both sides we shall do things which widen the breach and accelerate the descent toward ultimate war. But if we start from the opposite assumption, as Stalin suggests can be done in harmony with Communist dogma, and as we know can be done in harmony with our own, then there is hope that a reconstructed world will gradually build up on both sides a vested interest in peace.

In that case it will not matter that the Red orthodoxy is capable of returning to the idea of world domination. A peaceful and prosperous world will create little incentive for revolution. A peaceful and prosperous world will open to it no opportunities.

Stalin's confidence in the ultimate attainment of international control of atomic energy is encouraging. But he obviously still believes the tenet of Communist orthodoxy which holds capitalism to be naturally aggressive and imperialistic. He thinks we are in for an economic crisis, and that when that happens we may go to war for foreign markets. Mr. Stassen earnestly tried to convince him that capitalism will accept regulation to the extent necessary to avoid a major depression and restrain any expansionist tendencies. Stalin didn't sound convinced. It is up to all of us to prove Mr. Stassen right—to disprove this item of the dogma as we have disproved others.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN].

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION RESPONSIBLE FOR INFLATIONARY SPIRAL IN FOOD PRICES

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, the Truman administration is responsible for the inflationary spiral in food prices. That fact should be remembered when we hear almost daily appeals by administration spokesmen for reductions in prices. It is not generally realized that purchases by the Government for relief to the needy abroad is having a noticeable impact upon our own cost of living.

These purchases for foreign relief have the double effect of reducing supplies in the United States and in adding to the money or credit in circulation. Countless items daily are being taken out of our stocks to cover Government commitments made to peoples abroad.

It will be noticed that in all of the pleas by administration officials for business firms to slash their prices, nothing

is said about the way the Government is entering the markets and taking out huge quantities of food and other materials.

The Truman administration cannot escape the responsibility for higher prices of certain vital food products which account for the increase in the cost of living during the months of February, March, and April of this year.

President Truman properly has made appeals for a reduction in the cost of living. We all want that. I feel, however, that the President would be more helpful in pointing to the causes for higher prices if he would tell the people the part his administration has played in causing the inflationary spiral of grains and certain foods, instead of attempting to place the blame on farmers and the food industry.

Without criticizing the need for an export food program of grains and other food by the Government, a careful study of daily purchases of grains and other food by the Government discloses that prices were driven up by reckless and ill-timed buying for shipment abroad.

This is an example of bungling by bureaucracy—some officials hammering for reduction in the cost of living; others adding to prices by barging into the markets with huge orders for food products without proper planning of purchases so as not to blow the lid off prices. I suggest to President Truman that he cause coordination of these policies.

There is evidence that speculators have been reaping a golden harvest on Government-made bull markets. America has become the happy hunting grounds for easy money for wealthy refugees from abroad. They are flocking to this country and putting their money to work in the food and other markets—of course, with the intention of making money from rising prices. The net result is higher prices for food and other things the American people must buy.

The prices for corn, oats, feeds, meat, bread, and other food products generally follow the price of wheat. The speculative fever in commodity markets was created last fall by Government buying to fill commitments that had not been counted upon earlier in the year.

But the speculative boom in grain prices did not actually acquire its upward momentum until Monday, January 20, 1947, when the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Government buying agency, stepped into the market and purchased 19,728,647 bushels of wheat in 1 day.

This single day's purchase of wheat by the Government, which involved more than \$40,000,000, was the spark that touched off feverish speculation in all grains. In the weeks following January 20, wheat advanced around \$1 per bushel, with corn, other grains, and meat following the upward price of wheat. With large increases taking place in the price of wheat and other grains, prices of feed, flour, bread, meats, and other foods except dairy and poultry products, were advanced to cover higher raw material costs.

I want to again stress the importance of the ill-timed planning of the Com-

modity Credit Corporation in its buying of wheat during the month of January, at which time it was also announced by the Department of Agriculture that the 400,000,000 bushels of grains scheduled for shipment during the crop year 1946-47 would be stepped up and completed by May 1, 1947—2 months ahead of schedule. During the month of January the Government purchased 38,593,541 bushels of wheat. Of this total, 19,728,647 bushels were purchased on January 20. This operation was the go-ahead sign for the bull market and the green light for the wild speculation which took place during January, February, and March.

While I am satisfied that policy-making officials in the Department of Agriculture did not knowingly or intentionally disclose any information as to the magnitude of the Government's grain-buying program in advance of actual purchases, it is commonly heard on the street that certain well-known speculators in Washington, Chicago, and New York acquired large speculative grain holdings in the futures market during the months of November and December and prior to January 20 of this year.

An analysis of speculative operations for the months of January, February, and March will disclose that hundreds of millions of dollars in profits were made by speculators in grains and cotton.

American citizens were not the only speculators in the futures market for cotton, grains, and other commodities. My investigation discloses that certain wealthy refugees, who are enjoying the bounty and hospitality of the United States, and who are not required to pay income taxes on speculative gains, were amongst the leading speculators in the recent bull market in grains.

The nationality of some of the foreign speculators are listed as follows: Greek, Chinese, German, Dutch, Iranian, Polish, French, British, Egyptian, Czechoslovakian, Latvian, Swiss, Argentinian, Australian, Colombian, Cuban, Japanese, Mexican, Norwegian, Russian, Swedish, Turkish, and Venezuelan.

I am satisfied that all American citizens and foreign nationals did not make a profit out of the recent speculative grain market. Some of them lost money because they took the "short side" of the market too early, but most of them made substantial profits.

Foreign nationals are not required to pay any income taxes on speculative gains made in this country. This policy is wrong, and I will ask the Ways and Means Committee to report a bill to amend our income-tax laws so that all foreigners will pay the same taxes as are assessed against American citizens.

The information which I have gathered covering Government grain-buying operations and speculation by individuals in the futures market during recent months will be presented to the Committee on Agriculture for investigation.

GOVERNMENT GRAIN BUYING AFTER JANUARY 20, 1947

While Commodity Credit did not buy any substantial amount of wheat after its \$40,000,000 purchase on January 20, speculation in grains was given added impetus by statements of responsible Government officials and other promi-

nent citizens as to the need for large additional supplies of grain and food from this country to take care of the expanding needs of hungry people in the world. Obviously, we must ship food supplies abroad to prevent starvation.

Just as obviously, these shipments and Government purchases of food should be planned in a manner which will least upset our domestic economy. In the current instance, wise planning has not been done and the Government itself has become the greatest gambler in grain and the most bullish influence in a highly speculative market.

Thus, I repeat, the Truman administration cannot escape responsibility for high food prices by placing the blame on farmers and food distributors.

I will also request the Committee on Agriculture to investigate the "squeeze" that is being put on dairy farmers and poultry producers, who are forced to pay prices for feed which are far out of line for what they receive for their products.

I will have more to say on this subject at a later date, but in conclusion, I want to add the following thought for the benefit of the administration. President Truman is properly asking for a reduction in the cost of living.

It seems to me that he could set a good example for all producers and distributors in this country, by making drastic cuts in the price of Government. Congress is engaged in this task, and it would be very timely for the President and his Cabinet to join in slashing the budget by at least \$6,000,000,000.

President Truman's frequent statements that it would be false economy to reduce his budget estimated have not been helpful. He has taken the attitude that his budget is sacred writ and that Congress, the policy-making branch of the Government, must take it as it is. Department heads and officials of other Government agencies have taken the attitude of the President as a signal to oppose reduction in the swollen budget.

The country is demanding elimination of unnecessary Federal expenditures. I believe that cooperation by the President in reducing the price of government would be helpful not only to relieve the taxpayers' burden but as a weapon against inflation.

(Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three instances.

Mr. MORRISON (at the request of Mr. McCORMACK) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a copy of a bill.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH].

(Mr. CHENOWETH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, this is a solemn moment in the deliberations of this body. It is the hour of destiny for you and for me. We cannot

avoid the issue like this bill bypasses the United Nations. We must make a fateful decision which may determine the future of this country. No one can decide for us and each of us must face the cold and brutal facts involved in this situation.

The title of the bill would indicate this is a measure to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey. This is a misnomer, as this is not a relief bill. We passed the relief bill last week and authorized \$200,000,000 for Greece and other foreign countries. Of course we want to help Greece rebuild. The Greeks are our friends. The Greeks need food, medicine, and clothing. We are called upon in this bill to furnish military assistance and equipment so that Greece can fight communism. In other words, we are using American dollars and American soldiers to settle the political and domestic quarrels of a foreign nation. Such a policy is contrary to American tradition.

It is urged that we must prevent the spread of communism abroad. I am one of those who have been calling attention to the dangers of communism in this country. Surely we have all we can do to combat Communists right here at home. The danger from communism lies within, and not without our shores. We do not have to send military supplies and soldiers to Greece and Turkey to prove we are through appeasing Russia; we can do that by exposing the activities of Communists in this country.

I would also like to inquire what will be gained by stopping communism in Greece, and permitting it to spread through Europe. I am greatly concerned over the precedent we are establishing if this bill is passed. How can we deny similar aid to Poland, Austria, Italy, and France if we carry out the spirit of this new, and, in my opinion, most dangerous doctrine?

If we pass this bill it sets this country on a new course without compass or chart, and no one can predict what our destination will be. No one knows where the policy contained in this legislation will take this Nation. Today it is Greece and Turkey. Tomorrow it will be Korea, then perhaps India. By this bill we announce to the world that the United States is embarking on a world crusade, and that we will use American money, and American soldiers, to compel every country to adopt the type of government we dictate. All admit it is a step in the dark; but they say it is a calculated risk, and one we must assume. The proponents of this measure tell us the alternative will be worse. I dispute that. I wholly repudiate the doctrine announced in this bill. I do not believe the American people want to assume any such responsibility or obligation. I think one member of the Foreign Affairs Committee very aptly described the situation when he appeared before the Rules Committee. He said that no Member of this House can vote for this bill without violating his oath of office, unless he really believes that the first line of defense of the United States of America lies in Greece and Turkey. I agree with him, and I am not ready to admit that the security of the United States will be af-

fectured by the political philosophies of Greece, or any other foreign nation. I am reminded of another bill that was in this House since I have been a Member, the lend-lease bill, which was also labeled a peace measure. This was back in February 1941. The setting was very much the same and we were told that the bill was necessary to keep this country out of war. The question came up about delivering materials and supplies and whether or not we would use American ships as convoys. The House was assured that we would not convoy, but later it was discovered that we were so engaged even at the time the bill was being debated. We were deceived, and the American people were denied the truth. All of us know the tragic consequences that followed.

Now, we are told that we are not going to send combat troops. We intend to send only 40 American officers to Greece and Turkey, who will act in an advisory capacity, and train the armies of Greece and Turkey. Can you imagine 40 officers stopping communism in Greece and Turkey? You might as well try to bail out the Atlantic Ocean with a thimble. It cannot be done. It appears that history will repeat itself. Such a course may not result in war today or tomorrow, but in the end the outcome is inevitable. The bill calls for military commitments that start us on the road to war. For me, Mr. Speaker, I refuse to take this step.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH] has expired.

All time has expired.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. MARCANTONIO) there were—ayes 168, noes 22.

So the resolution was agreed to.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SADLAK asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. RICH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in two instances and in each to include excerpts from papers and letters.

Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made earlier today and include therein certain articles and editorials.

Mr. PRICE of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include newspaper articles.

Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include editorials.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a poem.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Commit-

tee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, with Mr. CASE of South Dakota in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule the gentleman from New Jersey is recognized for 4½ hours, and the ranking minority Member, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], is recognized for 4½ hours.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I propose to yield myself at this point 15 minutes, but before doing so I wish to announce an arrangement we have made with reference to the time.

In consultation with my distinguished colleague, the ranking minority member of the committee, the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], we have decided on each side to allot or yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] an hour and a half, making 3 hours in all; and each of his colleagues who desire to oppose this measure will kindly report to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH], and he will report to me or to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], and we will allot time in accordance with his wishes.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. RICH. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] will have 3 hours and the gentleman from New York will have 3 hours. That makes 6 hours in support of the bill as against only 3 against the bill. It is not a fair distribution of the time.

Mr. EATON. The gentleman seems to object to recognizing that the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] represents a great political party and that the chairman of the committee also represents a great political party. If the gentleman from Pennsylvania assigns to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] a third political party, we are going to question whether it is equal to the other two.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Do I understand that in the matter of time for the opposition the gentleman from New Jersey has given control to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]? Suppose a Member on my side asks me for time in opposition, or suppose a Member on the gentleman's side should go to the chairman of the committee and ask for time in opposition? Are we not privileged to allot any time to the opposition?

Mr. EATON. Under the understanding each side was to allot an hour and a half to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. BLOOM. But suppose a Member comes to the gentleman from New Jersey or to me for time in opposition. Have

we got to tell him to clear it through the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]?

Mr. EATON. If a Member came to me for time in opposition I would turn him over to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. BLOOM. Then I will do the same thing.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New Jersey yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Under the rules of the House it is my understanding that time in general debate is equally divided between the chairman of the committee and the ranking minority member, irrespective of what opposition applicants for time may take on the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the provisions of the rule it has been provided that the time is to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. The announcement which the gentleman from New Jersey has made is a private arrangement that might be said to come under the rule which has been adopted.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In other words, the announcement that has been made is not in conformity with the rules of the House?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair does not consider that a parliamentary inquiry. The gentleman from New Jersey has merely made an announcement of what he proposes to do with some of the time under the rule.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. RAYBURN. I was in the gallery when this colloquy started. I may say that I was alongside of the two gentlemen here, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH], and the Speaker when the arrangement, whatever it was, was made. There was not any agreement as to yielding any 3 hours to the gentleman from Wisconsin to be yielded by himself.

Mr. EATON. That is right.

Mr. RAYBURN. It was that the gentleman from New Jersey would yield to Members suggested by the gentleman from Wisconsin an hour and a half.

Mr. EATON. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the statement made by the Chair. The time is equally divided between the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the ranking minority member of that committee. The gentleman from New Jersey has made an announcement merely of what he proposes to do with an hour and a half of the time for which he is recognized.

Mr. RAYBURN. And he will yield the time himself?

The CHAIRMAN. The time is under the control of the gentleman from New Jersey and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. I am sure the gentleman from New Jersey did not mean what his statement implied a few minutes ago that those of us on this floor who might hold some firm convictions on this bill belong to a third party on this floor?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I will be glad to have the gentleman from Minnesota explain my position on that subject.

Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 15 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, I am strongly in favor of the immediate and practical purpose of House Resolution 2616 which is to furnish aid to Greece and Turkey to survive as free and independent nations.

In addition to this immediate and practical purpose, the bill implements the foreign policy of our Nation as set forth by President Truman in his historic address to the Congress on March 12, 1947. In implementing this foreign policy, the bill becomes one of the most fundamental and far-reaching enactments ever proposed in the history of our Congress.

Mr. Truman did not create the national foreign policy which he enunciated on March 12. It was forced upon him and upon the Congress and the Nation by the inescapable facts of history. It is a product of those mysterious and mighty spiritual energies of mankind upon which the world has been, is now and will continue to be carried irresistibly forward to its unpredictable destiny. We can no more escape the impact of these mighty forces flowing beneath the surface of human existence than we can escape the law of gravitation.

President Truman condensed the essence of our new and far-reaching foreign policy into a few simple and pregnant sentences. He said:

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedom.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

The adoption by our Government and people of the principles upon which this proposed foreign policy is based involves great risks. The rejection of these principles involves greater risks. I am profoundly convinced that the safety and security of our Nation and of the world, as well as the very existence of the United

Nations, depends upon the acceptance by our Government and people of the principles underlying this foreign policy and our resolute defense and enforcement of those principles.

I hold in my hand a letter I have just received from the Secretary of State, a gentleman for whom we all have the profoundest respect and in whom we have the greatest confidence. I will read this letter to you.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington.

MY DEAR MR. EATON: I regret that I was not in Washington during the consideration by your committee of the Greek-Turkish aid bill. As the bill comes before the House of Representatives for consideration, I would like you to have an expression of my views on it.

Prior to my departure for Moscow, I participated in the formulation of the program which the President later laid before Congress. The President telegraphed to me in Paris the proposed text of his message of March 12, and I informed the Department that I fully concurred. The bill which was later introduced in both Houses of the Congress, together with the amendments agreed on in the Senate, has my full approval.

My strong conviction that the immediate passage of this bill is a matter of the greatest urgency was made even more positive by the recent meeting in Moscow.

I am in complete accord with the actions taken by Mr. Acheson on this subject in my absence. We were in constant touch with each other and all moves were fully coordinated.

Your committee is deserving of the highest praise for its thorough exploration of the question and for its able and comprehensive report. I fully endorse the committee's conclusion that the bill pending before the House would enable the United States, in this crisis, to support the United Nations by pursuing a positive policy in behalf of Greece and Turkey. I am convinced that it will be in our own interest and in the interest of world peace.

I hope that the bill will be enacted as expeditiously as possible.

Sincerely yours,

G. C. MARSHALL.

The currents of life which have carried mankind forward to this most fateful hour of its entire history are not difficult to define. Man is the only member of the animal kingdom endowed by the Creator with the power of rational choice. In the exercise of this divine power, freedom of choice becomes an absolute necessity and it is the exercise of this power of choice and the struggle to be free in its exercise that constitutes the essence of human progress from the dawn of time to the present complex and baffling world civilization in which we find ourselves today.

Certain races seem to have been endowed with a genius for freedom. Other races less endowed with this genius have lagged behind in individual and social development. Today with the world in complete and continuous contact the minds of all races, including the most backward, are disturbed and inspired by an awakened sense of the value of freedom and a determination in one way or another to achieve freedom for themselves.

This inherent passion for freedom is, without doubt, the fountainhead out of

which has grown all fundamental individual and social emancipation.

Within the last hundred years there has developed, principally in Europe, a devastating counter movement against the principle of freedom. Its prophet in the beginning was Karl Marx. His announced objective was in accord with the ideals and principles of freedom. His motive however was hate, which is the most reactionary and destructive force in human nature. His method for achieving economic freedom for the masses of men, he called, the class conflict, which was simply hate expressed in terms of destruction rather than construction.

Out of this Marxian glorification of hate and violence grew a three-pronged ideology, each based upon some particular form of class hatred, each destructive of every freedom for which man had fought for thousands of years, and each inspired by a mad dream of world conquest, either by force of arms or by traitorous penetration of self-governing societies, or by both.

Fascism destroyed itself when it came in contact with organized freedom. Nazism was destroyed at a frightful cost, leaving a large section of the civilized world in social, political, and economic ruin. Communism, in its essence close kin to fascism and nazism, now bestrides the shattered world like a colossus. It seems to have forgotten nothing and learned nothing from the frightful tragedies that have darkened the first half of this alleged century of progress.

No amount of wishful thinking or mockish sentimentality can disguise the grim facts of the communistic march toward world domination.

During and since the war Russia has taken over the northern strip of Finland for the purpose of dominating the arctic, and the southern tip of Finland which gives her domination over the Baltic.

She has absorbed the three independent Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

She has taken a substantial slice of eastern Poland.

She has acquired domination, more or less complete, over the internal government and economy of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

Her armed forces are devouring the substance of Austria.

In the Orient, with or without the consent of her allies, she has acquired immeasurable influence in the communistic areas of China and neighboring regions.

She has stripped Manchuria bare of its immensely valuable productive machinery.

She has acquired control of one of the great railroad arteries of that region.

She has assumed dominance of Port Arthur and Darien.

She has taken over the most productive half of Korea and held it incommunicado behind an iron curtain against the United States.

She has been granted undisputed possession of the Kurile Islands and the Japanese half of Sakhalin.

And today the Communists, either directly or through their satellites—Hun-

gary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria—hover upon the borders of Greece and Turkey ready to take over and absorb these two essential gateways to the Orient.

Much of this expansion of Russian power has taken place in complete disregard of the obligations which she has assumed in the organization of the United Nations.

If Russia were permitted to take Greece and Turkey, her next steps of course would be Iran and Afghanistan, India, and China, all of which countries border upon Russian territory.

These are the deep spiritual forces and the external facts which make the foreign policy, enunciated by President Truman on March 12, absolutely inevitable if free self-governing nations and institutions are to survive here and elsewhere throughout the world. And these are the reasons why, in full knowledge of the risk involved, the United States must for our own protection and for the peace of the world go to the help of Greece and Turkey at this time.

I would recognize the validity of many of the secondary arguments advanced against this legislation by conscientious and patriotic Members of the House if the world situation, with which we are confronted, were other than that which I have described. But these secondary considerations are of absolutely no avail in solving the supreme issue which confronts today not only our Government and people, but the entire world. That issue is simply this.

Is the world civilization now in process of creation to be a civilization of freedom or of slavery? Does Americanism or communism hold the key to the future of mankind?

There stands the challenge which we must meet. And we must meet it here and now.

The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line;
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 33 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COURTNEY].

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, I do not know why I am designated to open debate upon our side of the House. Conscientious as I am of my own limitations, I had expected that the ranking minority Member and my distinguished colleagues who are my seniors on the committee would precede me. Unexpected, however, as my position in the debate is, I shall do the best I can. I shall endeavor to yield to the Members to answer any question that I can with respect to this bill, but I do request that you withhold requests for me to yield until I have completed the remarks I have prepared.

Mr. Chairman, today America stands at the crossroads. This is the day, this is the hour for a momentous and far-reaching decision. The issue to be determined is this: Are we to continue our old foreign policy of just muddling through, of shifting this way and that from day to day as in the past, with no long-range plan, until some crisis of unprecedented proportions descends upon us and finds us unprepared? I criticize our former peacetime foreign

policy with no partisan feeling whatever. It was no more criminal to scuttle our Navy and reduce our armed forces to skeleton proportions under the Harding administration than it was under the Roosevelt administration to beat our breasts and wail to high heaven in sympathy with the Chinese and at the same time furnish Japan with oil and scrap with which to blast their cities and riddle their helpless bodies.

To adhere to our former uncertain policy is one alternative. The other is: Are we to adopt a new, firm, permanent, and far-sighted policy that will command respect throughout the world, give assurance to our friends, and give to every potential enemy reason to stop and think before seriously contemplating an act of aggression against us? The importance of this decision may be measured by the fact that had we had such a policy in the past, in my considered opinion, World War II would not have come upon us. The bones of our sons that now lie rotting on every continent and within the soil of every country, almost around the circling globe, would be walking upright with us in the flesh today, and their blood that stained the seven seas would never have been spilled. And upon this thought I shall amplify a little later.

It has been loosely said, Mr. Chairman, that we are eternally pulling England's chestnuts from the fire. This bill that we consider today is proposed for no such purpose. The objective it seeks to attain is protection for ourselves, and others who believe as we do, that we may continue our way of living. President Truman wisely said:

At the present moment in world history, nearly every nation must choose the alternate ways of life, between representative government and government by minority, based upon terror and oppression.

Yes; the forces of disintegration are on the march in all the countries which share our belief in the kind of world state we seek to establish. Greece and Turkey stand as bulwarks against communism in its spread from east to west, and their fall would hasten its further spread from the east around the world in the other direction. Should they succumb to communistic influence, we will see that doctrine spread like consuming fire from the Dardanelles to the China Sea, and then in the other direction throughout Europe. Soon America, aided with such feeble efforts as England may be able to command will stand alone against this despicable, evil, and degrading theory and form of government. So we are not pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire.

Incidentally it might be said, though such a consideration is relatively unimportant as respects this proposed legislation, the first fruits that would fall to Russia as her influence engulfed Greece and Turkey would be the control of 27,000,000,000 barrels of oil underground in the Middle East. When we realize that the United States has an estimated 21,000,000,000 barrels only underground, and that oil, or the lack of it, wins or loses a war, we have some food for thought on that score.

The unwarranted statement that we are always pulling England's chestnuts out of the fire came into common use because we have fought by England's side in two wars. We did not do this to help England primarily, but for the reason that, in both instances, we had no other alternative but to fight. In the first war the enemy engaged in a series of provocative acts against us that no self-respecting nation could endure; and the second time the common enemy thrust war upon us overnight. Such incidental help that England received, in both instances, was well deserved and well earned, for she has been our shield and our protection in the past. We have known throughout the years that she stood between us and any danger that might threaten from Europe; that the might of her navies underwrote the Monroe Doctrine and that our first line of defense was the far-flung battlements of the British Empire. But that sustaining protection is fading fast away. "I have not," said Mr. Churchill several years ago, "become the King's first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire." But Mr. Churchill is out of power and that disintegration proceeds apace.

Rudyard Kipling never dreamed that he spoke with true prophetic ken when he penned the lines:

Far called our navies melt away;
On dune and headland sinks the fire;
Lo! All the pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre.

And so England told us recently, with apologies and in sorrow, that her internal affairs and her economic position were such that she could no longer continue her commitments to Greece and Turkey, that had enabled these countries, so far, to exist as free and independent states.

Prior to our entrance into the last war, President Roosevelt said, or was quoted as saying, that our frontier was the Rhine. And I recall what a storm of criticism descended upon him. Now, however, after the experience of World War II and with the ushering in of this atomic age, we know verily that our frontier is anywhere in the world where there exists a potential enemy, and the frontier is right at his front door.

Mr. Chairman, since England's announcement that I referred to above, the Committee on Foreign Affairs has been in session for some 25 days. We have examined and have had the counsel and advice of high officials of the State, War and Navy Departments. Their significant testimony will be found in the record of the hearings. We had the benefit, too, of the advice of our respective ambassadors to Greece and Turkey; that was heard in executive session, not for the purpose of hiding anything from the members, but because from the nature of things, it would be improper for our representative, accredited to a foreign government, to frankly discuss the situation of that country and have his views passed back to its citizens to confront him on his return. Such a course would greatly embarrass him in his future relations with that government. We examined in all some 35 witnesses. We were much impressed by the testimony

of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. CRAWFORD], whom, by the way, I consider to be one of the ablest men in the House. His testimony will be found in the record from pages 178 to 195. He spoke with respect to several matters and set out in detail an amendment that he is to propose. He, however, was so impressed with the gravity of the situation prevailing, that he advocated, if I understood correctly certain portions of his testimony, that this bill to strengthen the resistance to communism falls far short of the mark; that what we should do is to send our representatives—Secretary Marshall and General Eisenhower, I presume—to Moscow, have them seek out Mr. Stalin and, standing up to him brow to brow and belly to belly, tell him bluntly that he must forthwith cease and desist from his devilment, call his troops back within their proper boundaries and proceed to disarm them, and that if he refused then to advise him to issue an alarm to his people so that non-combatants might flee the cities and towns and take to the caves and the hills, as we expected forthwith to fly over and blow the whole outfit to kingdom come.

Well, that is one way to handle the situation, and a rather expeditious one though, on the whole, somewhat Draconian. I doubt if the majority of you would want to go that far. But I do believe that all of you who read the record of the hearings carefully and the committee report will agree that this is must legislation.

And now to the bill itself, and I must apologize for taking up so much time with preliminaries before getting directly to the point at issue, but I thought some background might be helpful.

The bill authorizes an appropriation of \$400,000,000 in loans, grants, and credits, to Greece and Turkey, to enable them to survive as free and independent nations. It is assumed tentatively that some \$275,000,000 of this will go to Greece and some \$125,000,000 to Turkey. These funds would be used to give military aid to the two countries, especially Greece, and to give such help to both countries as may be necessary to build up their resources and their industries to a point where they would be on a going basis so that further help from us would not be necessary.

These countries are and have been subject to unusual pressures, as the committee report records, which threaten the peaceful existence of these nations and their right to maintain their freedom and national integrity. This pressure, to speak bluntly, is Russian and communist, being applied to these countries, as it has to others in the past, steadily and with increasing force.

I know of no better way to describe the conditions in these countries than by quoting the words of the Honorable Dean Acheson, the Under Secretary of State, who has, I think, the most alert, active, and brilliant mind that it has ever been my privilege to contact. With respect to Greece, he says this:

Greece's difficulties are not new, but they have become acute as a result of special circumstances. Long before the war Greece had a hard time making ends meet. Her poverty of natural resources is so great that

she has always needed more imports than she could pay for with exports. Only by hand-to-mouth contriving has she been able to maintain a precarious balance in her international economic position. In the past, much of her export trade went to central European markets, particularly to Germany. During the thirties she was forced into closer dependence on Germany through clearing agreements and other instruments of Nazi economic warfare. Then came the Italian invasion, the German invasion, 4 years of cruel enemy occupation and the scorching of her earth by the retreating enemy. Perhaps no other country in the world has suffered greater destruction of its physical resources than Greece. Furthermore, the authority of the Greek state is threatened by thousands of armed men who defy it.

It is certain that these insurgent groups are assisted from outside Greece by supplies and training in neighboring countries, including Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania, the three of them being backed up and supported by the Soviet Union.

The situation in Turkey differs substantially, and I again quote Mr. Acheson:

The Turkish Army has been mobilized since the beginning of World War II and this has put a severe strain upon the national economy. During the war, Turkey received substantial assistance from Great Britain and the United States, which helped her to carry this load.

Today the Turkish economy is no longer able to carry the full load required for its national defense and at the same time proceed with that economic development which is necessary to keep the country in sound condition. With some help from the United States, and further assistance which Turkey may be able to negotiate with United Nations financial organs, Turkey should be in a position to continue the development of her own resources and increase her productivity, while at the same time maintaining her national defenses at a level necessary to protect her freedom and independence.

Turkey is being subjected to severe external pressure, which has forced her to maintain large armed forces for defense purposes. This pressure includes repeated demands for the separation of certain portions of eastern Turkey from the rest of the country, and demands for bases which would virtually give Russia military control of the Dardanelles. The collapse and subjugation of Turkey would, in the opinion of our highest military experts, almost inevitably follow, and would involve the speedy collapse and subjugation of the entire Middle East.

This would greatly compromise the strategic position of the United States and aggravate the danger to world peace.

So, we see the necessity for this aid.

I shall now direct my attention to the questions frequently heard with respect to this legislation. First, how are we to know that these funds will go for the purposes intended and not be dissipated on unnecessary items. I quote now from the committee report:

It is understood that the American mission in Greece would be in a position to carry a large part of the responsibility for this activity. The expenditure in Greece of any funds that may be made available to the Greek Government for the program would be subject to control by the American mission there. Purchases in the United States with the funds made available would be made through the procurement agencies of the United States Government, or, if made otherwise, would be subject to careful supervision and strict control.

Members of the committee expressed the strongest concern that competent persons be sent to Greece to insure the development of controls at key points and to supervise their application.

The committee has been given assurance that our Government will insist that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in such matters as fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These are all essential to the establishment of stability in Greece.

The military programs in Greece and Turkey will be administered through small groups of United States military and naval personnel sent to those countries for that purpose. They would screen requirements and advise in the best application and use of the materials and equipment made available to Greece and Turkey.

It was suggested by someone recently that funds advanced under this bill might be dissipated through payments on loans to foreign governments. This is covered by an amendment to the bill, requiring that as a condition precedent to the receipt of assistance, the recipient government must agree "not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, or grant or other financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for the making of any payment on account of principal or interest on any loan made to such government."

In the next place, the question has been raised in many quarters as to why this whole matter should not be turned over to the United Nations. Well, primarily we are proposing this loan at the suggestion of the United Nations or a component agency thereof. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations was asked by the Greek Government to send a mission to Greece to look into the prevailing situation. The mission of the organization of the United Nations made a preliminary report in September 1946. The report is dated November 9, 1946. Recommendation No. 3 made by this associate organization of the United Nations is as follows:

It is recommended that the Greek Government request the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom to aid it in securing funds for the continuation of essential food and other imports to cover the period after UNRRA's withdrawal until expanding exports, international-development loans, and expanding production enabled Greece to balance its international accounts without special aid.

And that is essentially what Greece has done. It has in the past asked Great Britain for this assistance. Great Britain has now told her that she can no longer continue it. There is no point in appealing to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in this emergency because that organization has no funds with which to operate, nor has the United Nations itself, or any agency or organization thereof. The Economic and Social Council acts merely in an advisory capacity and has no particular executive powers. Greece is now asking the United States of America, which is the only source to which she can turn, as

indicated by this organization's report as an emergency matter.

Furthermore the authority of the United Nations is recognized and preserved in the premises by an amendment that has been made to the bill now under consideration, which is as follows:

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

2. If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the use of any veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuation of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

The United Nations was not created to supersede the ordinary relations between states. If the United Nations can help in any situation, it certainly should do so, but no nation in the United Nations is precluded from asking the assistance of any other friendly state when an economic or other internal matter arises which causes difficulty in the state.

And I quote from the testimony of Mr. Acheson again, at page 34 of the hearing:

For instance, some time ago the Export-Import Bank set aside \$500,000,000 to be loaned to China when conditions in China would make such expenditure of that money useful in the reconstruction of China. If did not, so far as I know, occur to anybody that that was showing any disrespect for or disinclination to support in every way the United Nations.

This Congress has appropriated very large sums of money to assist the new Philippine Republic. That was not considered in derogation of the United Nations.

The United States Government has done a great deal to assist the new Italian Republic. First and last, almost \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods have been made available to that new struggling republic.

All of these acts, I had supposed, were in support of the principles of the United Nations. Now, it is against that background, I think, that we ought to consider this request of the Greek Government and the various requests which the Turkish Government has made for economic assistance from the United States.

If there is anything in the charter which precludes us from doing what we have been doing with other countries since the charter was created without criticism from anybody, then we should stop and ponder those considerations very carefully.

But if there are not, we should not lose critical and valuable time in going forward in order to go through what would eventually be procedures which would lead right back to the requests which we are now making of the Congress.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and five Members are present, a quorum.

The gentleman from Tennessee may proceed.

Mr. COURTNEY. Mr. Chairman, furthermore, were we to refer this matter to the United Nations, we would run smack into a Russian veto. Russia has already used the veto 10 times and has refused to join various United Nations subordinate organizations—the Food and

Agriculture Organization, the International Trade Organization, the World Bank and Monetary Fund, UNESCO, and others. And so we could certainly expect Russian resistance to this proposal were it taken up within the framework of the United Nations. That the United Nations is not yet able to handle so urgent a situation as is presented does not mean that the United Nations has failed or is going to fail. Two hundred years elapsed between the first attempt to federalize the American Colonies and the triumph of the Union in 1865. With the progress made so far, I predict that within 12 months the United Nations will be perfected and will be functioning as intended if Russia will come around and begin at least a semblance of cooperation. The passage of this bill will serve perhaps to bring Russia to her senses and to point her in the right direction. General Marshall said that the mere proposal to make this loan to Greece and Turkey had a profound and favorable effect upon the stolid Russian attitude. It was this proposal, in my opinion, that brought Stalin around when, after blocking all efforts for solutions of problems at the recent peace conference at Moscow, he said after the adjournment of the session that having proceeded so far with the discussions already, we will probably be able to get together at the next meeting, or words to that effect.

And this brings me down to the third and last objection frequently made to the bill: It may bring us into war. The Under Secretary of State was asked this direct question by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]—see page 19 of the hearings:

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. Secretary, you have given this a good deal of thought and consideration. In your opinion, what are the possibilities of this policy leading to war?

Secretary ACHESON. I should say that—I was going to say there was no possibility of it leading to war.

I do not see how it possibly can lead to war. It seems to me that by strengthening the forces of democracy and individual freedom and strengthening the economies of those two countries, you do a great deal to eliminate the sort of situation which would produce friction between the great powers.

Russia does not want war now, but she will want it eventually if necessary for her ends and purposes when she thinks she has set the stage properly for it: Russia may be stupid, but not stupid enough to bring on war now. When we compare the British-American sphere with the Russian sphere, we find that at the present time the former controls 67 percent of the world's crop land, 84 percent of its coal, 85 percent of its industrial production, 85 percent of its steel, 85 percent of its railroad mileage, 89 percent of its electric power, 90 percent of its petroleum, and 97 percent of its shipping.

Russia's plan is not for war at the present time.

The Russian plan is one of infiltration, of troublemaking, of encouragement of civil war in outside areas. Her plan is to lay the groundwork for local Communist groups to take over, whittling away at the areas outside the Russian sphere, getting things set so that if and when a war does come her

fifth column can make trouble for the other side. (See United States News, issue of May 2, 1947.)

And Russia has an active fifth column in every country in the world—stronger than any that Hitler had that enabled him to conquer country after country with such ease—and developments indicate that Russia has in this country today a fifth column far stronger and more effective than Franco, who coined the expression, had in Madrid as his other four columns marched upon it. Russia continues her dilatory tactics upon the amazing theory that the Government of the United States is about to go to pieces. Pravda, the official newspaper of the Communist Party, has recently been pursuing the line which likens our "bourgeois system" to a pyramid "the foundations of which are riddled with poverty and deprivation, while its summit is decorated with diamonds and gold." "Such a system must necessarily collapse," the Communist organ reasons, and "involve the United States in a colossal economic crisis." And so Russia continues to delay the peace settlement, waiting for this chaos that she foresees to descend upon us so that we will be helpless to resist her demands. The quickest and easiest way to dissipate this illusion on the part of Russia and show her how false and ridiculous it is will be to pass this bill by an overwhelming majority, the object of which is to enable Greece and Turkey to strengthen their resistance to communism and to bring to an end the Machiavellian machinations of the Kremlin with regard to these two countries.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, to amplify a statement I made in the beginning of my remarks: We stand today where we stood in the early thirties when Japan first turned on helpless China with all the power of her first blitz attack. Had we followed the advice of the then Secretary of State Stimson, taken a firm attitude and said, "Thou shalt not, if an embargo on our exports to you, and financial aid and material help to China, short, of course, of intervention, can prevent you," then the course of tyranny and oppression that from that beginning spread over the world as a seething, hissing fire, would have been quenched in its incipency.

Had we said the same thing to Italy when Mussolini sent his mechanized forces against helpless Ethiopia, even then we could have stopped it.

Had we said as much to Hitler as he poised his troops toward Poland, he would have blanched and quit, and death would never have stalked through the homes of every city, town, and village in America.

Shakespeare had his Brutus say in Julius Caesar:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;

Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat
And we must take the current when it serves
Or lose our ventures.

And so, Mr. Chairman, it is with nations. God led this Nation to its present place of power, the strongest nation on

the face of the earth. He did it, I think, with the divine belief and the divine expectation that we would accept and discharge the responsibilities that go with that power. We cannot escape, we must not escape our rendezvous with destiny.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to my esteemed friend and fellow member on the committee, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, it is not easy for me to come into the well of this House as a member of this great Committee on Foreign Affairs and to oppose the majority members of it. I have discussed this matter with my own chairman and I am sure he feels that I have a sincere conviction of my position, and I know that he would defend my right to assert that position this afternoon.

Mr. Chairman, I yield to no man in my desire to stamp out communism. As a member of the American Legion in the State of Wisconsin for more than 20 years, I traveled about the State calling attention to the menace of that foreign ideology. As department commander of that organization, I spent many hours trying to bring to the attention of my people just what communism would do to this country. Mrs. Smith, as president of the American Legion Auxiliary, did the same thing on a national level. So, I am unalterably opposed to communism and want to stamp it out.

Hardly without exception Members have come into the well of this House today and called attention to the seriousness of the present situation as reflected in this legislation. Indeed it is serious. I believe a terrible mistake has been made by the Rules Committee in limiting this debate to 9 hours. Here we are considering the greatest problem that has faced this country since it was organized and we are to debate it in 9 hours, and those who oppose it have 3 hours in which to state their position.

I want to serve notice on those Members who have come to me this afternoon asking for time. I want to tell them that the time has been oversubscribed by 100 percent, that there is not going to be time for you. I have asked for 10 minutes myself and at that reduced my time by two-thirds, if you please, to give those who want to speak an opportunity to do so. And yet we are asked to come into this House and debate this matter fully! How fully? How fully? You answer that question.

I am somewhat interested in the philosophy apparently of some who come into the well of the House and say: "Well, we do not have much of a stomach for this thing but I guess we have got to go along." What kind of reasoning is that? Have we got to go along with a man who is wrong just because we like him personally? I say that Harry Truman is wrong, and history will so record it. One of the primary issues in this debate, it seems to me, is the one wherein we are asked to follow this leadership, a leadership which led us into a war but which after we have fought it with dollars beyond comprehension and with the lives and blood of our children, now asks us to approach the threshold of the next one, which will be an atomic war, mark you well.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am sorry, I cannot yield to my distinguished friend from Michigan. My time is almost gone now.

Someone has said that we have got to save face, that in the Orient face saving means everything. I say to you we can well lose face instead of our necks. That is exactly what it is going to be. I do not propose to go along with any face-saving policy. This is no time to save face; it is time to save the Nation.

Let us proceed now to consider this "stop communism" proposition. Stop communism with \$400,000,000 and 40 to 50 men from the Army or Navy? Are we serious about that kind of proposal? Obviously it is so fallacious I am amazed that the argument is even made at all. I suggest if we are going to stop communism, let us stop it right here in this country. All of you gentlemen received yesterday or the day before a report of J. Edgar Hoover made before the Un-American Activities Committee. Read that report. He tells you the extent of communism in this country. We will under this bill send \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey to stop communism there. What is the President asking for to stop communism in this country? He said, "Give me \$50,000,000 and we will clean them out of all the Government departments." Fifty million dollars in this country and \$400,000,000 over there. Does that make sense? Of course it does not.

I wonder if the President is sincere about stopping communism. A few weeks after he had appeared before this body former Governor Earle, of Pennsylvania, wrote to him and called attention to the danger of communism from within. And what was the President's amazing response? He said, "Mr. Earle, do not worry about that. Communism in this country is a bugaboo." Well, if it is a bugaboo in this country and if our national security is not involved, why should we worry about it in Turkey and Greece?

Oh, it is not communism. This is a military proposal, as so many have said on the floor of the House. The distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COURTNEY] put his finger on it. It is oil; it is the Dardanelles, and all we are doing is shoring up, if you please, a broken-down British economy which cannot afford to have the sword of Damocles hanging over the British in the eastern Mediterranean. I admire the British; I have no quarrel with them; and I do not blame them for getting all the assistance they can from us. But we ought to be prudent in this matter. We ought to consider this bill very thoroughly. Certainly we should not approach it by saying that it is a fight against communism. It is not a fight against communism, as I have indicated. It is a military proposal.

When Mr. Patterson appeared, I asked him this question: "Mr. Secretary, assuming that you got what you asked for in this bill, then you found out in 6 months or a year that it did not work to our advantage, that we did not stop communism?" What was his answer? He said, "Frankly, I do not know." He said, "I know that is not the kind of

answer you want but," he says, "I cannot tell you."

Mr. Chairman, there is the crux of the whole situation. We are asked to support a proposition and we do not know where we are going or where it is leading us. There is no indicator on the highway. I challenge anybody in the course of this debate to show me in writing or in print the State Department's policy on this matter.

What is the plan? The plan is a military one. I believe we ought to tell the American people that is what it is. We ought to go before the American people and say, "We have a national interest in those oil fields in the Middle East and we will have to take military action if necessary."

Why not be forthright in this matter? But no, it is the old, old technique; little by little, inch by inch, and then finally we find ourselves in the position that we are in today and we cannot back out.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. The gentleman was pleading for more hours of general debate. I am sure the empty seats in this House do not lend color to that statement, since only a handful here represent 435 Members.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I might say to my distinguished colleague that he knows how these debates are handled. It is just a matter of routine, is it not? But, those who are here are ready and willing to talk.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. Ninety-five Members are present, not a quorum. The Clerk will call the roll.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 50]

Abernethy	Fogarty	Meade, Md.
Allen, Ill.	Fuller	Miller, Nebr.
Anderson,	Gallagher	Mitchell
Calif.	Gifford	Morrison
Andrews, N. Y.	Gillie	Nixon
Barden	Granger	Nodar
Battle	Gregory	O'Toole
Bland	Gwynne, Iowa	Pace
Bonner	Halleck	Pfeifer
Boykin	Harris	Philbin
Bradley, Mich.	Hartley	Poage
Buckley	Heffernan	Powell
Bulwinkle	Hinshaw	Rabin
Burleson	Hope	Rivers
Byrne, N. Y.	Howell	Sarbacher
Celler	Judd	Scoblick
Chapman	Kearns	Scott, Hardie
Chelf	Kee	Shafer
Clark	Keefe	Short
Clements	Kefauver	Sikes
Cole, Kans.	Kelley	Smith, Maine
Cooley	Kennedy	Smith, Va.
Cotton	Kilburn	Stockman
Coudert	King	Sundstrom
Curtis	Lane	Taylor
D'Alesandro	Latham	Thomas, N. J.
Davis, Tenn.	Lea	Thomason
Dawson, Ill.	Lesinski	Towe
Doughton	Lucas	Trimble
Ellsworth	Lusk	Van Zandt
Elsaesser	McDowell	Vinson
Elston	McGregor	Welch
Fellows	Madden	West
Fisher	Mansfield, Tex.	Wilson, Tex.
Flannagan	Meade, Ky.	Worley

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 2616, and finding itself without a quorum, he had directed the roll to be called when 327 Members responded to their names, a quorum, and he submitted herewith the names of the absentees to be spread upon the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The Committee will resume its sitting.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] is recognized.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. DONDERO. Just before the gentleman was rudely interrupted by a quorum call, he stated there were Members on this floor who were going to vote for this bill just to go along. That reminded me immediately of my experience in Germany a year ago last summer. When I asked the German people, from Hamburg to the Rhine, in their language why they followed Hitler so blindly, their answer was "Because they had to go along," and they did to their destruction.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I thank the gentleman for that very excellent contribution. That is exactly what is going to happen here.

I want to say to my Republican brethren, you pass this bill and next year, 1948, you will have the indispensable man on your hands and the swapping of horses in the middle of the stream just as sure as you are a foot high. That is where we are headed and we ought to realize it.

Mr. Chairman, in conclusion, remember, this is just another blank check; no program—just give us the money.

I hope that when an amendment to cut this amount is offered the committee will very seriously consider it. Also other amendments that will be presented when the bill is read.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this legislation because I believe it is, first of all, a military venture, secondly, that it is not designed to stop communism, and, thirdly, that it is in effect a declaration of war against Russia. When, as, and if we go to war again, we will emerge from it, if we are victors, the greatest imperialist Nation in the world. That will be a burden to the American people and will ultimately lead to the extinction of the North American Republic. What a heritage to anticipate for those who follow us. Members of this House have a great and lasting responsibility. We should vote our firm convictions and not be swayed by pressure to go along with the present administration.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

(Mr. VORYS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

DOES NOT BYPASS UNITED NATIONS

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, this bill presents momentous questions for us to decide, but there are certain questions that, in my judgment, are not involved. Mr. Chairman, there has been considerable discussion as to whether this proposal bypasses the United Nations. I want to point out that the little country of Greece months and months ago appealed to the United Nations for help in their perilous condition, caused by guerrillas coming across their northern border, and has gotten no action yet from the United Nations investigating committee, which is tied up by Soviet obstruction and delay. It looks to me as if the United Nations is bypassing Greece rather than the United States bypassing the United Nations. Senator Austin has reported our proposed action to the United Nations. The Vandenberg amendment in this bill gives the Security Council of United Nations the right to stop our assistance by majority vote, and we waive our veto. The United Nations FAO Committee has recommended to the United Nations, in its report on Greece, that Greece apply to the United States for assistance. The United Nations has no funds and no machinery for rendering such assistance. In view of all this, I feel that the claim that this bill bypasses the United Nations is simply an attempt to bypass our responsibility on this bill.

NOT A RELIEF BILL

There has been a lot of talk that this bill is a relief bill. I want to point out that the word "relief" is not used in this bill. It is an assistance or aid bill; to authorize the President to furnish assistance up to \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey upon their request when it is in our interest. The assistance is to consist of economic and military loans, grants, supplies, and advice. This is not merely a loan bill. This is an assistance bill.

PURPOSE OF THIS BILL

The purpose is to start stopping Soviet aggression, and it is about time that we started to do this. One nation after another has been taken over by the Soviet, and by the administration policy of appeasement we have ignored or condoned and thus encouraged this expansion and aggression. The time has come when we can no longer condone or appease or look the other way, as Members today have suggested, as this aggression goes on.

Now, this is the way the bill will work. Greece and Turkey are on the spot. This bill may help them enough to relieve the pressure on them. Our help should then be sufficient to make those countries good economic risks for the World Bank for further aid, if they are considered good military risks. Now, no life insurance company would grant a policy on the life of a man who had been threatened by gangsters, even though the threats were utterly lawless and the man utterly innocent. On the other hand, if the gangsters agreed to lay off, or if the man were assured police protection, he then would become a good risk for a life-insurance policy. No world bank is going to loan Greece

and Turkey money at present. If Greece and Turkey were assured police protection by the United Nations or by the United States and other member nations, acting under article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, in case of armed attack, until the United Nations was ready to aid, Greece and Turkey might then become bankable risks, and this is a first step in that direction.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. The gentleman stated a moment ago that Greece had months and months ago applied for relief to the United Nations.

Mr. VORYS. Not for relief.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Or for assistance and aid. What was the position of the United States delegates to the United Nations on that request?

Mr. VORYS. The United States participates and has membership on the Commission, which is still investigating. We are investigating what everybody knows is going on across the northern Greek border.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. What was the position of the United States delegates?

Mr. VORYS. The United States delegates supported it.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I mean the United States delegates to the United Nations, what was their position on this particular request?

Mr. VORYS. They supported the request and are participating in the action which is now going on.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. When I was home recently a minister of the gospel accosted me and asked me some pertinent questions, and I would like to ask the gentleman one or two at this time. He asked me how strong is the present Greek Government, and in the event that this loan goes through, will the Greek people be represented in the disposition and administration of this loan?

Mr. VORYS. The answer is, It would strengthen the Greek Government. It is a very weak government. It is using police measures to attempt to preserve order, in a country that has been devastated and torn asunder by war, and that is threatened by guerillas supported from outside. The only reason we are offering aid and assistance is that the government is weak. If we provide this assistance, we are going to bolster up that government and we are going to insure that it is a democratic government. I do not think we should dictate the type of government they should have in Greece any more than we should do so in any other country, or than we would permit any dictation here.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Can the gentleman enlighten the Members of the Committee as to what success the Allied Commission of the United Nations

is having in investigating the Communist activities in the Balkan and central European area? Have they made any report up to this moment?

Mr. VORYS. No; they have not made a report. The report is stymied by the Polish and Soviet members of the Commission appointed by the United Nations. The interpreter joined the guerillas. That was another action embarrassing to the Commission. We know from this about how effective United Nations action can be at this time.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. May I add that the Commission was supposed to report on the 1st of April, and it has not done so yet on account of the opposition by the two governments the gentleman named.

Mr. VORYS. Yes; the United Nations Commission was supposed to act by the 1st of April but it is still tied up and stymied by the same forces that would tie up and stymie and delay any attempt to refer this matter again to the United Nations.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. If the gentleman will yield further, the gentleman seemed concerned about the question of free elections in Greece. May I ask his opinion of that?

Mr. VORYS. The last election was a free election according to about 600 observers, among them many Americans. When Greece gets ready to have another election, I hope she will again have a free election. One of the purposes of this aid is to maintain Greece's integrity so that she can have free elections and choose the kind of government she wants.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. JACKSON of California. Is it not true that the Commission investigating the border disturbances on the northern frontiers of Greece was turned back at the border of Yugoslavia and not permitted to enter?

Mr. VORYS. Not only Yugoslavia but Bulgaria.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. What testimony did you have before the committee to that effect?

Mr. VORYS. We had the testimony of both ambassadors and we had the testimony of the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Clayton. If the gentleman will familiarize himself with the hearings, I will point out further testimony. We also have the long questionnaire prepared in the other body, answered by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson.

NOT THE MONROE DOCTRINE NOR LEND-LEASE

This is not an extension or a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. Remember, we are invited to do this by both Greece and Turkey. We have furnished similar assistance in South America, in China, in

the Philippines. European nations have furnished military equipment and advice in South America, on request, and we have not claimed this violated the Monroe Doctrine.

This is not like lend-lease, in that neither of these nations are now at war.

THE OPEN-DOOR POLICY

This is an extension of our open-door policy. When China was about to be divided by the great powers, we stepped in and said that we wanted, not a slice for ourselves, but an open door for all, and demanded territorial and administrative integrity for China. That policy was announced under a Republican administration, by Secretary of State John Hays. It was written into a nine-power treaty here in Washington in 1922 under a Republican administration when Charles Evans Hughes was Secretary of State.

Our Government offered at Potsdam to help guarantee to Russia an open door through the Dardanelles in peace and war. Russia, however, wants the key to the door herself. We want no special position. All we are asking is an open door through the Middle East for Russia, Greece, Turkey, and all of us.

We are not pulling any British chestnuts out of the fire there because the British chestnuts in the Middle East are in the fire and gone whether we do anything or not. The question is, whether we help those Middle East nations maintain an open door, or whether Russia closes the door.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Ohio.

THE NEW POLICY

Mr. VORYS. What makes this bill unique, a new policy for us, is that Russia seems to be offended at our friendly response to a request for help from her neighbors. Stalin knows Greece and Turkey are not going to attack Russia. He knows Russia is pledged not to attack them. The new part of the policy is that we may respond to requests for economic assistance and legitimate military advice on defense, whether Russia likes it or not.

INCREASES CHANCES FOR PEACE

Will Russia fight over this? I think not. The experts say Russia will not fight now because she is not ready. These same experts said Russia would not last 90 days against the Germans. If Russia fights, the assistance possible under this bill would not enable Greece or Turkey to stand for long unassisted against an all-out Soviet attack. That simple fact plainly shows the fundamentally unmilitary character of this particular bill. On the other hand, if any nation, anywhere, launched an aggressive, unprovoked attack on a neighbor now, I think this Congress would back a United Nations request for police action, and would join with other nations for collective defense under article 51 of the Charter, if the Security Council were paralyzed by a veto, and I think our counterblow as a part of such collective self-defense would not necessarily be made at the place where the

attack was taking place but might be by air elsewhere. This bill does not commit us on that question. The passage of this bill shows, however, that we will not refuse justified and necessary unilateral action, even though expensive and unpleasant, merely because of the threat of unjustified and unnecessary unilateral action, however unpleasant and expensive, by the Soviets. This bill shows we are not pulling out of Europe, but intend to stay and help work things out.

If we fail to do anything to assist Greece and Turkey now, there is no reasonable chance of their resisting the pressures now being exerted against them. If they go down and become satellites and the satellite frontier moves forward, we may expect political disorder and economic disruption in the Near and Middle East from the same causes, and with similar results. After the domination of the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal by the Soviets, there is no effective strategic, economic, or ideological line of resistance short of the Atlantic, and we know that this ocean is now no barrier to subversive infiltration activities which are now going on in the capitals of the western hemisphere. Such activities are going on right here in Washington. If we do nothing now, when our right has been challenged even to help and advise these two nations, our decision will announce to the world that we are withdrawing to the western hemisphere, and no amount of talking, or making proposals in the Security Council will convince the aggressors or their would-be victims otherwise. I know, from personal talks with statesmen and common people in Greece, Turkey, and from the other nations in Europe and the Near East who had representatives at the Interparliamentary Union meeting in Cairo, what a lift this Greek-Turkish proposal has given them. If we do nothing now, we might as well withdraw to our own borders, double our military budget, adopt universal military training, and get ready for the bitter end of World War II in a few years.

If fighting should break out now, at least Russia will not be as ready as she will be in a few years with a continent to use as a base. After seeing the war-devastated countries, I believe in fighting our wars away from home. I think this bill is a step toward peace, by stopping Russia from achieving the fruits of war by unprovoked, unjustified, yet unresisted aggression. On the issue of whether this brings us nearer to war or not, I prefer to rely on this judgment of General Marshall rather than that of General Bender. I think the bill will bring Russia to her senses. If it does not, and war with Russia is inevitable, and she starts now, we will be better able to defend ourselves now than later.

CONDITION IN GREECE AND TURKEY

I was in Greece and Turkey a little over 3 weeks ago. I realize that I did not become an expert in the few days that I was there. I learned enough, however, from what I saw, and from my talks with Greek and Turkish officials, with our American representatives, with newspaper correspondents, and others to confirm the information given by our Am-

bassadors and others in the hearings and to refute certain reckless generalities that have been made in this debate.

Turkey is not a corrupt and venal dictatorship. Its government is not perfect by any means. They are struggling to become a western democracy. They have adopted our clothes, our alphabet, our Sunday, and an enlightened code of laws. They have an opposition party which attacks the party in power for its extravagance, corruption, and inefficiency. This proves, at least, the degree of free speech permitted in Turkey. One of our delegates said that these criticisms sound just like home. I never could secure a reliable figure of the number of men they had under arms. The figure in the hearings is 600,000, but I believe it is much larger. The reason for secrecy is obvious, considering the threat that hangs over them. This threat is very real. They know of the Soviet troops massed above their border. Soviet diplomatic pressure continues. Five times a day the Soviet radio beams Turkish-language broadcasts across the northern border, filled with threats and abuse. You see soldiers everywhere. The Government is secretive as to the total amount their present state of preparedness is costing, although it adds up to at least 50 percent of their budget. Again, the reason for secrecy is obvious. It is simply untrue to say that the Turks will sell out to either side in a struggle where Soviet Russia is involved. I have been assured, by Turks and by Americans in Turkey, that the Turks will fight to the last man against any Russian invasion, whether we help or not. The lend-lease equipment we have already given them is of value in their defense. The assistance planned in this bill, only a part of which is for arms and ammunition, will enable them to defend themselves more effectively and will relieve the dreadful strain of their present burden. The encouragement to them and the deterrent to their enemies which is implied in this assistance is of even greater importance.

Greece is not a royalist dictatorship. Greece has a very weak Government, with a new King, uncertain of his position, with a coalition of anti-Communist parties attempting to carry on and preserve order in a poor country that suffered more than any other in the war. I have had Greek republicans, who opposed the monarchy, tell me that they would prefer to see any new election postponed until the country can get on its feet and feel safe from outside aggression, for only then, they say, can a free choice be made between a monarchy and a republic in Greece. At present, the only choice is between the constitutional monarchy, which was voted in by a fair election last fall, and communism. The connection between the Communists in Greece and Moscow is so clear that it is taken for granted in Athens. I saw leftist papers on the streets, with pictures of Stalin and cartoons against the United States. Their contents shows that they are part of the world-wide Communist movement headed from Moscow. A day in Athens confirms what our Ambassadors and high officials have told us.

ENDING WORLD WAR II—PAST MISTAKES

I am one of those who opposed every step our Government took in 1939-41 toward war in the name of keeping out of war. I urged, not isolation but friendly neutrality, an American peace offensive, with the hope that we might stop the war before we got into it. We did not follow that course. It is useless now to debate what might have happened if we had done so. After Pearl Harbor I voted for the laws that spent three hundred and forty-one billions and brought wounds and death to a million Americans in order to win the war. Now, over 5 years after the struggle began, I am forced to this grim realization: If we fought the war for the ideals and purposes we said we were fighting for, either the war is not over or we lost it. I prefer to believe it is not over. We have no peace treaties with our main enemies. We have no feeling of security; the totalitarian threat against our way of life is still critical. Soviet expansion, by infiltration and aggression, has taken more territory and subjugated more people in the last 2 years, we are told, than either Germany or Japan conquered in the 4 years before that.

It will not do much good to debate now the New Deal policy of appeasement that is partly responsible for this. It was not a bipartisan policy. Republicans generally opposed it. We were for a policy of firmness with Russia. Now that our policy of firmness is at last being followed, we Republicans should back it up. By this new policy we seek a happy ending of World War II without further fighting.

The administration made a lot of mistakes in launching this program. Republicans should have been consulted earlier. Paul Porter, the most thoroughly repudiated public official in America, should not have headed the mission to Greece. The United Nations should have been informed earlier. We should never have been told that March 31 was the deadline.

So what? All of this is spilled milk—very sour spilled milk—but there is no use crying over it. If this bill is voted down it will be taken the world over, not as a vote of protest against the administration's past mistakes, but as a vote against the new policy of firmness backed with action instead of words. It will look like a vote of confidence in Stalin, a vote of lack of confidence in ourselves and our way of life. This bill does not give the Governments of Greece or Turkey a vote of confidence. It is their own lack of confidence that prompts their requests.

CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRACY

We are not going to take over those Governments. We are going to furnish a lot of advice, pressing advice, but they will run themselves. In the end, suppose after we have furnished all this help, they vote into power, by fair elections, a Communist regime controlled from Moscow. Why, then we are through. Democracy, as we know it, is through. We are told that just will not happen, that no country in the world outside Russia ever adopted communism by ma-

jority vote. Remember, the Communist system involves a single minority party taking over the government by revolutionary means. But if, with the provisions for publicity in this bill, with the urge for freedom we know is aflame in those nations, the Communists can win in a fair election, we, of course, are through.

It is our faith that people who have a chance to be free will stay free. We need a little more faith and confidence in ourselves, our system. We need to believe in it. We need a little more of the missionary zeal the Communists have. This is our chance. I have such faith in the dynamic power of democracy that I believe we will save money on our military budget eventually by a judicious and well-ordered plan of assisting in the rebuilding of the economy and the defense of the world. I believe this will bring peace nearer; at worst, it will make our defense cheaper.

I am concerned at the strain on our resources, but if we act wisely we will not go bankrupt. We need more faith in the terrific productive power of our free land. I believe that our production plant, with the marvelous possibilities of atomic energy just ahead, is going to make us and the world richer. I believe that our American way of doing things is going to sweep over the world, including Russia, not by force, but by friendliness; not by military power, but by spiritual power; not because of its might, but because it is right.

I have faith in America. We have the kind of strength, moral and material, to assist Greece and Turkey and a war-torn world, right in our stride, as we grow stronger here at home.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I think it is important that we emphasize the point made by the gentleman from Ohio that the appeasement policy which preceded the March 12 address by the President to the joint session of Congress was not a bipartisan policy.

Mr. VORYS. Amen.

Mr. MUNDT. Either wise or wrong, it was an administration policy. I want to emphasize to my Republican colleagues that this is the first thing we have approximating a bipartisan foreign policy, jointly arrived at by Republicans and Democrats, originally given emphasis by the elections in November, but evolving from that to the point today where the Republicans and Democrats stand committed to a discontinuation of the appeasement program with Russia.

Mr. VORYS. I agree, and I hope the Republicans will not desert this new bipartisan policy of firmness through action, instead of appeasement.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

(Mr. JARMAN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, in view of the statements just made by my distinguished colleagues that until now we have had no bipartisan foreign policy, I can but wonder what a gentleman named VANDENBERG has been doing during the past 2 years.

My good friend, the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin, spoke of the fact that the President asked for \$50,000,000 to clear Communists out of the Federal Government and \$400,000,000 to withstand their advance into Greece and Turkey, and said, "Where are we going?" or something to that effect. My comment on that is, first, Greece and Turkey are much nearer to the great majority of the Communists of the world than is Washington. Secondly, I hope and believe there are a great many more Communists in Russia than in Washington.

The gentleman also correctly quoted Secretary of War Patterson to the effect that we are not sure where this course will lead. How can anyone ever be sure of the final result of such a tremendous, momentous problem? I will say, however, that the burden of the testimony before the committee was to the effect that if we do not do something we will most probably be in a bad way, whereas there is great hope in this effort.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I will yield to the gentleman from Ohio. Then please may I not be permitted to continue with my statement? I gladly yield to my good friend the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. On this matter it is only costing \$50,000,000 to eliminate Communists from this country. The gentleman was in the last war. Does not the gentleman believe that the place to stop communism is before it gets to the borders of our country as a possible military force?

Mr. JARMAN. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman and wish to thank him for his contribution.

Just as I said this morning, it was much preferable to fight Hitler in Hitler's territory than here.

Mr. Chairman, I quote from President Truman's message to the Congress:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved. * * *

This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundation of international peace and hence the security of the United States. * * *

This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. * * *

If we falter in our leadership we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. * * *

On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

Those, Mr. Chairman, are strong, momentous words, words in which I do not believe any President of the United States, past, present, or future, be he Democrat or Republican, would indulge casually, frivolously, or without mature consideration of good reasons. If my confidence in the people of the United States is justified, or even if it is merely half justified, certainly those words pose a challenge to statesmanship to us that we cannot lightly wave aside. Certainly those words place a responsibility for statesmanship upon the shoulders of each one of us which must be answered by each individually.

I thoroughly agree with the gentleman who made the statement this morning that on this subject it is a matter between us and our God. Certainly, Mr. Chairman, that being true, none of us can devote a moment's consideration to answering that challenge to statesmanship by falling victim to any of the faults of human nature such as pride of authorship, jealousy, publicity, or politics; nor will we do so. On the other hand, each Member of this House must and will decide this question for himself with one idea, and one alone in mind, that is, a patriotic consideration of what is for the best interests of the country we all love. Yes; standing out over any petty considerations such as those to which I have referred must be that patriotic love of country. It must stand out just as Mount Suribachi on which those magnificent marines, incredibly it seemed to me as I stood on the spot and looked down that steep, rocky grade, raised Old Glory, stands out over the little island of Iwo Jima and looks down on every acre of it, including the graves of more than 4,000 American soldiers in the cemeteries on the right and on the left. Out of that strong language there naturally grew this bill which could well be termed "a bill to aid Greece and Turkey maintain their independence, prevent domination of those countries by communism, and contribute to permanent peace."

This merely faces up to what I believe is probably the great responsibility of our age—the prevention of communistic domination of the world. We are quite willing to have Russia maintain the form of government she wishes in her own country. We not only do not wish her to try to inflict that form of government on us but we do not wish her to succeed in inflicting it on the rest of the world, leaving us standing out isolated and alone as Suribachi stands out on Iwo Jima.

A most unfortunate situation confronts Greece as was so ably explained in detail by the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. COURTNEY] and I shall not repeat but try to briefly supplement it. Before doing so, my mind reverts to the thrilling headlines we read each morning during the dark days of 1940. How greedily we read each word which told of the magnificent feat of those brave little Greek soldiers as they

stood their ground against Mussolini's legions, Mussolini having decided, against the advice of his senior partner, to conquer them without assistance. Not only did they stand their ground but I think there is no doubt either in the United States, in Greece, in Italy, or in Germany that could the issue have been resolved entirely between these countries, valiant little Greece would have defeated a much larger neighbor. Consequently, it became necessary for Hitler's hordes to flow down and literally engulf the Greek Army. In the meantime, however, it had sufficiently retarded his advance to save hundreds of thousands of lives, at least thousands of which were those of Americans. Do not we, does not the world, owe this noble little country a debt of gratitude?

It is common knowledge that Greece would have long since collapsed but for the hope engendered in the breasts of her brave people by this legislation. There is not the shadow of a doubt in the mind of any informed man that should this legislation by any chance fail of passage she would collapse—certainly within 2 weeks. It is not civil war either but an attempted Communist revolution. It is simply a part of the same Balkan pattern which has been in progress since VE-day, a pattern which I think a great Englishman foresaw when he insisted on an attack, when he repeatedly insisted on an attack, on the soft under belly of Europe at a time when you will remember Marshal Stalin was insisting with even more determination on the creation of a second front by an attack from across the channel. Everyone must realize now that what Churchill mainly had in mind was the desire that Allied armies be in the Balkans when the war ended, instead of what happened. It was a mistake, but both individuals and countries frequently make them, particularly during war, and it was one of the head and not of the heart.

As to the situation in Turkey, that was well illustrated by an article that appeared in Sunday's Washington Post, referring to the capture of a Bulgarian soldier down near the corner where Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria join. He was carried to a commissioner for questioning who happened to be of Bulgarian descent and who happened to recognize that his pronunciation was not Bulgarian. Soon the prisoner confessed that he was a Russian lieutenant of the intelligence department and that Marshal Zhukov had instructed his organization to get plans of all the roads in Turkey and how many divisions each could handle. He had a map in his pocket of all the installations in that whole area. Two days later he was exchanged for one of the Turkish spies the Bulgars had captured. The high command of Turkey was not disturbed about that because they were thoroughly convinced that the whole thing was planned, the capture, his confession, the map, and everything, just a part of the war of nerves with which Turkey has been afflicted and will continue to be afflicted indefinitely.

Turkey cannot continue to maintain the tremendous army it feels is necessary

to combat this war of nerves and the threat against her, and also maintain its economy. If her people do not receive assistance, they will naturally become discouraged and the danger will soon be as great in Turkey as it is now in Greece.

It is rather amusing to me to hear this program referred to as intervention, when, as the gentleman from Tennessee well said, every single thing proposed to be done in this bill has been definitely requested by the governments themselves.

Furthermore, the report makes it quite plain that we have no desire to intervene in the local governments of the countries concerned. We want them, as long as they believe in democracy, to have whatever particular form of government they wish, just as we do not wish Russia telling us or the world what kind we or it should have.

Now, I think it is generally understood that civilization very probably cannot withstand the shock and the destruction of another war. Our main hope against another war is, of course, the United Nations Organization which can, must, and I believe will, succeed. It is equally ridiculous to me to refer to bypassing the United Nations with this legislation. The United Nations as such has no funds. As was said, the Social and Economic Council merely recommends. It is an advisory council which recommends social and economic action to the countries of the United Nations. The Export-Import Bank, which has just completed its organization and has made no loan, makes long-term self-liquidating loans. The Advisory Commission for Europe is only in its early stages of organization. Hence, had Greece requested this assistance from the United Nations instead of from us, the only result would have been, even in the absence of a veto, great delay, because it would have been necessary for the United Nations to refer the request to us, since we are the only nation in the world in position to grant the relief at this particular time.

Furthermore, as has also been said, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations made a careful analysis of the situation in Greece and suggested that Greece request aid of us. However, to make the assurance doubly sure, an amendment stipulates that either the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations may order the discontinuation of our efforts under this legislation at any time, and by it we waive the veto in advance.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, another angle of that United Nations proposition is, if we are correct in the belief that this is the only hope for peace, how foolish would it be to load it down with matters which it cannot take care of; matters which are not its functions. It is performing its function right now in the mountains of northern Greece. When that trouble occurred, that threat, Greece requested the United Nations to send a commission over there, and they have done so, but as far as authorizing or

contributing \$400,000,000, the United Nations simply has no funds at this time for that purpose, and the easiest way we could kill it would be for this Congress to unilaterally pass legislation to try to have it take over a burden which is absolutely impossible for it to accomplish.

Certainly, my friends, if we believe in peace—and I know we all do—and if we agree that either the United Nations or something like it must succeed if civilization is to survive—and I think most of us do—certainly I beg of you let us not take the chance of crippling, if not killing, the only hope for the salvation of the world.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, not only is it hoped that this communistic penetration will immediately stop, thereby removing the threat to the Middle and the Far East and the indirect threat to the peace of the world, but it is equally sincerely hoped that passage of this legislation will have a most salutary general effect on Stalin and Russia as well as on the peoples in the other countries of Europe who believe in democracy, and that it will encourage those people to continue or commence their fight for freedom. Not only that, Mr. Chairman, but I am impelled to hope that it will also have a most salutary effect on the people of our own country who are performing the tremendous disservice to our country and the world of so greatly encouraging the spread of communism. To my mind, they are more dangerous to the future of this country, on which the peace of the world depends, than paid agents and proponents of this foreign ideology. I hope, incredible though it be to believe, that many of them are unaware of the result of their activity, and that this legislation will cause them to stop, look, and listen, just as, I repeat, it is the duty of every Member of this House in meeting the challenge to statesmanship to which I referred in the beginning to stop, look, and listen.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. Was the gentleman present when Mr. Inman, guest professor of international relations, Ohio Wesleyan University, testified?

Mr. JARMAN. Unfortunately I was in Alabama during 1 day of the hearings, and Mr. Inman appeared at that time.

Mr. OWENS. Will the gentleman tell me what he thinks of this statement of Mr. Inman:

Every man who travels outside the United States today knows that people everywhere—even in Canada, the Scandinavian countries, Holland and England—talk of fear of American dominance. The other great fear is of communism. The way to throw the weight of the public opinion of the world on the side of Russia is to follow the President's plan to start arranging the affairs of other nations for them.

What is the gentleman's thought about that?

Mr. JARMAN. I answer that by saying that the President positively has no such plan.

Mr. FULTON. If the gentleman will yield, I wish to compliment him on the statement that this is America's job.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. VURSELL].

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Chairman, the President's proposal in this bill to extend our foreign policy to the point where we are committed to defend by force, if necessary, any nation in the world with our men, money, and munitions whose governments are threatened or about to be overthrown by aggressor nations, is a commitment our American people do not approve if they understood it. It is a commitment we should not make, we cannot keep, and in attempting to keep it, may destroy the economic and financial solvency of this Nation.

The President's proposal to expend \$400,000,000 to send money and men into Greece and Turkey, is the most momentous step the people of this Nation have been asked to take since we became a nation following the Revolutionary War. It may far exceed in importance our entry into the two world wars. In each of these wars we had allies. Now we are branching out on our own on to the uncharted fields of the world. Let no one be deceived. This is a world program and a world commitment on the part of the United States to use the military forces and might of the Nation around the world at the expense of the United States Government and through the sacrifice of her people on the home front, and our young manhood on the battle fronts of the world in the future.

Mr. Chairman, we are asked by this legislation to wrap up a \$400,000,000 diplomatic atomic bomb, so to speak, and place it, with the detonating mechanism all set for explosion, on the very doorstep of the satellite nations of Soviet Russia. If ever there was a time for the Members of this Congress to quit dreaming and idealizing, and seriously face what we are doing here today, and its effect on the people of America and the world, the moment is upon us. We should consider legislation as realists and not as theorists or idealists. We all endorse the idea of stopping communism. But as realists, can we endorse this proposal as the proper approach?

Let us strip away the wishful thinking and look at this legislation in the light of what it may mean, rather than what we hope it means. More than half of the \$400,000,000 is admittedly for military aid to Greece and Turkey. We are told that the purpose of this loan is to "stop communism," which is the political ideology of Soviet Russia. All of us detest the reprehensible record of the Russian Government and all of us are opposed to its ideology of communism. If by voting for this appropriation of \$400,000,000 we could stop communism even in the Middle East we would support it, but tied in with this initial step is a world commitment 1,000 times more dangerous than the millions involved.

Certainly no one can seriously believe or contend that what military aid we propose to render to Greece and Turkey will put those countries in a condition that would prevent Russia from overrunning the Middle East within a matter of a few days if she desires to move in. What we are beginning, in fact, is the establishment of a military beachhead in

Greece and Turkey which commits us to pour all of the men, munitions of war, and military might into that sector of Europe and, if necessary, to defend over 3,000 miles away this military beach-head if Russia now or later decides to move into the Middle East. These are the things the American people do not know are wrapped up in this legislation. If we are challenged we shall certainly have to do this or be humiliated before the world.

If this legislation passes this House, it having already been given the senatorial green light, the die is cast, our diplomatic challenge will have been sent to the Middle East. Stalin and Soviet Russia can react in one or two ways. They can cry out against our actions through the press—try to inflame the minds of the Russian people that we are an imperialist nation and that the Russian people are in danger of being attacked.

This move gives them the benefit of the opportunity of using such propaganda which doubtless will tend to solidify the Russian people in believing that we are, in fact, their enemies, which, of course, is false.

The second way they can react is to act physically, through their Balkan satellite nations, and authorize Balkan Communist forces to agitate and start a Balkan war. In other words, Russia can have Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia start the fight and set back and wait to see how things proceed. If we enact this legislation, we would have to rush our men and military forces into the third world war, which would start as a side show with the Balkan countries. When we move in backing Greece and Turkey, then Russia can, and doubtless will, back the Balkan countries. Then we are on our way with the third world war.

Certainly the Members of this House must deal and think in realities. Certainly the American people ought to know what may likely happen if this legislation is passed. They will have to furnish the billions that this program will cost, even if it does not provoke war. They will have to furnish the millions of young men to fight and die throughout the world if it hastens the third world war.

They will have to submit to regimentation and controls far greater than we experienced in World War II. In considering this legislation the Members of Congress should realize that all of these things may happen and many more. We must visualize our economy geared to all-out production for war. We must visualize the serious possibility of the reorganization of the draft boards with millions of young men filtering through these boards on their way again into the maelstrom of destruction of life and property throughout the world.

Now is the time to think about these things that may happen. Let us count the cost before we take such a fatal step.

Mr. Chairman, if this move starts World War III now or later in the Balkans; in order to support Greece and Turkey we must protect the British life line of World War II. We must protect our flanks through the Gibraltar

Straits—the Straits of Sicily—and the escape route through the Suez Canal, the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. In South America there are strong communistic party organizations in most of the Republics which may need our attention.

If the World War III comes we must expend money, men, and munitions to aid the noncommunistic forces of South America to make sure we are not attacked from that quarter.

Then we must defend and supply the vast Pacific from the Aleutians to the Philippines and Korea, around Guam and back to the outposts of the Panama Canal.

Mr. Chairman, we know that our military forces are now at a rather low ebb; yes, we know the millions of men and the billions of dollars that will be required to meet this task if it comes. These are some of the realities that we are facing in considering this legislation. We had better face them now than to indulge in theoretical dreams and wishful thinking.

Mr. Chairman, by comparison the Russian dictatorial government instead of demobilizing their forces in the interest of the peacetime economy of their country have continued the biggest army in the world today. They have appropriated \$12,600,000,000 for their over-all military budget. With their slave labor by the millions; with the low wages they pay their workers and the long hours they drive them to their task, you can begin to realize how much war production and how much force these dictators can muster if they so desire. They have all of the 17 strategic raw materials for war contained in their land which is also serious to contemplate when we think that the United States is sufficient in less than half of these 17 strategic raw materials of war.

Mr. Chairman, in addition Russia is the largest gold-producing nation in the world. While the administration proposes to try to stop communism in the Balkans and in Europe, the Secretary of the Treasury representing the Government for the past number of years has been purchasing gold from Russia and from all nations at \$35 a fine ounce. About the time in 1933 when President Roosevelt recognized Communist Russia the Congress passed the Gold Reserve Act raising the price of gold from \$20 to \$35 a fine ounce. In other words we are still paying Russia in American dollars \$35 a fine ounce for gold that it costs Russia \$9 a fine ounce to produce.

We are now in a position where the President said recently that we must curb the power of the Communists in America, while at the same time their activities here are being financed by the \$26-a-fine-ounce profit we pay Russia for its gold which we hoard in the ground down at Fort Knox, Ky.

Russia with \$9 gold can buy strategic raw materials in the world markets which gives her a greater advantage by reason of the fact that this administration which proposes to make war on her ideology of government is, in fact, helping to finance the Russian Government to extend its power throughout the world. Our Government helped to finance Japan in the same way and in other ways with our scrap iron, oil, and machinery prior

to Pearl Harbor. She shot this metal back at our troops in the war.

I do not say that we should not go to war with Russia if that is the one means for the salvation of America, and the freedom of men throughout the world.

I do not say that Americans who fought World War I and World War II in the name of freedom would not fight World War III as well for the same cause.

But I say, before we take a step inviting World War III let our people from Maine to California and Washington to Florida know all the facts. Let them know that war can come from this move instead of being told that this move is the one way to prevent war.

Let the people of America know with emphasis that five-eighths of this \$400,000,000 is earmarked for military aid, rather than for relief of starving women and children.

Let them realize that this is a parallel step in 1947 to the "all aid to the Allies short of war" that led to lend-lease and the full-scale war of 1941-45.

Look at this Greek-Turkish loan from still another angle.

Senator HARRY F. BYRD, of Virginia, presented a tabulation recently showing commitments of \$15,800,000,000 for foreign loans and other aid, present or set for the immediate future.

We have 50,000,000 men and women in jobs in the United States outside of Government and the armed forces. This cumulative and aggregate commitment of 15.8 billions of American tax dollars to help the rest of the world means \$316 for each and every one of these 50,000,000 job holders.

Yet the national debt share of each of these job holders is already something like \$6,000, on a basis of one job for every three adults of our population.

Have you who want to vote this Greek-Turkish loan told your constituents of this?

Have you analyzed for your constituents the figures which will show that the whole cost of military, air and naval preparedness to guarantee American security and American defense against the actions of aggressors for a generation is less than what we have poured out and propose to pour out in foreign largess?

If we want to fight communism, first clear out the Communist fifth column within our own borders. Clear them out of Government jobs, out of the State Department, labor unions, and out of our schools and colleges.

If we want to protect the peace of the world, let us start with hemisphere unity, help the governments of the Central and South American Republics clear out the Communists which would give Russian totalitarianism a permanent foothold in the Americas.

We need to invoke the Monroe Doctrine to apply to communism in the Western Hemisphere, if we would keep the republics of that hemisphere as the habitat of free men and women.

Mr. Chairman, after studying this proposition for weeks I have come to a firm conviction that the proposed foreign policy of the State Department is dangerous and wrong. I am so sure that there is another and a better way that should be tried first, before we take this

momentous step that my conscience will not permit me to commit the American people so far as I am concerned to take this step.

The proponents of this bill, both in the Senate and the House now know that their first move should have been to take this matter to the United Nations Organization with all the force and power of the American and British forces and other peace-loving nations belonging to that organization.

They try to excuse themselves by saying that the United Nations does not have the power; they do not know this to be a fact. They have not given the United Nations a chance. The feeble Government of Iran called upon the United Nations to demand that Russia take her military forces out of that country many months ago. She promptly took them out upon the demand of the United Nations Organization.

I have advocated for over a year that our Government with Britain and other peace-loving governments should amend the United Nations Charter taking away the veto power of Russia or any other nation; establish armament quotas and provide for inspection of all war materials including minerals for the production of atomic bombs from the mines through the laboratories to the industrial plants. It is not too late to make such a move in conjunction with the move I have suggested of taking the Greek-Turkish matter to the United Nations. I know of no other way where we can so effectively call the bluff of Russia and put her on notice before the world as an aggressor than to follow such a course. If we should follow such a course then the people of Poland, Czechoslovakia and most of the satellite nations of Russia, including the liberty-loving people of France, Italy, and all nations could look with hope to the United Nations for deliverance from their present bondage and in the hope of perpetual world peace. I think such a course would be a thousand times more effective against the spread of communism in Europe and the world than the dangerous proposal to establish a military beachhead in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. Chairman, the proponents of the bill will say that the United Nations does not have the finances. This Government can authorize through the Congress that \$100,000,000, or more, be paid over to the United Nations Organization to be used at once under the direction of the United Nations in Greece and Turkey to bolster up their economy. In fact, everything and more that the President's proposal contends for, can be effected as promptly and with greater force and power if directed through the United Nations Organization. This bill should be amended providing for an approach to the problem along this line. I believe that the House of Representatives has the greatest opportunity to serve this Nation and to serve world peace that will ever come to this Congress. I believe that such a move can be approved in this House which will prevent the financial destruction of this country. If we cannot so amend this proposed legislation we should vote to recommit the bill to the committee for further study.

Mr. Chairman, we have just financed a war that cost us over \$300,000,000,000 plus the lives of 300,000 men, with a million more wounded. It will require three hundred billion or more for compensation for the soldiers of this war before we have discharged the commitments now written into law for their relief. Our Government is committed to \$15,000,000,000 more in loans and immediate relief. Our debt now stands at \$260,000,000,000. Can any one believe that the United States Government, in justice to its own people can afford to embark on this expanded world policy that will call for billions upon billions more? Stalin is waiting for time and is predicting that a depression will come in America that will wreck our Government financially. Doubtless he is planning that when this time comes, his fellow travelers and Communists in this country with the power of Russia can destroy this Government. If we pass the administration's proposal he can begin to bleed us white financially by encouraging his satellite nations to start a war with Greece and Turkey which we will have to defend. He can threaten other nations and under the President's policy we would have to move in to protect them.

This proposed expansion of world policy may well be a trap which will work swiftly and directly to the benefit of the Russian Government by bringing about the destruction of our own form of government through financial bankruptcy. It is too great a gamble to take until we try out the handling of this matter through the United Nations Organization.

Mr. Chairman, the mistakes of our leadership and State Department at Teheran in violation of the principles of the Atlantic Charter by our own leaders in the partition of Poland, our ally, without her knowledge and consent, by secret agreements add to our difficulties in Europe today.

The mistakes and secret agreements of the State Department and our own leaders giving great concessions to Russia in Manchuria, giving equal power with us in Korea, giving her the Kurile Islands, makes Russia threat to the Philippines and to our attempt to establish democracy in Korea and Japan. It will cost us over \$1,000,000,000 by compelling us to stay in Japan and Korea for years. It was a colossal blunder which gave Russia the power to threaten us from a military standpoint in the future never dreamed of.

Mr. Chairman, the past mistakes of the State Department and our leaders at Yalta in agreements affecting further mistakes made at the Potsdam Conference which have prevented the cooperation of the four powers to bring order out of chaos in Germany, will cost billions of dollars and may defeat the whole purpose of European peace under the United Nations Charter.

Now they ask us to go on our own and make this world-wide move, which, in my judgment, will compound the mistakes of the past and may well wreck the United States Government financially.

I refuse to be a party to helping save the face of the State Department or of the bipartisan leaders of both parties who apparently have entered into a combination to drive through the Greek-Turkish loan, and expanding our foreign policy.

How can we have faith in view of the State Department's constant mistakes on foreign policy that they are right now?

Mr. Chairman, the all-important aim of this Congress is to prevent World War III. To do this we must cast aside the old war-breeding policy of having each nation arrogate to itself the right to decide what it will do to or in other nations, and instead begin to use the machinery of the United Nations.

Have we forgotten the Biblical admonition, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword"? America should not take unilateral action. Whatever action needed to be taken should be taken through the United Nations Organization. It is not too late to correct our course and start putting the pressure on Russia through the United forces of the liberty-loving people who formed the United Nations Organization to meet just such emergencies as we are facing in the Greek-Turkish matter.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 14 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. KLEIN].

(Mr. KLEIN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Chairman, so far as I am concerned, I am opposed to this bill in its present form. I hope that when amendments are being offered that certain of those amendments will be adopted by this committee, which will make it a better bill and one more acceptable to the American people.

Mr. Chairman, the bill for military aid to Greece and Turkey involves one of the most significant policy questions ever to face the American Congress. It is urgent that the American people understand the issues involved in this bill; the policy to which it commits us; the people it commits us to support; the interests which are behind this bill and the methods they are using to put it across; and the consequences for this country and the world of such a policy.

Let me quote from Walter Lippmann in his column of April 22:

This is not a bill to establish democracy in Greece and Turkey. It is only incidentally a bill to bring relief to the victims of war. It is a bill which establishes the United States as a power in the Middle East.

This Government is now considering a policy of unlimited intervention in the affairs of Europe, intervention which repudiates our solemn pledge in the Atlantic Charter to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live."

Under this policy we commit ourselves to support reactionary forces throughout the world, to support the residue of the very forces against which we expended billions of dollars and 300,000 American lives in World War II.

We are told Greece is a democracy because they held an election attended by United States observers. However, the left was not allowed to campaign and had no ticket. Neither the left nor the center is represented in the present Greek Parliament. The present Greek Government includes collaborators with the Nazis and the Greek Army has been recruited from prewar royalists and quisling forces formed by the Germans. The Government is using the same police

force which served the Metaxas dictatorship and the Germans.

We say we are supporting the forces of democracy in Greece against "leftist bands." But who are these leftist bands against whom we propose to throw the full economic and perhaps military might of the United States? Let me quote to you from the report of the New York Times' distinguished foreign correspondent, Raymond Daniell, in the New York Times magazine of April 20, 1947:

A year ago leftist bands had dwindled to an insignificant size, but they have been growing steadily until they have almost doubled. This is not entirely due to the power of Communist persuasion, nor is it the result, as Government spokesmen often argue, of terrorist tactics on the part of leftists alone. The truth is that large number of villagers have been forced to seek sanctuary with these bands because Government troops and gendarmes, including members of the security police created by the Germans to fight the resistance, themselves have created such a reign of terror in the provinces that for a good many it seemed the best chance of survival was union with the bands.

If there were a truly democratic form of government in Greece, I would be one of the first to come to its support. But as I have indicated, I am opposed to using our money, our military equipment, and eventually our young American manhood, to maintain in power a reactionary government such as now exists there.

But of course the support of Greek reaction against these humble Greek villagers is merely a starting point. As Lippmann pointed out on April 8:

Greece is only a pinpoint in the Truman global policy.

A policy of this kind is bound to fail—

Lippmann continues—

because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world. * * * If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally, we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people everywhere.

You have undoubtedly heard that in a recent poll 63 percent of the American people felt that the problem of Greece and Turkey should be turned over to the UN, while only 23 percent were opposed, 14 percent had no opinion. I am sure that you will hear it again. I mention it here now, because I think it is a good idea to take our discussion out of the realm of politics and bring it down to earth. We can do that best by quoting facts.

It is a fact that we were given to understand that the British would withdraw their troops and Communism would take over in Greece and Turkey if we did not vote this program before March 31. It is now May 6 and the British still tramp the streets of Athens and no pitched battles rage on the Turkish frontiers.

It is a fact that we were assured that this measure would strengthen democracy. Yet, the day after it was announced, the monarchist government of the King of Greece swooped down on hundreds of moderate democrats in Athens and trundled them off. As if by signal—instead of the emergence of a democratic regime—the King of Greece

watched benignly while monarchist bands murdered 21 men in cold blood held under his protection, in the royal jail—and then complimented the murderers.

No sooner were our great Turkish allies assured of the strengthening of democracy in their country through our aid to their army, then they banned 11 newspapers.

Elsewhere in the world, where they exist, the collaborators, the right wing terrorists, the reactionaries, danced with glee and felt that their day had dawned again.

These are the facts as to how we have strengthened democracy throughout the world.

As I said, Greece is only a pin point in the Truman global policy, only a beginning in a world-embracing undertaking. But Greece, Turkey, and the Near East offer an important clue to the kind of interests which are pushing us into this delirium.

Look at the United States News of March 14, 1947, pages 14-15, and you will see a map of the Mediterranean area. It is captioned: "Greece: the key to the Mediterranean." And at the far right of the map there is a pointer marked in large letters: "Middle East—world's greatest oil reserve in which United States is deeply interested."

Mr. O. John Rogge, former special assistant to the Attorney General, has explained this key. Addressing the Independent Oil Men's Association of New England on April 16, Mr. Rogge pointed out that American oil companies now owned or controlled 40 percent of the Middle East oil production and the percentage is growing steadily. That is a substantial "chestnut."

The Washington correspondent of Barron's Financial Weekly wrote on March 17 that the Truman doctrine "in effect creates an American-trained Turko-Greek army between Russia and the world's largest oil reserves."

I think we must appreciate the frankness of some business interests. They at least do not say "democracy" when they mean "oil empire." If this issue could be put to the American people on this frank and honest basis, undisguised by arguments about relief and communism, I know a workable solution could be found within the framework of the United Nations, to which the majority of the American people have indicated that the problem of Greece and Turkey should be referred. As Mr. Rogge said:

There is no reason why the oil reservoirs of the Middle East should not be pooled for international purposes, supervised by an international commission and run by independent oil companies under a license system.

But such a sensible policy would not guarantee to Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, and other American oil interests the monopoly control they desire. So we are to run the risk of a catastrophic war in order to secure control for these monopolists.

In his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee on April 2 Senator O'MAHONEY warned of possible "cartel arrangements eventually controlling the supply of oil for the United States." Have we so soon forgotten the situation

in which cartel control of essential items like rubber, aluminum, and tungsten left us at the beginning of World War II?

Let me give you a description of the oil properties in the Middle East, to which Greece and Turkey are considered the keys:

In Iraq, a subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum Co., controlled by Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum along with dominant British and minor French and Dutch interests, has a 75-year concession, with the United States companies entitled to get nearly a fourth of the output.

Kuwait Oil Co. has a 75-year concession on the borders of Iraq in the Kingdom of Kuwait, a British protectorate at the head of the Persian Gulf. This company is owned jointly by the Gulf Oil Corp.—Mellon—and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., a British company. Its production is about 40,000 barrels daily.

The rest of Iraq not covered by other concessions is exploited by the Basrah Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Iraq Petroleum, which as noted above, is owned jointly by United States, British, Dutch, and French interests.

In Iran, Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum Oil Co. are involved through a purchase agreement in the 60-year concession in southern Iran given to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. This British concern has an output of over 400,000 barrels a day. It is now planning an \$80,000,000 pipe line from the Iranian fields to the Mediterranean to be completed by 1949.

In Saudi Arabia, American interests have a concession covering 281,000,000 acres and control virtually all the oil reserves through the Arabian American Oil Co.—Aramco—which is already getting out about 200,000 barrels a day. It has contracted for a 1,200-mile pipe line to the Mediterranean coast to be completed by 1949.

Aramco is owned jointly by Standard Oil Co. of California and the Texas Co. and is now transferring about 40 percent of its stock interest to Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the biggest of the oil trusts, and to Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., another company in the Rockefeller group.

A loan to Aramco of over \$100,000,000 is reportedly being made by a group of United States banks headed by the Chase National Bank—a Rockefeller bank—while another loan of \$125,000,000 is being extended by a group of insurance companies.

In the Bahrein Islands, a protectorate of Great Britain off the east coast of Arabia, the Bahrein Petroleum Co. is exploring, producing and refining oil. Bahrein Petroleum is owned half by Standard Oil Co. of California and half by the Texas Co.

In Qatar on the Persian Gulf, also under British protection, the government is actually run by the Petroleum Development, Ltd., subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Co. which I mentioned earlier. The oil reserves here are estimated at 1,000,000,000 barrels.

In Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus, Trans-Jordan, and coastal Arab states, the Iraq Petroleum Co., controlled by United States, British, Dutch, and

French interests, has oil rights to lands with estimated reserves of around 5,000-000,000 barrels.

These being the facts, it is a crime against the American people to withhold them from their full and free consideration, so that they can judge the policy on its real merits. It is they who must do the fighting and dying in war. It is upon them that the immediate economic consequences of this policy will fall.

For—let us make no mistake about it—this policy is alien to the American tradition. It is alien to the purposes for which we fought World War II. It is especially alien to the whole course of foreign policy pursued by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and so overwhelmingly endorsed by the American people during the 12 years in which they elected and reelected him to office. It is those "economic royalists" who abused and slandered our late great President throughout the whole of his term in office who look upon the "Truman doctrine" with equanimity and ill-disguised gloating. In a remark which is outstanding for its bad taste and open contempt for the American people's feelings for President Roosevelt, Barron's declared on March 17:

Mr. Truman cannot be thanked too gratefully for his honest and straightforward presentation of the reasons for embarking on a course so alien to that of his widely worshiped predecessor.

One of the most serious objections to the so-called Truman doctrine is that by extending unilateral aid to Greece and Turkey the United States is bypassing the United Nations and other international bodies which we are pledged to support. The United Nations, the world's great hope for peace and security, will be undermined by this defection of the greatest power in the world. That the United Nations is capable of extended help to Greece was shown by the recent recommendations regarding Greek economy made by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development was specifically established for loans to nations needing funds to rebuild their economy.

If action is required to restore the economy of Greece, it should be carried out through the agencies of the United Nations in accordance with the proposals of the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Such funds as are required for this purpose should be granted to the UN by an appropriation of Congress. But no funds should be released until there has been established in Greece a coalition government replacing the present reactionary government. The function of this coalition government should be to hold office during a transition period in which honest attempts would be made to end the civil war by conciliation and by the promise of fundamental reforms.

With regard to Turkey, I am opposed to giving them any sort of help whatsoever.

In the first place, Turkey is not a democracy, and never was. In the second place, if she was not actually an ally of Germany, she enjoyed a benevolent neutrality during World War II. She played

one side against the other, until, finally, yielding to United Nations pressure, on February 23, 1945, she declared war on Germany and Japan.

In direct violation of the Montreux convention, she permitted Nazi warships to enter the Black Sea, from which they assisted in the siege and capture of Odessa and Sevastopol, and contributed substantially to the Nazi advance on Stalingrad. Her capital, Ankara, was a haven of refuge and a vantage point for Von Papen and many high Nazi diplomats, and a headquarters for the Gestapo.

In the third place, Turkey does not require financial aid. Her budget deficit is small and she has a gold reserve. A British retreat from commitments in Turkey would not have great economic effect. Consequently, the problem of Turkey is not quite the same as the problem of Greece. If Turkey's security is threatened, her case should be placed before the Security Council of the United Nations.

In summary, a British opinion on the present condition of Turkey may be of interest:

Turkey today is a happy land not only in the richness of her soil, but in her freedom from that fatal fission which is the curse of so many countries in Europe today. Well provided, united, * * * Turkey is today probably the most comfortable country in Europe in which to live. With more prosperous days in view, her outlook for the near future is far brighter than that of the greater part of the world. (The Statist (London), January 11, 1947, p. 36.)

An amendment will be offered to strike all reference to Turkey from the bill. This should be adopted by the committee.

Also, an amendment will be offered to limit any Greek aid exclusively to the granting of funds for relief purposes, on condition that the spending of the funds be properly supervised by representatives of the United States Government. This amendment also should be adopted. Otherwise, should we appropriate funds to the present regime without conditions, as Lippmann puts it:

Greece will be a Rathole into which we will pour not only money—that is the least of it—but our prestige and our good name.

The world is watching to see: if we meant what we said, when we talked about joining with all peace-loving nations to "afford assurance that all the men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KLEIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Does not the gentleman feel this legislation will not stop the onrush of communism in Europe and elsewhere?

Mr. KLEIN. I agree with the gentleman. I made my position clear in connection with the foreign relief bill which we debated last week. Communism feeds on peoples who are living in misery and despair, and unless you feed those peoples, unless the people can be happy and content, you will have the desire for communism, or at least something, some ideology, which offers those people some

hope. If we establish truly democratic governments over there we will not have to worry about communism because the people will shun it, they will reject it and will not have anything to do with it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I agree with the gentleman.

Examine this so-called Truman doctrine very carefully. I hope that some of these amendments which will be offered will be adopted, but if not, if the bill remains in its present form, it should be voted down, because it is not deserving of our support.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. AUCHINCLOSS].

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Chairman, this legislation as presented in H. R. 2616 is perhaps the most important piece of legislation that this Congress has considered for a long time. It sets forth a pattern of the foreign policy of the United States for the days ahead, and whenever a definite policy on such an important matter is determined it carries with it grave responsibilities. It is only after the most careful consideration and thought that I have decided to support this bill, and although I do not know much about the detail of its import, nevertheless, I am convinced that it is for the best interests of our country that it be adopted.

In the first place, the President of the United States, whose duty it is to inaugurate the international policies of our country, has requested it on the grounds that it is necessary for the security of the United States; and in the second place, Secretary of State Marshall has stated that this legislation should be enacted in order to strengthen his hands in our dealings with our former allies. The Secretary of State has been reported as saying that the President's proposal was taken most seriously and had a definite effect on Generalissimo Stalin, the dictator of Russia.

Furthermore, I am convinced that the people of the Third Congressional District of New Jersey, whom I have the honor to represent, are in favor of this legislation and I know whereof I speak. Immediately after the President read his message to Congress on this subject, I recognized the importance and the far-reaching possibilities of such action on the part of our country and I felt that I should ask for the views of the people that I represent. I drafted a quarter-page advertisement for insertion in the newspapers in my district, which consisted of three paragraphs, stating as follows:

The implications in the President's message regarding Greece and Turkey are far more serious than the advancement of \$400,000,000 to these countries.

This matter affects the entire future of our country and demands the attention of all the people.

Therefore, I earnestly request that the people I represent write me their views and opinions on this problem.

The response to this advertisement was immediate and generous and I received approximately 1,000 letters from individuals, each giving me his or her personal views on this momentous question. The replies were divided, about 56

percent in favor and 44 percent against the President's proposal, but it should be noted that a large number of those in favor qualified their approval by stating that the proposal should have been channeled through the United Nations and that no military aid should be extended to either Greece or Turkey.

Of course, I feel that unless we are prepared to support anything we may do, our efforts to aid would be in vain. There is no sense in going into this thing unless we are prepared to stand up in support of our convictions and not run away. Whether we like it or not we have become a great international power and we must assume our responsibilities to maintain peace in the world.

It is for these fundamental reasons that I believe it is desirable that this legislation should pass and I hope it will pass by an overwhelming vote. At the same time, however, I do not wish to let this opportunity go by without making some observations about these responsibilities of ours as a great international power, and the part that the House of Representatives must play in implementing them. For the first time perhaps in history the House of Representatives is called upon to have some part in determining a definite foreign policy for our Government, and the question naturally arises—what do we Members of the House really know about the political and economic ideologies of other nations? Do we know when we vote these huge sums of money that they will be used wisely for the benefit of those who really need aid? Are we sure that mere money and advice will bring to an end the spread and growth of communism? Do we know whether \$400,000,000 is enough to accomplish our purpose, or is it too much? Have we first-hand knowledge of the economic conditions of these countries and whether the Governments that rule them are honest and capable and are able and willing to administer whatever relief we may offer? Will these countries, and any other countries we may see fit to aid, cooperate with us to the end that the people of the world will grow to respect us and that our prestige will be enhanced? Is it economically sound for us to make such a loan and can we do likewise for other countries who may seek our aid? These and many other questions arise and the answers, if there are any, are vague and tend to add to the confusion of thought which already exists.

During the debate of the relief bill, recently passed by the House and now being considered in the Senate, confused thinking was very evident. The members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs gave the impression that they were not able to agree among themselves about many of the important features of that legislation. This great committee is made up of hard-working, conscientious Members of the House, and my statement is not meant to reflect on them in any way. The members of this committee were reaching for the truth and for what was best for America, but unanimity of thought was absent and their unanimity of thinking is necessary for the guidance of the judgment of the other Members of the House of Representatives. This

is not a good state of affairs because in the days to come the House of Representatives will be called upon to decide other matters of great international import and confused thinking must be eliminated if we are to prepare and pass constructive legislation.

As I have already pointed out, the House of Representatives up to the present has not had to consider matters of this kind, and its membership was not called upon for any great knowledge about the economies or philosophies of foreign governments. This was the responsibility of the other body where, under the Constitution, treaties with other nations are considered and passed upon and our general policy of foreign relations decided. However, those days of no responsibility on the part of the House are passed; the world is on our doorstep and is looking to our Government for courage, for leadership and for financial aid, and in accordance with our constitutional system the House of Representatives must share the responsibilities of determining our foreign policy and our country's attitude toward other countries in the world. We cannot shirk that responsibility if our Nation is to live.

This present situation calls for the education of Congressmen in the ways and byways of international relations. We Members of the House of Representatives, if we are to be faithful to our trust, can no longer remain content with what information is revealed to us by the Executive Department of our Government and we must develop our own facts concerning the economic and political conditions at home and abroad. It is true that many Members of the House of Representatives, in the past year or so, have traveled overseas and visited foreign lands, but I venture a guess that for many of them it was their first trip outside of the United States. These Members, of course, have seen much in a short time and have gathered a great deal of useful information, but such trips cannot possibly make anyone an expert, or the son of an expert, on foreign relationships. The world has a great history and events are changing rapidly the course of human destiny; therefore, in the light of that history these changes must be interpreted and their meaning weighed. That is a job for men of the highest technical training; it is a job for experts.

The need for this education and study has been recognized by our able and experienced colleague the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER]. It is quite natural that he should recognize the lack of appreciation on the part of the House of the difficult and complicated questions involved in the matter of administering relief. He knows considerable about it because he has been engaged in it and has studied it under the guidance of that great statesman and American, Herbert Hoover. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] introduced House Resolution 173 and I commend it to my colleagues for their study. This resolution provides for the appointment by the Speaker of the House of a select committee of 15 members, at least 10 of whom shall be selected from the majority and minority membership of the Com-

mittees on Appropriations, Foreign Affairs, Banking and Currency, Armed Services, and Agriculture, and reads as follows:

The committee is authorized and directed to make a continuing study of—

(1) Actual and prospective needs of foreign nations and peoples, including those within United States military zones, both for relief in terms of food, clothing, etc., and of economic rehabilitation;

(2) Resources available to meet such needs within and without the continental United States;

(3) Existing or contemplated agencies, whether private, public, domestic, or international, qualified to deal with such needs;

(4) The administrative skills and performance of such agencies;

(5) Continuing wartime or other controls, if any, required to maintain prices of commodities in short supply at reasonable levels, whether such controls be domestic or international;

(6) Any or all measures which might assist in assessing relative needs and in correlating such assistance as the United States can properly make without weakening its domestic economy.

This would not be a legislative committee; it would be a study committee, designated to secure the facts about conditions of relief and aid to foreign countries, and it would be required to report to the House not less often than once in each 6 months. This committee may, of course, report more frequently as occasion may demand and thereby keep the Members of the House supplied with factual information developed under their own auspices.

Every Member of the House would benefit tremendously from the study of such a committee and their conclusions would be more intelligently arrived at and they would have more definite knowledge of the possible results of their action. Such study would tend to promote a positive, integrated foreign policy and would stop the practice of, on the one hand, shipping supplies to a country while on the other hand during what we can to stop its expansion. Such a thoughtless and vacillating policy makes us the laughingstock of the world, because thereby we are aiding in the promotion of the very thing we are seeking to destroy. This does not reflect any glory on us who claim to be a people of great business acumen, nor does it enhance our reputation in the eyes and hearts of other nations. Bewilderment among the Members of the House today is the result of their dependency on information received from all kinds of sources, some of which is little better than mere gossip, and they do the best they can, hoping for the best. That is no way for us Members of Congress to act for the best interest of our country.

Such a study committee as proposed in House Resolution 173 should in no way conflict with the duties and prerogatives of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; indeed it would supplement its work. This is clearly set forth in the whereas clauses in the resolution itself, which read as follows:

Whereas the importance and complexity of aid required by foreign nations and peoples from the resources of the United States is assuming increasing proportions.

This clause indicates the great intricacy of this problem and the fact that this demand for aid will come from all quarters of the globe.

Whereas such aid directly affects every segment of the domestic economy of the United States.

This clause shows the intimate part that relief extension plays in the whole economy of our country, affecting industry, agriculture, defense, and our fiscal affairs.

Whereas the problems relating to such aid are of a nature to lie within the jurisdiction of a number of the standing committees of the Congress.

This clause shows that the problems involved go far beyond the scope of any one of the committees of the House of Representatives and should have the combined attention of people who are experts in the various segments of our economy which are affected.

Whereas these problems should, in order to safeguard the resources and economy of the United States, be given the most careful consideration in relation to each other.

This clause points out the fact which has been troubling many of us, that we must be on our guard that we ourselves do not become weak while we are doing our best to make others strong.

Whereas an integrated and coordinated study should be most valuable to the standing committees of the Congress.

This clause merely states the truth, but one could go further and include every member in Government, if not every citizen in the United States as benefiting from such a study.

I hope that early and favorable consideration will be given to the passage of this resolution, but we must act presently on this proposal for aid to Greece and Turkey, using the best judgment at our disposal. Pray God that any aid that we may be able to render will be sufficient and efficient enough to aid these stricken people to get on their feet and establish themselves as free men and women. What the little nations of the world want is what we cherish—liberty. What they want is to take their place among the comity of nations and contribute what they can to peace in the world. It is right that we should do everything possible to aid them to achieve these objectives, but we must be sensible and prudent or we ourselves may be engulfed by the very thing we seek to destroy.

(Mr. AUCHINCLOSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. DIRKSEN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SADOWSKI].

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, a few moments ago I asked a question, Are the Macedonians Greeks? We have heard much about this Greek trouble, and it is always referred to as the trouble in Greek Macedonia, but why is it that no one comes down here and tells us the truth about this situation? The Macedonians are not Greeks. The Mace-

donians are a Slav race of people. They are southern Slavs. Further, history will bear out the fact that these Macedonians have lived there since the time of Christ. The city of Salonika is their city, it is not a Greek city. These Macedonian people are a rugged race of people. They live in the mountains; they are a mountaineer people, a simple, hard-fighting people, good Christian people. They have withstood the onslaught of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Turks. The Turks did their best to make Mohammedans out of them. They had them under Turkish domination for many, many years. The Turks practiced every kind of brutality against these Christian people. They desecrated their churches. They burnt their farms and homes. But they remained Macedonians. Then after the First World War, after these Macedonians had joined with us in our big fight in that war, and had shed their blood and given us of their best men in that struggle, what did we do, or rather, what did England do? England handed those people in bondage to Greece, instead of giving the Macedonians freedom. Freedom is what they wanted and that is what they fought for, and that is what they were entitled to have.

In this last war great fighting was done in that northern part of Greece, up in that hill country. A lot of credit was given to the Greeks, but who did this fighting? Macedonians, Greek Macedonians, those mountaineer people. The Nazis and the Italians never did subdue them, they never did annihilate them. They have never been conquered.

Now the war is over. Again these people are asking for freedom. They want an independent Macedonia. Are they entitled to it? In my opinion they are. I think they are. Half of Macedonia now is a free state within the Yugoslav federation. They have their own president, they have their own legislature, they have their own state set-up within this federation of Yugoslavia. The other part of Macedonia is still under Greek domination.

Here is the problem. Those Macedonians that are still within Greece, under Greek authority, all want freedom. They are united 100 percent on the basis that they want freedom; but they are divide on this: Some of those Macedonians want to join with that part of Macedonia which is now in the Yugoslav federation. Some of them do not want to join but they want to have a separate Macedonian state, a free state so that they would not be under Tito. But all of these people want freedom. All of these people have been on our side in this war and in the First World War. They fought heroically for our cause. Now it is proposed that we give bayonets and guns to the Royalists of Greece to kill these Macedonians. I am not mad at these Macedonians. I am not mad at those who want to go into the Yugoslav federation or those who want an independent Macedonia and freedom from Greece. I do not want to see any of them killed. President Truman and the State Department have remained silent about this struggle for freedom.

Why? Surely the sentiment of the American people is with the Macedonians.

Here is a piece from today's Washington Star: "Greeks condemned for aiding guerillas in Athens"; a dispatch from northern Greece reports today from the military fort at Almanian they have condemned 10 persons, including women, to death and sentenced 6 others to life imprisonment for aiding antigovernment guerilla forces.

Now, that has taken place after we have announced this program of aid to Greece. They are still killing Greeks in Macedonia, and killing those Greeks who do not agree with the Royalist Government in Greece and killing Macedonians because all Macedonians want freedom.

Am I going to vote to give more bayonets and more guns to kill off more of these people? No. So far as I am concerned, this is not a question of communism. This is the age old struggle, centuries old, of a fight for freedom—of the peoples' fight for freedom. The United States of America should be the first to say, "We stand back of you in this fight for freedom." We did say that in the Atlantic Charter, but now must these people who are struggling for freedom go to Uncle Joe Stalin to look for that freedom? Why should it not come from us—from the United States of America? That should be our program. That is what we should do.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I hope we can bring the discussion back now to the matter of the Greek-Turkish loan and let the theoretical discussion as to the ethnological background of the residents of Macedonia go until some more appropriate occasion.

I would like to take up with you some of the factors which, it seems to me, must be considered by every man and woman in this body as we make this very momentous decision. It is a decision which each of us is going to make, and there is no easy answer for anybody. It is not one of those cases where we can easily say "No," and shrug our shoulders and assume that we have answered the problem. It is not one of those questions to which we can say "Yes," and be sure of the consequences or of the results.

I assume if it were not for the very definite fact that the President of the United States called us together in joint assembly on March 12 and presented us with a specific program that the area of discussion in which we are now engaged could be considerably wider. Had it not been for that pronouncement which has been heard all around the world, we could begin with a theoretical discussion as to what to do about this big problem which is confronting us, growing out of the conditions existing in Greece and Turkey. But as a result of the fact that the announcement has been made in a joint session of Congress and the President of the United States speaking as its Chief Executive has announced it as his decision that this country is going to dis-

continue appeasing further aggression on the part of the Russians, and that he has recommended specific steps to stop that appeasement, the decision is now in the hands of the Congress. We must decide whether or not we wish to associate ourselves with the President's proposal to discontinue appeasement of Russia or whether we wish to associate ourselves with the kind of sorry appeasement policies which existed from the days of the Cairo Conference until March 12, when President Truman stood on the rostrum in this Chamber and announced that the policy of appeasement had failed and that we were set to follow a different course.

In my opinion, the appeasement policies followed by President Roosevelt in the conferences at Yalta and Tehran, especially, and followed by President Truman at Potsdam and down to March 12 did much to create the sorry situation in which we now find ourselves. However, be that as it may, while Republicans were not consulted in those days of appeasement, we are all now confronted by the same challenging circumstances. Republicans are now being called upon to help cure that which we did not help create. It is my conviction we now must measure up to our new responsibilities.

I was one of those who opposed repeal of the Neutrality Act prior to World War II. I was one of those who opposed the original lend-lease legislation and joined with the minority of members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in offering an alternative plan which I thought incurred less risk of war. When our alternative proposal was defeated, I voted for lend-lease on final passage. It seemed to me then there was no other alternative. I was one of those who voted against arming our ships prior to World War II. I voted against these proposals because I felt they were steps leading to war.

As a consequence of my votes before World War II, I have been accused frequently by the administration of being an isolationist, of being a Tory, of being an obstructionist, of being a reactionary. I have been attacked by all the abusive adjectives New Dealers use to discredit diligent Republicans. However, in spite of all that, in spite of the fact that this same administration may seek some way in which to make political capital of the fact that I now support the President in a program which it seems to me is right, I have no desire to engage in the sharp practices of partisan politics in looking at a decision that is as stupendous as this one. I now support President Truman's proposal on Greece and Turkey for the same reason I opposed President Roosevelt's early proposals to commit us to the fighting before Pearl Harbor. In each case, my desire to keep America at peace is the motivating factor.

Whether the predictions of those of us before World War II, who said that these unneutral steps were leading us into war were correct or incorrect, the men who write history later will have to determine. In any event those steps did not keep us out of war. Out of that war came new problems as great as we were told by the

eager interventionists of 1940 and 1941 were the problems which would be solved by World War II.

I believe that as realists, as Americans, without regard to partisanship, or political alinement, we have to survey the world as we find it today, not as we would wish it were. We cannot discuss this problem in a vacuum. We have to pick up the march of history where it is in front of us and govern our decision on the basis of the facts which exist today, regardless of how we happened to arrive at this point, or regardless of whether or not different decisions at a different time might have brought about a happier situation than that which we now confront.

It seems to me these are the facts which we now confront. Fact No. 1 is that Russian aggression is on the march in the world today. I think nobody will deny that. I think the most insistent opponent of this legislation cannot come down in the well of this House and say that Russian communism is not marching out with an aggressive force today. That is demonstrated all around the periphery of Russia. It is demonstrated by the complete elimination of the little independent Baltic Republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—gone from the map entirely, sucked against their will and their wish completely into the Russian system, as I am convinced Turkey and Greece will be gone from the map entirely if at this stage of the game we pull the rug out from under the President in his first practical step in opposing the program of appeasement of Russia. We must not send out the signal to Russia that as far as the people of America are concerned, through their elected representatives, we do not propose to support the President when he stands toe to toe and says Russian aggression must stop. We now have Russian aggression. We will have to concede that. If peace is to prevail this aggression must stop or be stopped.

Fact No. 2 we will also have to concede. That is that the Red tide of Communist aggression now threatens to break out of its boundaries at a new point—in Greece and in Turkey. Certainly, nobody who has kept abreast of the developments in that area through the newspapers and the radio, even, if you have not taken the trouble to read the hearings reporting the evidence before the committee on this bill, can help but concede that Russian interests and Russian influences and communist forces are, in large part, responsible for the guerrilla warfare taking place in Greece today. They are responsible for the unstable conditions existing in Greece today, and certainly for the dreads and fears which the people of Turkey have that the Red Army is going to come rolling in and take over the Dardanelles and the eastern provinces of Turkey.

Thus we have a set of circumstances which nobody likes but with which we must deal to avoid the things which none of us would like to have happen. But here they are, these facts. What are we going to do about them? Each one of you has to make a decision on those

circumstances. It is not only those of us who are going to vote in support of this legislation who have to make the decision, but also the rest of you have a decision to make. What are you going to do about the facts which exist historically today? I think there are only three decisions any of us can make:

First. We can go along as proposed here with the President's proposal, throw up some temporary dikes at the points represented by Greece and Turkey to hold back the Red river of Communist aggression at that point, at least for a time, so we can prepare a more comprehensive program for keeping the Communist forces within their own boundaries. You can do that if you will; that is one alternative. It is represented by the legislation now before us to aid Greece and Turkey.

There is a second alternative. You can say that you do not want to see communism overflow the world, that you want to do something about it, but this is not the place and this is not the time. You can say that we should erect this dike at a later time or at some other place; and I will not quarrel with you about that decision. However, I think you owe it to your country and to your Congress to tell us where then you would put up the dike if you believe one should be erected somewhere else and at some other time. If you think Turkey and Greece are not the proper places to try to hold in this torrent of communism, you should tell us where you think we should make the stand so we can intelligently appraise the merit of your position.

There is a third alternative. You may say you do not think the dike should be built at Turkey and at Greece, that you do not think the dike should be built at any later time or any later place, that you believe the thing to do is to let communism overflow its banks, seek its own level and sweep out until it comes to our immediate shores and threatens our own particular industry at home.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. In just a moment. I wish to develop this third point first.

You may say you think the thing to do is to wait until communism has overflowed all through Europe, until it has overflowed into Africa and Asia, and then if the Red torrent continues to come our way at our shores we will try to stop it.

There are no other ways than these three alternatives confronting us. None of them are very happy eventualities, none of them can be cited as being a completely secure policy for us; but to me the first alternative is the best to set up the dikes now in Greece and Turkey. I think this choice holds more of peace and less of war than either of the other two alternatives. If there be other alternatives, at least during the hearings which we held for many weeks in

our committee none was presented by any person in authority.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. BENDER. If the gentleman's claim is correct, that Soviet Russia is on the march, does not the gentleman feel that we were wrong in disposing of our surplus war materials at a fraction of the cost to the taxpayers of America, that we were making a mistake? Does not the gentleman feel that we are making a mistake in cutting the appropriations of the State Department, of the War Department, of the Navy Department? Does not the gentleman feel that the Republican program for economy in these items is wrong if Soviet Russia is on the march, if we are going to have another world war?

Mr. MUNDT. I will try to answer the gentleman's question if I can remember all he said. It was sort of a chain series of questions.

Certainly I would say that the program is wrong that we have followed in the disposition of war surpluses. It has been full of mistakes. I am not trying to justify the War Assets Administration. It has had nine successive administrators since it was first organized. I recognize, of course, that this is a stupendous problem, but it has been handled most stupidly.

Mr. BENDER. And much of the surplus property is going to Russia.

Mr. MUNDT. I decline to yield further but I doubt if much of the surplus property is now going to Russia. If the gentleman has any evidence to show that it is, I think he owes a duty to the House to spread it in the RECORD.

Mr. BENDER. I brought that out on the floor a month ago.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield further. A little later if I still have time I will yield. I want to finish up with these alternatives, one of which we must select. I think the bill before us is the alternative which we should choose. There are several reasons why I favor it to the other available choices.

In the first place it buys us some time at a moment when time is important. I think it sets up these temporary dikes. I think it is going to serve as a stop-gap measure to give us a chance now that we have abandoned appeasement to revise our American foreign policy on an intelligible and effective basis so that the Members of Congress can set themselves up in opposition to the forces which threaten freedom.

The second point which I think this legislation covers is that it does something of a constructive nature in that it will prevent Russian aggression into Turkey and Greece from taking place in the near future. I do not think there is a remote chance that the armies of Russia are going to go into Greece and Turkey in the face of the passage of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, the Russians are realists. They know better than we do that they do not have the atomic bomb; they know that their navy is inferior to the American Navy; they know better than we that their army is not mechanized in terms of modern equipment in compari-

son with the American Army; they know they are woefully weak in the element of machine tools, so essential in the event of a modern war. If they find out that we are determined and I hope united in our opposition to further aggression on the part of the Russians this stop-gap will serve as a temporary measure while the Russians stand back and resurvey the situation, not being willing to precipitate a war by going up against us in a situation like this.

The third constructive thing I think the measure does is that it signals to the world that this is the end of the era of appeasement and remember, Mr. Chairman, when we vote on this measure we are going to send a signal to the world and that signal is going to be one thing or the other: Either we are going to signal that the Congress of the United States stands firm with the President in believing that the end of the period of appeasement should come, that this is the end of our appeasement program whereby we bend the knee and bow the head every time the Kremlin speaks. That signal will say in a most impressive manner that from now on we are going to have a program of realism, of reciprocity, of justice, of respectability. We are going to send out that kind of signal when we vote on this measure or else we are going to send out the other kind of signal.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, that other signal would be we are going to send the signal out to Russia and the people of the world that the Congress does not uphold a program of firmness against Communist aggression, that we are not standing shoulder to shoulder in bringing about a cessation of the program of appeasement.

How will that signal be interpreted in Moscow? How will the men of the Kremlin feel and what will they do if we announce to them and to the world that we are not going to help the Greeks and the Turks keep down this Red invasion? I would not be greatly surprised, if we sent out that kind of signal, that within 30 days the armies of Russia would be in Athens and in Ankara in control of the situation. Then, Mr. Chairman, how would those who now dissent from this measure answer that situation? What would be their answer then? What do they then propose? Do they propose that we do nothing then or do they propose taking steps leading to war? That is why I say there is less chance of war in setting up these temporary barriers to give us time to survey the situation and develop an intelligent positive program than there is by running the risk of inviting the Red armies to walk in when we show weakness at this critical period.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman speaking is a very able member of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Does he believe that we have appeased Russia in this country?

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly do, but we have taken steps of late to drive the Communists out of the Government, out of high positions of responsibility, and 10 days after the President addressed a joint session of Congress he issued a proclamation, which indicates that the President himself now realizes we are going to have to curtail communism at home at the same time we are fighting it ideologically abroad.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. And he asked for \$50,000,000. Do you think we can do it with \$50,000,000?

Mr. MUNDT. Here at home?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly do. If we place \$50,000,000 in the hands of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, I think we can drive the Communists out of every Government position in America; we can get them out of teachers organizations, labor unions, churches, and elsewhere. Fifty million dollars, put in the hands of the FBI, will give us a population of sturdy Americans such as we have not had in this country since the days of Teddy Roosevelt, a long time ago.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman has mentioned March 12, 1947, as a historic day. Would not the gentleman say that November 5, 1946, when the complexion of the Congress changed and the people spoke, and the Republicans who had been denouncing Communist appeasement at home and abroad were swept into office, is the historic date when the administration changed its course?

Mr. MUNDT. I think the gentleman is correct. I think the vote last November 5 was the original impetus. I think that was the one single thing which started this issue of events, which started the switch from a policy of one-party Russian appeasement to one of a bipartisan arrangement in which Democrats and Republicans joined and which has finally eventuated in that happy goal where the better type of Democrats, aided by the Republicans, supported the President in his tardy proposal to purge the Communists of all Government positions.

The fourth constructive thing, it seems to me, this measure achieves, is this; that it will give new hope and new confidence to freedom-loving people all over the world. Even in Poland there are a great many freedom-loving people still very unhappy under the whip lash of the Communist leaders. Even in Yugoslavia there are many freedom-loving people who are restive under the whip lash of Tito, the dictator. If we answer this call of freemen today it is going to give new hope and new confidence and new courage to freedom-loving people everywhere, including those, in some considerable number, living behind the iron curtain of the U. S. S. R. today.

Now, I want to say in all candor there are some things this bill does not do, because I think we should appraise this bill dispassionately and objectively. In the

first place, I think this bill does not mean that this is an end to the menace of communism and the aggressive forces of Russia. I do not think this means an end to the efforts of communism in America to take us over from within, and I do not think it means an end on the part of the Communists in the Kremlin to push out their boundaries in all directions.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you. I do not think that this bill will mark the end of the Communists menace, but, as I say, it does set up a dike. It stops the immediate hazard at the point where the danger exists, and since this is the first time since 1941 that the Russians will have been stopped in an effort to take away the autonomy of a little country, it is going to cause some serious thinking in the Kremlin before they make the effort anywhere again.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. One of the gentlemen spoke a few minutes ago about the \$50,000,000 asked for to purge this Government of Communists. If the Congress will pass the bill that we now have pending before the Committee on the Judiciary to make the FBI an independent agency, we can take that \$50,000,000 and expose every Communist on the Federal pay roll and elsewhere throughout the country.

Mr. MUNDT. I think the gentleman is correct.

Now, if I may proceed and get away from a discussion of that which has transpired earlier in my remarks I would like to push forward to the conclusion of my statement.

The second thing that this bill does not do is this. I think it does not mean that we are adopting for America a permanent foreign policy called the Truman doctrine or anything else which could be interpreted as meaning that we are going to finance faltering governments all over the world simply because they claim to be operated by free men. I do not think that that is involved in this decision. We are meeting an important problem, recognizable at two specific points and answering it in a specific manner. This does not mean that we are committing ourselves—and our committee report makes that very clear—to faltering governments which may get into difficulty all over the world, and simply by coming to us and saying, "We need help; we believe in freedom," expect that we will aid them with hundreds of millions of dollars. These are two unique cases paralleled by no other country in the world, unless possibly you could present the case of Iran. In Iran we have already done the thing we now propose to do in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. I wish to compliment my distinguished friend, one of the ablest members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the able address he has made, and to say that I think he is very effective, indeed.

Mr. MUNDT. I thank the gentleman very much. Had I known the gentleman was going to say that of course I would have yielded to him a long time ago!

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. DORN. It appears to me that Turkey and Spain are in the same category. We are lending money to support the Government of Turkey. I want some of the gentlemen on the Committee on Foreign Affairs to tell me why we do not at least accept an ambassador from Spain in this Nation's capital. I think Spain did as much to stop communism and remain neutral as Turkey or any of the other neutrals in that section of the world did.

Mr. MUNDT. I cannot permit the gentleman to divert me onto a lengthy discussion which would take more than the remaining time I have, so I shall have to decline a discussion of that point. I want to keep this discussion limited to Greece and Turkey because, as I say, they are cases which are not typical of any other areas in the world with the sole possible exception of Iran, where we have already proceeded in this direction and with this same formula. I might add, also, that up to now certainly our policy in Iran has been highly successful.

The third thing this bill does not do is that it does not suffice in itself as a doctrine for freedom or as a policy for preserving what we consider the American ideals throughout the world. For this program to be effective, it seems to me it is imperative that it must be made part of a comprehensive and consistent over-all program, which I have the courage to hope is now in the process of formation in the councils of the mighty here in the United States. I think that new policy should be an affirmative, positive, American foreign policy of action, instead of a cringing American foreign policy of reaction to what happens in various parts of the world, such as we have been following since the days of the war. American foreign policy should be geared to action in support of American ideals not just a pattern of reactions to moves by Russia or any other country.

If we accompany this program in Greece and Turkey by the evolution of a truly bipartisan American foreign program, positive and active in nature, moving on its own force and with its own ideals, and abandon herewith and hereupon this whole program of making our policy one of reaction to what happens here and what happens there, then I believe these \$400,000,000 holding up this temporary dike will indeed save the situation long enough for us to articulate and enunciate a policy which can preserve the peace and establish equality throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield two additional minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I am sorry; I have only 2 minutes. If the gentleman can induce my chairman to give me some more time I shall be happy to yield.

Mr. EATON. The chairman of this committee cannot manufacture time. The gentleman has had over 20 minutes already. While he is a very brilliant and able Member of the House, there are some other gentlemen here who still have something to say, and we have to give them some time.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not asking for more time, I am explaining why I am unable to yield any more of the rapidly vanishing time I still have.

You have a right to ask me and I have the impossible task of trying to tell you in a few minutes what I think should be included in this affirmative American foreign policy.

Let me point out, first of all, though, that I think accompanying this program should be a revitalization of an American information program abroad. To that effect, this afternoon, I introduced a bill which has just been given the number H. R. 3342, and which would give legislative authority for our Voice of America short-wave program and also set up a broad over-all program to tell the truth about America in the areas of the world where we are today being misinterpreted abroad by the voices coming from the Moscow headquarters of Red fascism.

The second thing I think we should do to supplement approval of this legislation and make it effective is to remove the last vestige of communism from every official place in American life, be it the Federal Government, the State governments, the local governments, or the schools of this country.

The third thing I think we must do if this program is to be made effective, if these temporary dikes are to hold back the flood of aggressive communism long enough for us to get real security, is to press for an early and an affirmative decision on the international control of atomic energy, because unless we do that there can be no peace in a world in which the atom bomb is loose in the hands of dictators.

The fourth thing I think we have to do with the time this legislation will buy is to establish a program of realistic relationships with Russia which, as I see it, can come only from a meeting between the leaders of America and the leaders of Russia. I find myself in that one category alone advocating a move also advocated by Henry Wallace. It is the only place in which I have agreed with Henry for so long that I am almost afraid to find him supporting my idea in that connection. But I would like to see the American and Russian leaders, alone, get together and define their areas of agreement and their areas of disagreement and find out whether or not

It is possible for us to work with the Russians, because if it is not possible then we must formulate an organization in this world where we can work without the Russians to help preserve the peace. It is the suicidal course to war to simply drift along misunderstanding each other, mistrusting each other, without taking positive steps for one mighty effort to work out a basis on which these two strong nations can work together to preserve the peace. It is, indeed, possible that once Russia realizes that we are firm in our position against further aggression on her part she will come to terms with us on an enforceable agreement which stabilizes boundary lines and settles existing differences on a firm and final basis. To me, it is at least an effort which should be attempted. Should it fail, we are no worse off than we are today; should it succeed, all humanity will pay homage to its achievements.

Mr. Chairman, a fifth step which I think America should take during this interval of time which we are about to purchase through our aid to Greece and Turkey is to turn our attention to equipping the United Nations with authorities and means so that hereafter that great international organization can meet effectively all threats to national solvency and all acts of aggression.

A sixth part of what I conceive to be an essential over-all program which must be evolved if our aid to Greece and Turkey is to become permanently effective and helpful is that we must exercise our great leadership to bring about a stabilization of international boundary lines and the settlement of prevailing international disputes. Small festering sores are likely to erupt into something serious. Let us use our great strength to heal these sores, while they are yet small and easily curable.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, and most important perhaps of all with the exception of the matter of atomic energy, if our approval of the President's proposal for Turkey and for Greece is to be more than an expensive gesture, we must use this time we herewith purchase to evolve and enunciate an affirmative American foreign policy of positive action based upon American traditions and American ideals rather than apologetic reactions to the words or threats or actions of any other power on earth. This new American foreign policy should be conceived by bipartisan action and not be simply the statements of the party in power accompanied by the hope that they will be supported by the party out of power.

Let us make this American foreign policy so clear and so candid that all who run can read and understand it. Let it be stated with such clarity that both at home and abroad there will be no doubt as to its contents or its motives.

Mr. Chairman, if we take these seven additional steps during the interval of stability which we secure through this aid to Turkey and Greece our money will be wisely invested. If we simply aid Greece and Turkey and do nothing more, however, that is more effective than perhaps aiding a country or two more which might solicit our assistance I am afraid we shall have forever missed one of the greatest opportunities in our entire national history. With the end of appease-

ment, I dare to hope we are entering the dawn of a new era which will produce the elements out of which peace can be made permanent and justice secure.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER].

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Chairman, if we were to allow political expediency to determine our vote on this bill I imagine a great many of us would vote against it. I know that the mail that I have received has been overwhelmingly in opposition, yet I am satisfied that we are going to vote as Americans and not as Democrats or Republicans. The principal newspaper in my district has editorially come out on both sides of this question, so I can see there are a great many people who are disturbed about this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, while I shall support H. R. 2616, I shall do so with some reluctance. I had hoped, as I am sure the entire membership of this House had hoped, that with the end of the cruel and costly war from which we emerged the "four freedoms" would become a reality instead of a phrase.

Abraham Lincoln once said "This Nation cannot endure half slave and half free." Mr. Chairman, if this Nation could not endure half slave and half free in those so-called horse-and-buggy days, how can this world, in this atomic age, endure half slave and half free? The great war in which we engaged to preserve the democracy of man is not over as long as great masses of the world's population are denied the guarantees of the "four freedoms." We cannot bring back the thousands of American boys who sacrificed their lives to preserve the principles in which we believe. We cannot bring back the 6,000,000 Jews and others who were consumed in the incinerators of the despots. We can, however, make sure that those incinerators are not rekindled, else the stench again assail our nostrils and end this civilization for which we have had such high hopes.

There are over a million displaced persons in the American, British, and French occupied zones. Some haven must be found for the millions whose homes are gone, whose families are gone, before even their hope is gone.

Four hundred million dollars is an immense sum, yet it is only a pittance if it helps to continue our way of life. I urge that this money be expended to the best possible advantage, that it not be used for the purchase of automobiles and other luxuries for the politicians of Greece and Turkey. I urge that it be used for the rehabilitation of the unfortunate people of those lands. I urge that we make an all-out effort to the end that Greece may become the shining example of a product of Democracy; that those countries of faint heart, and those who are discouraged, may look upon that ancient country revitalized through our help. As a country that is an example of the workings of true democracy.

I realize that there are those who say that much remains to be done in our own country and that the proposed loan to Greece and Turkey ideally lends itself

to criticism from all quarters. However, we are somewhat in the position of the family who, though denied most of the necessities of life, are willing to help their unfortunate starving neighbors to acquire and possess a few of the necessities of life.

In that spirit I know this Congress will approve the legislation now under consideration, and I only hope that time will prove the decision which we make to be the right, the honest and the Christian thing to do.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I gladly yield to my good friend the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. I think the gentleman himself visited Europe and has been in Russia and has seen these things first hand. Is that not so?

Mr. HUBER. May I say to the gentleman from Pennsylvania that I recall that he and I together saw first hand the misery that exists in the occupied countries of Europe and that is why I have a very strong feeling on this matter.

Mr. FULTON. I compliment the gentleman on his fine statement.

Mr. HUBER. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. OWENS. In view of the fact that the gentleman spoke about rehabilitation of the people of those countries, can you say why we in this Congress would withhold \$150,000,000, a much smaller amount than \$400,000,000—last week—from the people of Poland and other central European countries, and give \$400,000,000 to this cause?

Mr. HUBER. When you say "we" you are referring to those who voted for the amendment that limited it to \$200,000,000?

Mr. OWENS. Yes. Perhaps you did not and I did not, but the Congress did. Can you justify the action of this Congress?

Mr. HUBER. I cannot justify it, and I hope we will see the light in this and not approve further restrictive amendments to this bill such as were made to the foreign relief bill recently passed by this House.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. Does the gentleman not agree that two wrongs do not make a right?

Mr. HUBER. That is certainly one of the finest statements I ever heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER] has expired.

(Mr. HUBER asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KERSTEN].

(Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON], chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, the gullibility of Congress is a never-failing source of wonderment to me. If there is anything in the world more gullible than a Congressman it is two Congressmen. When I saw how the membership of this House just ate up the remarks made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] I could not help but form the conclusion that this Congress was not much different from the one we had back in the First World War.

Let me give you an example of the gullibility that existed at that time. Speaking on a resolution to take America into the war, a certain Congressman from Ohio said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am going to vote for this resolution, but I am going to reserve the right to oppose in the future any attempts to send American boys to the European trenches. I do not believe that any American soldier should be drafted to be sent to the battlefields of England to fight Great Britain's battles that her own sons have refused to fight.

And a gullible Congress applauded. The RECORD shows they applauded. Did we send American boys to France back in 1917? Yes. We sent about a million of them and, as I recall it, we had 300,000 casualties. That war cost us \$48,000,000,000 and left us with a net national debt of \$26,000,000,000.

In the Seventy-eighth Congress we gradually took steps toward war, and the then President Roosevelt at Boston said:

I want to say to you fathers and mothers again and again and again, that your sons will never be sent to fight on foreign soil.

And again a gullible Congress applauded. They said, "We may declare war but we won't have to fight. Even if we get into war we won't have to send our boys across." That is what we also said in the First World War: "We can get into it but we won't have to fight it. All we will have to do is to say we are against you and the Germans will quit."

We fatuously believed it in 1917, just as we believed it in 1941. In the First World War we fought to make the world safe for democracy. Do you know what we got out of that war, in addition to a debt of \$48,000,000,000 and 300,000 casualties? We exchanged the Kaiser for Hitler. A good trade, what?

That is what we got out of the First World War. We traded the Kaiser for Hitler. It was just like trading an electric razor for a rusty jackknife.

Then our trigger finger got itchy so we got into the Second World War. I do not know what the Second World War was all about, neither do you, whether we went in to make the world still more safe for democracy than we did in the First World War, but something like that anyway. Before they dragged us into the Second World War Churchill said: "Give us the implements and we will do the job." So we gave him 50 destroyers and billions in lease-lend.

You remember that. And again a gullible Congress applauded. Do you see what I mean?

I do not know what bird is the most gullible of all birds, but whatever the breed, I would be in favor of placing him on our national emblem. At the moment I would vote for the penguin. He is so much like some of our colleagues.

I fear there are Members in this House today who believe that we can stop communism by spending \$400,000,000 in Turkey and Greece.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KNUTSON. Not just now. I have only 10 minutes. If I have time later I will be glad to yield later.

It has been well said that communism is brought on by maladministration, poverty, inequality, and all the other evils that mankind has been affected with since the beginning of time. You cannot stop communism with guns and bullets, no; that has been tried.

The Communists, the Russians, will not go in and take countries over by force of arms, they will take them by infiltration.

They tell you that the points that must be held are Greece and Turkey. The gentleman from Illinois fortified himself with a map to prove that was true. If he believes that we can stop Joe Stalin in Greece and Turkey with four hundred million he is more gullible than I had thought him. You know the place to stop Joe Stalin is in Germany and in Japan. If Russia takes completely over in one or both of those countries, then all the world will go Communist with the possible exception of the Western Hemisphere. You cannot get away from that. It is as fundamental as anything can be. You may spend \$400,000,000—and, by the way, that amount is only the first step. There is no one within the sound of my voice who will contend for a moment that \$400,000,000 is all that we will have to spend in this grand, new adventure that is here proposed. It is going to cost us billions and billions and billions. We first go into Greece and Turkey, and the next move will be Iran and Iraq. Then we will have to go into India, Arabia, Palestine, perhaps into northern Africa, India, Italy, finally into Spain, Portugal, Korea, and finally France—we do not know where our adventure will lead us, but we do know that the cost is going to threaten the solvency of our country if we carry on to the bitter end. Are we prepared for it? Can we do so with a national debt of \$258,000,000,000 and over a million casualties from the late war to take care of, not to mention our national debt, with an annual carrying charge on that debt of \$7,000,000,000, and with a budget for next year that may approximate thirty-seven and one-half billion dollars?

Mr. Chairman, one of the preceding speakers asked us to be realistic. I am asking him to be realistic because he was anything but realistic in his half-hour address to this Committee. Of course, it would be fine if this old world were studded with gems of generosity and altruism and all the other things that go to make up a perfect world; but, Mr. Chairman, we have a very practical problem here at hand, and that is to keep America solvent. You are proposing by

this legislation to take her down the road that leads to insolvency and perhaps to communism as well.

Less than 2 years ago practically all the nations of the earth, save our late belligerents, met in San Francisco and set up the United Nations Organization for the specific purpose of outlawing war and bringing to a ravaged world the blessings of peace and security.

The San Francisco Conference drew up a charter, which was hailed by the peace-loving peoples of the world as a beacon light that would forever outlaw the black specter of war, and at the same time remove all fears and substitute therefor lasting peace and security.

Let me read from that charter:

The purposes of the United Nations are: 1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end to take effective collective measures.

Let me call your particular attention to the words "to take effective collective measures." In no part of the charter is it so much as hinted that any signatory may at any time adopt unilateral measures. I read on:

To take collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Mr. Chairman, that was a covenant openly arrived at, and unanimously adopted by the assembled representatives of the subscribing nations. We were one of the principal sponsors, yet now, less than 2 years later, we are the first nation to attempt to nullify it by proposing to act alone.

I am one of those old-fashioned Americans who believes that promises and agreements are made to be kept, but here we find the President of the United States proposing, and another body, by a majority vote, giving approval to a proposal to scrap the charter of the United Nations, and to reinstate the old order, which permitted any nation, at any time, to invade another country, and to kill, pillage and destroy at its pleasure.

If the House of Representatives takes affirmative action upon the proposal before us, as proposed by the President, we will proclaim to the world that the word of America is no longer good, and that henceforth our word is not to be relied upon.

The proposal before us today is freighted with possibilities for evil, the magnitude and importance of which no mortal can foresee. If the plea of the President receives congressional sanction, it means our embarkation upon a new policy that may lead to no one knows where.

What I am about to say, Mr. Chairman, has been better said before, both in this body and in the other body; however, it will bear reiteration, and it is barely possible that we may be able to present a new facet or two.

Let me state briefly the question we are about to answer: Shall the United States

alone, and in utter disregard of its pledge made at San Francisco, guarantee the future political and territorial integrity of nations situated in the Eastern Hemisphere? To decide the question affirmatively would be to depart from America's traditional policy, and to repudiate the solemn pledge we made at San Francisco. Indeed, it would mean our embarking upon a policy to attain world domination—something we have always spurned.

Great Britain has consistently played that role the past 300 years, and in carrying it on under all conditions and circumstances has succeeded in bleeding herself white and, today, we are told she is bankrupt. During the past 100 years she was obliged to fight 35 wars in order to maintain her position and prestige.

Let us ask ourselves, do we want to follow her example, and are we ready to pay the price that must inevitably be exacted of us—national bankruptcy?

We are told that it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of our freedom and economy that we alone now step into Greece and Turkey so that Russia may be halted in her march toward world domination.

Is there anyone in this Chamber who believes that once we go into these two countries with American dollars and men it will settle the immediate problem of curbing Russian ambitions? Is there anyone in this body who really believes that we can stop there without going further?

Intervention in Greece and Turkey would merely be but the first step. Later we would have to go into Iran and Iraq, Egypt and Palestine, and possibly India and Afghanistan. Who can, with any degree of accuracy foretell when and how it would all end? That secret is locked up among the riddles of the unforeseeable future, which no finite mind may explore.

Communism cannot be halted by dollars, bayonets and bullets, because it is a symptom of social and political unrest. Communism spawns and thrives on poverty, lack of opportunity, mal-administration, and the many other evils that have beset the human race since the beginning of time.

Assuming that communism can be held back by dollars, bullets and bayonets, is there anyone within the sound of my voice who is so gullible as to believe that the \$400,000,000 the President asks for Greece and Turkey is all that will be required? No, no, my friends, the ultimate cost will reach astronomical proportions, and the total ultimate cost may be so great as to bankrupt and beggar the American people. Will you take that chance? Can you afford to? Have you a right to do so?

The Truman administration made little or no effort to stop communism from entering and taking over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Why this sudden zeal for what we call democracy? The answer is simple—oil. We are asked to stake the future of American sovereignty and political integrity for the sake of the enormous oil deposits in the Near East, and to maintain the life line of the British Empire, which is equally commercial in

its implications. Let no one tell you differently.

We may send American troops and dollars into the Near East, and I care not how many, they would yet be insufficient to prevent the infiltration of communism if local conditions are such as to invite its entrance.

Assuming that dollars, bullets, and bayonets can hold back communism, then I ask you what are we doing to prevent the further spread of communism in a number of American Republics where the Communists are daily becoming more strongly entrenched? Let me cite one instance, if I may. I refer to the Republic of Haiti, which lies athwart our pathway to the Panama Canal. The Government of Haiti is also in financial straits, and we are in a large measure responsible for Haiti's present plight.

Briefly, we went into Haiti 32 years ago with the Marines for the purpose of restoring law and order, and remained there for a period of 21 years, the occupation only ending in 1936.

During our occupation we administered Haiti's finances, supervised her expenditures, and completely controlled her internal affairs.

In the year 1922 the Haitian Government, through a New York bank, was granted a loan of \$23,500,000, at an interest rate of 6 percent. Up to the present time, I am informed, she has paid thirty-eight millions in amortization and interest on that loan. I am particularly well acquainted with the details of that transaction, as I happened to be in the country at the time it was negotiated, and have visited there a number of times since, the last time early in December.

All moneys borrowed by Haiti during the occupation were expended under American supervision, and it is a significant fact that none of it was used in promoting what might be termed productive enterprises that would have improved the lot of the Haitian people, and provided them with permanent and gainful employment.

Let me come down a little later to the period when the need for rubber in the late war became so desperate. In an attempt to help relieve the rubber shortage the Haitian Government, on its own responsibility, and upon our urging, expropriated for the duration of the war the land owned and tilled by more than 300,000 small farmers, all of whom became displaced and were compelled to seek refuge in the cities because they had no other place for them to go. Haiti, not being an industrialized country, was unable to assimilate them in the new order of her economy, and today these displaced persons constitute fertile soil for the spread of communism on the island Republic, which lies less than 2 hours from Miami.

In order to get these unfortunates back onto the soil, the President of Haiti, who is a sincere friend of his people, early in January sent to Washington his Minister of Finance, M. Gaston Margron, a most able and estimable gentleman, for the purpose of adjusting Haiti's financial problems, and securing a few million dollars of additional capital with which to

reestablish in agriculture the 300,000 peasant families already referred to. Mr. Margron was turned down by every American agency to which he appealed, and as a result the work of communizing Haiti goes merrily on.

Cuba, which is situated even closer to continental America than is Haiti, has already traveled far along the road to communism, and I am informed that the Communists use the city of Havana as their political headquarters in the Western Hemisphere. Communism has also made great strides in Mexico, Chile, and other Latin American countries that could be mentioned.

Just what are we doing toward halting the spread of communism here at home and in nearby countries? Precisely, nothing.

It would seem that the administration is indifferent to what is happening in our own front yard, but when it is told that if we do not advance \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey, and send to these countries military missions which would be a prelude to the sending of troops, Europe will be completely communized, the administration all of a sudden becomes galvanized into action, notwithstanding the fact that those countries are more than 4,000 miles away. Again, the reason is oil.

Let us make no mistake. Once we embark upon the policy proposed to us by President Truman and his advisers it will mark the first step in our march toward World War III, because you know, and I know, that the course we are asked to take will sooner or later bring us in direct conflict with Russia.

If Russia constitutes a danger to the future security of America, and American institutions, then in God's name let us act intelligently and promptly, but let us do it in a manner that will be direct and effective. We now have the means within our hands to safeguard the future of America for at least a hundred years. If it be necessary to act, let us act quickly, energetically, rationally, and with effect. Let us be done with the hypocritical approach that is here proposed. Let me emphasize that the real reason we are asked to go into the Near East is to be found in the almost inexhaustible supply of oil in Iran, Iraq, and Arabia. If these pools of oil are necessary for our future security let us act, but let us act like men rather than like crawling worms.

I, for one, reject the President's proposal for two reasons. It would be ineffective and will but lead to another war; it will commit the United States and the American people to a monetary outlay that will ultimately become so great as to threaten our financial solvency.

If we are determined to combat communism, and I want to do everything necessary to prevent the spread of this pernicious philosophy, then it would seem that we should direct our talents and energies toward first checking its spread in the Western Hemisphere. That would be the sensible way of going at it. Like charity, national defense should begin at home.

(Mr. KNUTSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, it tickled me a little bit to hear the revered chairman of the Ways and Means Committee speak of the gullibility of Congress. He has evidently forgotten that he is a Congressman, too, and therefore is equally gullible with the rest of us here when he makes the statement that all Congressmen are gullible. When he makes that statement he wields the same whitewash brush on himself as well.

Secondly, he says he does not know what the Second World War was all about. I will not agree with him that he does not. However, I would like to express to him what some of us felt it was about. A lot of the people in this country hated fascism—they do not cherish communism either—and we hated fascism enough that we did something about it. We hated war, but we had to go to war to stop fascism.

When he says we are going bankrupt in appropriating this \$400,000,000 and that this is only the first step, I cannot see how he makes the statement he is willing to put the program in effect in Germany and Japan, for example, saying it is necessary there, because if it will bankrupt us one place, it would in any other. The gentleman is reduced to saying that as a matter of geography, it is not necessary some place else in the world. So if it is reduced by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. KNUTSON] simply to a question of geography, I think it is just as necessary over in the eastern end of the Mediterranean as it is in Germany and Japan.

As to the gentleman's remarks on "applause" showing in old CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS, the gentleman must be as gullible as he would have us believe of the average Congressman who is now speaking on the issue and talking about this bill. The gentleman himself knows that previously in the RECORD when they inserted the word "applause" it was filled in by the clerks after the session was over and these items were distributed like sugar, for the particular Congressman to show in his home district that he had applause.

To be absolutely faithful to my good friend and to the present fact, I think we should note for the RECORD that while he got no applause whatever on his statements during his speech, he did get a good round of applause at the end of it.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Chairman, I was a little bit amused during the remarks of the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, at his references to the gullibility of Congress then and now. He is one of the deans of the House. He has been here longer than anybody else except three or four. It is surprising to me how he could have remained here during all those years and failed to improve the Congress. I furthermore notice that he has not become sufficiently disgusted to resign. I would like to inquire also if the Congress was similarly gullible when it recently passed his tax bill?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GAVIN].

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with a great deal of interest to the masterful address by my friend, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], and I want to say that I, too, recall just a few short months ago the day that ended World War No. 2. I recall the load of anxiety that was lifted from a world of mothers' hearts and how the old war-torn world turned back to peace with a profound gratitude to God and with the thankfulness to the men who paid for it with their lives. These are matters that we should be thinking about. So, we, I might say, do have some remembrance of the recent occurrence. And I want to call to the attention of the House what we have done in recent months and recent years to relieve this situation in the war-torn countries of the Old World. I also want to bring out the fact that we in Congress, who represent the people, should be properly informed on the policies and programs of the State Department and the War Department.

The formation of a sound American policy in the affairs of continental Europe is long overdue, and I cannot understand the secrecy of the State Department on foreign affairs and policies about which this Congress should be advised.

The question is whether or not our Government is being directly and strategically drawn into the maelstrom of continental politics.

If we go into Greece and Turkey with our planes, tanks, guns and bayonets, backed up with our military personnel, and trouble breaks out anywhere on the British lifeline between London and Singapore, or between any of the nations in the Mediterranean basin, or the Indian Ocean, certainly we will be in the middle of things and we shall become sooner or later involved.

This is an unusual venture that our Government is taking and it might commit us to the maintenance of a large army and establishment of naval bases in the Mediterranean. And, if and when, the shooting starts, we will be right in the middle of it.

What is the purpose back of this strange excursion into Greece and Turkey? Into the location which historians have pointed out as the crossroads of all wars.

It appears to be a step in the direction of imperialism. Imperialism is a policy of extending the domain or control of a nation. It is the kind of a policy this Nation has always avoided and Uncle Sam has never attempted to gain sovereignty over other nations, and, I do not think you want to see him dress up in a turban now. Why is Britain so anxious to pull out and have us take over?

However, the State Department seems to be determined that we horn into the Middle East with all of its feuds and hatreds. Slowly but surely we are being sucked in under one pretext or another; into the whirlpool of continental politics. The State Department and War Department should state definitely their objectives in this proposal.

Our people have not been asked whether or not they want this proposed scheme. I presume it is a product of a few minds and they are willing to be reckless with our money and with the established policy of our Government of non-imperialism and with the future of you and your sons.

This Congress should proceed carefully and cautiously and not rush headlong into a turmoil and add more debt and higher taxes which will have to be paid by every American citizen.

Remember, once we go in we are in the center of a world of trouble and there are many grave questions to be settled in this part of the world besides the spread of communism; the oil of Iraq and Arabia, the Dardanelles, the Palestinian question, Italy, Greece, and the whole Mediterranean area; they are all explosive.

It looks as though we are just getting under way in this spending program and I understand from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that we will be asked shortly to give \$600,000,000 to Korea and another billion dollars to China, and about \$6,000,000,000 more to France and Britain; also Italy, which is an even more strategic spot than Greece, will request a stupendous loan based on our support of the Greek-Turkish situation. And then, no doubt, we will hear Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Iran.

So, we really are asking for it even though this country has put out in the last several years a total of \$66,385,270,000, as follows:

Lend-lease	\$51,000,000,000
British credit	3,750,000,000
Total foreign credit authorizations by Export-Import Bank	3,458,771,000
United States quota in World Bank	3,175,000,000
United States quota in World Fund	2,750,000,000
Civilian supplies sent to liberated and occupied areas	1,400,000,000
Credits advanced to finance sales of United States surpluses abroad	851,486,000
Total	66,385,270,000

Certainly after a \$66,000,000,000 investment, we ought to be informed on our foreign policy, and the direction we are taking and what the eventual consequences may be so the American people will know exactly what it is all about.

This appears to be more than a relief and rehabilitation measure.

My record in this House and my votes on relief measures are well known. I have repeatedly supported these measures over the past several years.

I listened intently to the debate last week on the \$350,000,000 relief appropriation, however, the arguments expressed were the same old catalog arguments we have listened to repeatedly year after year on relief appropriations. There is nothing new. We are constantly threatened as to what will happen to us if we fail to go along.

When is this relief spending to stop, if it is ever to be stopped?

After the slashing action taken by the House on the Interior bill when a cut of

approximately 44 percent was made at an estimated saving of \$134,000,000, I cannot understand, in fact I am amazed, why the Congress within a week would attempt to saddle on the backs of the overburdened American taxpayers, another \$400,000,000 after approving \$200,000,000, and which the other body, I am of the opinion, will increase to \$350,000,000. Or a total of \$750,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, we now owe \$260,000,000,000 that must be eventually paid by us and paid by the generations that will follow us.

No one can say we have not done our part. I noted the remarks of Senator BYRD in the RECORD of April 22, page 3393, and I quote:

Let us say a word as to the statement that has so frequently been made in this debate: That it is either this bill or nothing; that a do-nothing policy will bring more dire results than to do something. If we are doing nothing in foreign affairs, then why has America in less than 2 years—since July 1945—spent and obligated herself to distribute money, credit, and goods in foreign countries, exclusive of military expenditures, aggregating the sum of \$16,000,000,000, to which I have already referred? Out of this \$16,000,000,000 the sum of \$1,525,000,000 has been, or will be, given to Russia and her satellites. Again I ask, can we nourish communism with our left hand and crush communism with our right?

Our expenditures and commitments to Russia and her satellite nations since July 1, 1945, are as follows:

Russia.....	\$203,000,000
Poland.....	463,000,000
Czechoslovakia.....	202,000,000
Finland.....	92,000,000
Hungary.....	18,000,000
Yugoslavia.....	296,000,000

More than 10 percent of this amount was not distributed as of March 1, 1947, but is being daily expended.

In view of our program abroad, which already amounts to nearly \$16,000,000,000 since the war, it cannot be said that we are doing nothing. We are doing all and more than we can be expected to do within the framework of the United Nations. We have met every obligation that has been imposed upon us by the United Nations. Right today the State Department is urging the Congress to approve \$17,000,000 to Russia for the purchase of machinery to develop new processes for aviation gasoline, which will result in strengthening communism, yet, at the same time the State Department requested the Congress to approve \$400,000,000 to resist communistic aggression in Greece and Turkey. Such a contradictory foreign policy certainly requires clarification and adjustment.

And on April 21, Senator MALONE had inserted in the RECORD, page 3844, and I quote:

UNRRA and other U. S. Government aid given to the Greeks

UNRRA aid through Sept. 30, 1946.....	\$309,656,000.00
Lend-lease aid through Dec. 31, 1946.....	81,562,821.63
Credit through Export-Import Bank.....	25,000,000.00

Credit through the U. S. Maritime Commission for purchase of ships.....	\$45,000,000.00
Credit through the Office of Foreign Liquidation Commission.....	45,000,000.00
Total.....	506,218,821.63

Now this evidence certainly indicates we have been doing our share and more than our share, and I cannot for the life of me figure out how the Congress believes that we can afford to put up \$350,000,000 for relief purposes and then \$400,000,000 for Greece and Turkey—a total of \$750,000,000.

However, it appears that everyone thinks Uncle Sam is a rich uncle and that his pockets are inexhaustible and you can spend, spend, and spend, and there will be no day of reckoning. But I want to tell you that a day of reckoning is not far off.

I want more information on this proposed \$400,000,000 program; more definite facts than have been stated here. Not just a lot of glittering generalities and promises of what will and will not be done, but a clarification of what our foreign policy is to be. The American people are entitled to know the facts.

This bill should be recommitted for further study, and in the interim I think we should take inventory as to what we can actually afford to spend under the circumstances, or we will find ourselves wallowing in the sea of bankruptcy and the old ship of state will be wrecked on the rocks of indifferent and careless thinking.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MUHLENBERG].

Mr. MUHLENBERG. Mr. Chairman, what we are facing today is indeed a momentous decision in the domestic life of the United States of America. I face the coming hours with a good deal of uncertainty, and yet at the same time a serenity of mind in the feeling that the outcome of this debate today and tomorrow will be for the ultimate good of the United States.

Recrimination between us here on the floor is not that that establishes the kind of decision that we have to make. I believe that rather than spend our time in finding the weak points of the arguments that have been so far presented, we should be doing a little more solid thinking about the future of the United States and the destiny of the coming generation: for we are indeed faced with a decision today that is going to affect the second generation. In all our thinking we should be impressed with the idea that it is not today that we must think of, but tomorrow. I am firmly of the opinion, gentlemen of the House, that this decision which, while it may be based on matters of which we do not yet have full cognizance, is one in which we must take somewhat on faith the things that cannot or have not been said as well as to judge soundly those things that actually have been said.

I do not respond very much to oratory nor I believe do the Members of the House. But we do respond to sound thinking. If we can have a quiet and

sober time of debate in trying to decide the issues, then I believe we shall be doing what the importance of the question warrants, and what we must do as Americans today. The question is: Shall we soberly follow the arguments that have been made to us about the importance of this matter or shall we rather be led by hysteria and by loud speaking? I do not care, frankly, as a veteran of both wars, whether the result carries the United States further into immediate debt because debt by itself means nothing if there might be at the end no United States to pay the debt. To me, what is important is that we formulate legislation here which when carried forward will result in the ultimate security of the United States, and then debt can be resolved.

Let us make one answer purely from the standpoint of the future security of the United States and let us so judge what is before us.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUHLENBERG. I yield.

Mr. OWENS. I like the statement of the gentleman very much. It made me think as I was listening to it of this question: Do you not feel that thinking calmly we are taking the first step which is a warlike move?

Mr. MUHLENBERG. I think we are taking a most important move, but whether the move will be toward war or peace is the question that we must decide. I am frankly of the hope that what we are taking is a move toward peace and not toward war, if our first consideration is the ultimate security of the United States, because the ultimate security of the United States does not lie in war but in peace.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the last speaker of the afternoon, the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS], a member of the committee.

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, it is probably appropriate that I should speak last today, because I think I represent the average Member's point of view on this issue. I do not know of anything in Congress that has troubled me as deeply as this decision. I think my concern is also attributable to the fact that I spent some years in the service in World War II, and I know what it means to be at war. I know, too, that our action on this bill may well be the decision for war or peace. I have thought it through and I would now like to tell the House the conclusions to which I have come.

There can be little difference between those in favor and those opposed to this bill about the ultimate objectives sought to be obtained by it. These ultimate objectives are those set forth in the preamble to the Charter of the United Nations:

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men

and women and of nations large and small, to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.

The question is how may we best attain these objectives—by proceeding ourselves to help nations in need of assistance for their own reconstruction and even for their own defense, to help them on the side of democracy, or by doing the best we can within the compass of the United Nations, and if it is powerless at this time, to retreat again into splendid isolation.

It is our national will to strengthen and implement the United Nations and not to bypass it, but in seeking this assistance, says the President "the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind that is required." In other words, the United Nations not being ready to do the job the President declares that the United States must do it—and that that is our foreign policy.

The urgency of the task seems to me to be incontrovertible—for while we seek to bring about that freedom of peoples which distinguishes democracy from totalitarianism we must be prepared to help ward off that hunger and the despair which open the door to an interim seizure of power by a minority trading on despair. Once seized, such power can be perpetuated by terror, propaganda, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms, and become so firmly entrenched that it cannot be shaken off for years. Our experience in that respect is bitter. By internal disorder fed from without, as in Greece, or by a war of nerves, as in Turkey, we can be faced with the accomplished fact of such a seizure of power in either of these countries which the majority will then find it impossible to shake off.

If our policy in this bill be considered as an emergency means for dealing with the existing impasse, then, regrettable as it is, we must all recognize it as a necessary policy and support it. But if it be considered as a permanent doctrine of the United States by which we begin here and go on to take unilateral action with our men and money in every case to stop the institution of regimes we do not like and to attempt to impose our own political and economic ideas on other countries, then I would feel that the die had indeed been cast for armed conflict in our lifetime.

I believe this bill to reflect not a permanent but a stopgap policy. I have been in Greece as recently as about 4 months ago and I know the extent of the physical and psychological destruction which has resulted from the Nazi occupation and the ensuing civil disorder in that country. Greece is incapable of being free so long as her economy is shattered. A restoration of her economy will bring in its train the end of internal disorder and the reinvigoration of democracy and democratic forces. But we must show to the Greek people our solicitude for this reinvigoration of democracy and we must show them that we know why we come to their rescue, now,

unconditionally. Accordingly, I shall at the proper time propose an amendment to this bill which will assure to the Greek people first, that the government with which we deal shall be truly representative of a majority of them; and second, that such government must take all measures necessary to help itself, too. The text of the amendment is as follows:

Page 7, line 14, after paragraph (4) insert after paragraph (5) the following: "If the President finds that the government of any country receiving assistance hereunder is not representative of a majority of the people of such country."

Turkey is yet a different test of the real intent of the policy of this bill. For in Turkey we face a strategic problem. It is this problem of an open or a closed eastern Mediterranean. Either Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, and the other countries of the Middle East, including the Suez Canal, are open to the commerce, communications, and transport of the whole world, including the U. S. S. R., or they are closed. For it is a basic tenet of a Communist society that it is closed, that it is foursquare for state trading, that it excludes the normal commerce and intercourse of the world. First, therefore, we must be sure that by immediate aid the strategic situation should not be irretrievably prejudiced, while at the same time we seek a more permanent solution through the United Nations to lift the pressure on Turkey.

In Turkey the need for assistance is said to be attributable to an international war of nerves. The United Nations is established for exactly the purpose of dealing with such sources of international friction. We must entrust to the United Nations—not later but now—a role in dealing with the problems of Turkey at the same time that we are realistic and come to Turkey's aid now—in the words of the President, "to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes."

I shall therefore propose at the appropriate time an amendment to the bill which will provide that the President set the machinery of the United Nations in motion to relieve the external pressures on Turkey, following the effective technique already developed in sealing off the northern borders of Greece at the same time that assistance is given to Turkey. The amendment follows:

Page 2, line 24, after paragraph (5), insert: "Provided, however, That the President, notwithstanding the assistance furnished to any country hereunder, shall initiate proceedings, unless such proceedings have theretofore already been instituted, bringing to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations, any situation which threatens the territorial integrity or political independence of any country assisted hereunder and makes necessary the maintenance of fully mobilized military forces by such country."

Secretary Marshall said in his magnificent definition of democracy at the recent Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow:

To us a society is not free if law-abiding citizens live in fear of being denied the right to work, or deprived of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

This definition is equally applicable to nations. We cannot permanently guarantee the integrity and independence of individual nations by the aid of our money and our men on a unilateral basis. We must be ready to accept for ourselves the role of international law rather than the role of international force if we wish it to be the guide for others, too.

The United Nations has already labored effectively in the field of relieving externally induced pressures on independent nations. We must fortify it in that work. I look forward to further development in our acceptance of the judgments arrived at collectively in the United Nations by representatives of all the United Nations, at first in limited spheres, such as territorial boundaries, administration of occupied territories, disposition of enemy territories and assets, and disposition of mandates; and later in wider fields, the administration of colonies, international trade, access to the world's raw materials, international transportation and communications, international regulation of patents and copyrights and of cartels.

In summary, therefore, I urge the acceptance of the policy of this bill as a necessary and practical means for preventing the forced imposition by a minority upon the majority of a way of life the majority does not want in two threatened countries due to the pressure of economic conditions—and the resultant closing off of the Near and Middle East, but I urge coupling this action with simultaneous action to strengthen the only agency which promises to give us a century of peace in our time, the United Nations—and a simultaneous dedication by us to the human rights and fundamental freedoms within the countries we assist which are the very reasons for our own national existence.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Earlier in his remarks the gentleman said he would offer an amendment to guarantee a democratic government in Greece.

Mr. JAVITS. Yes. I hope that we can bring that about.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. To bring it about. The gentleman therefore presupposes that they do not have a democratic government.

Mr. JAVITS. I presuppose that the Greek Government leaves something to be desired. I would not be as categorical as the gentleman is on that score.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Then in the event the gentleman's amendment is not adopted would the gentleman still support this policy?

Mr. JAVITS. I am likely to, I may say to the gentleman, although it has given me a very great deal of concern, but I shall try hard to get an amendment into the bill guaranteeing truly representative government for the countries assisted.

Answering the gentleman further, I maintain that the purpose of the United States will be to bring about a democratic regime in Greece. I think the whole of public opinion in the United

States once we are in the situation will be directed, and successfully, toward that end.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think it will be conceded that that was the intention declared by the British when they went into Greece. They have been there with a powerful army and they have poured in millions and millions of dollars; yet as of March 12 when the President addressed this Congress on the subject it was admitted that the situation in Greece was the same as before the British went in.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, may I say to the gentleman that I have great faith in the democracy of the people of the United States—in the strength of our belief in democracy. We can do in Greece what the Government of Great Britain did not do on that subject, for they are weakened, beset with other troubles, and have a tradition of colonialism while we have a tradition of freedom.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. OWENS. I heard the gentleman use an expression that has been used here by a number of men today in which he said something about the splendid isolation. Would the gentleman say that word is the antonym of splendid intervention?

Mr. JAVITS. I did not use the term "splendid isolation" in any disposition to agree with it. I think it is a policy which can hurt the United States very materially and endanger its own security and that of the whole world.

Mr. OWENS. Is it the antonym of "splendid intervention"?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, had come to no resolution thereon.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, THE FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, AND RELATED INDEPENDENT AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1948

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 2700) making appropriations for the Department of Labor, the Federal Security Agency, and related independent agencies, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Speaker, I object.

HOOR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. GORSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a resolution.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS EXHIBITS ORIGINAL LETTERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND OTHER IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS IN OBSERVANCE OF RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, Religious Book Week, under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, will be observed throughout the Nation from May 4-11. The date is important. It commemorates the book burning with which the Nazis began their career in power 14 years ago. The Nazis party was an instrument expressly shaped to destroy freedom, and almost the first blow which it struck was a blow against freedom of the press.

Europe has been immemorably the scene of assaults on freedom of thought carried out by assaults on the physical bodies of books. The Greeks burned the works of Protagoras. It was one of the normal functions of the Roman Senate to condemn books to death by fire. Livy and Tacitus both mention instances of such condemnation.

The practice survived pagan Rome. In medieval Europe there was hardly a state which did not make use of fire against books. By order of the Pope, Martin Luther's writings were condemned to the flames. Luther retaliated by burning the papal bull and other church documents. Calvin burned Servetus' works. The Reformation ushered in a veritable conflagration—both sides contributing. This was human history. Books were the victims.

The grounds on which books were burned were always the same, in all countries and at all times, that is, the corruption of morals, political institutions and religion.

It is of accidental significance, of course, that the last book officially burned in England was *The Present Crisis in Regard to America Considered*, in the year of 1775. Our Nation, coming into existence out of that crisis put itself on record as defending religion and the press in one joint statute. It reversed the official attitude of the past, that religion and the freedom to write, publish, and read were incompatible. It defended human conscience.

Our religions, morals, and political institutions have flourished healthfully ever since. Censorship scares we have had, and attacks under cover on our free press but the enraged outcry which always greets these movements has been impressive.

Today we can celebrate religion through the medium of books with no thought of paradox and all the Christian churches, may joint hands with the Jews in making the observance.

Marking the celebration in the city of Washington is an exhibit in the main building of the Library of Congress. Famous writings on religious freedoms are being displayed, among them. *The Bloudy Tenent*, by Roger Williams, printed in London in 1644. This is the most famous work of Roger Williams, the liberal-minded clergyman, who in 1636 had led a small group of followers from Massachusetts into the wilderness of Rhode Island to form a community where religious liberties might be safeguarded. In this pamphlet, written after his return to England, Williams set forth his belief that "God requireth not an uniformity of religion" and held that men of all creeds were entitled to freedom of worship as a natural right. He further declared that the foundation of civil power lay in the people and that the rulers of a land could not exercise more power than what the people themselves granted.

Another interesting volume in the exhibit is the Virginia statute of religious liberty, adopted in 1786. After independence had been declared and State constitutions had been adopted it became necessary to create new laws for new conditions and to change inherited colonial laws which no longer suited the increasingly liberal temper of the times. The report was presented to the assembly on June 18, 1779, and was published—upon the insistence of James Madison—5 years later. Chapter 82 consisted of Jefferson's bill for establishing religious freedom, which was finally passed in January 1786, after a State-wide campaign to create a realization of the need for reform. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War dissenting religious groups were still being discriminated against in most of the colonies, with civil rights often seriously affected. The Virginia statute, which Jefferson regarded as one of the three great achievements of his life, provided that no man should be compelled to attend or support any one church, and that no person should suffer loss of civil liberties because of his religious beliefs.

Also on exhibit at the library is the original letter from Thomas Jefferson to the six Baptist associations represented

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Saturday Evening Post of April 19, 1947:

OUR SAFETY IS THE ISSUE, NOT ALIEN ISMS

The debate brought on by President Truman's proposed aid to Greece and Turkey illustrates the confusion inherited from past propaganda efforts to base foreign policy upon ideology instead of upon American security. The debate also suggests how much better ordered these things were in the days when certain concepts, like our Monroe Doctrine and Britain's defense of the Empire life line, were understood, and did not have to be laid on the line in crude terms almost certain to be interpreted as hostile by other countries.

Mr. Truman describes his policy as "support to free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure," but he also makes it plain that "the security of the United States" is our reason for action. To base our aid to Greece, Turkey, nationalist China or Brazil on ideological grounds, as certain commentators pretend to think we are doing, would lead to the same confusions which have grown up out of the propaganda fiction that Russia was being aided during the war because she was democratic, rather than because her millions of soldiers were mowing down Germans. Even the "Truman doctrine," which is and has to be "power politics," is presented as some sort of crusade. In such circumstances it is not remarkable that people tangle themselves up in arguments over the relative democracy of the controlling elements in Greece, Turkey, Argentina and Soviet Russia—ignoring the far more important strategy of power politics of the situation. If a universal war against communism is the issue, why have we spent 2 years trying to force Communists on Chiang Kai-shek, and why did we fight a war which has resulted in the spread of Communist regimes all over the place?

The answer is that the westward march of the Soviet Union is a worry to the United States, and that this would be true even if the Soviet Union's present tactics were carried out by a government conservative enough to be headed by Senator Wherry in an astrakhan hat. Furthermore, support for Greece and Turkey is not a reward for their qualities as liberals, but is offered because geography makes Greece and Turkey our babies in that part of the world. The British Empire would not have lasted for 200 years if its leaders had got into rows over the relative democracy of the Bey of Tunis and the Khedive of Egypt. What the British wanted to know was whether this or that quaint character in a fez was their man. The Russian play it the same way.

If our policy is at last to be related to American security first and to ideological conceptions later, our officials will have to smarten up their education so that the more flagrant inconsistencies can be avoided. It would be pretty foolish to hope to contain the Soviet Union by supporting Greece and Turkey, while going out of our way to support Soviet puppet governments in Yugoslavia and Poland. And it would be even more stupid to hold the line in Turkey and permit Russia to gain Germany's war poten-

tial. Only a few weeks ago, the War Department, over General MacArthur's protest, permitted a delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions—the outfit through which Russia hopes to infiltrate her line into labor movements all over the world—to visit Japan. If we are to contain Soviet imperialism in Europe, it is hard to see why we should facilitate its propaganda operations in Asia.

Once the strategic realities behind what we are attempting are understood, it will be easier to support a realistic power-politics policy, keyed where possible to reliance upon the United Nations and certainly to coordination with British policy. We can then laugh off hysterical deviations from American principles like Secretary Schwelienbach's demand that Communist candidates be excluded from the ballot in the United States. We have at least been liberated from the dangerous complacency into which propaganda had lulled us. To avoid eclipse and at the same time maintain peace will tax the skill of our national leaders to the utmost. That they have begun to tell the truth is at least a partial encouragement.

Appropriations for Veterans' Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues, I would like to tell you about a letter I received from Charlie Tye. Charlie Tye is a sort of an institution in the East Bay area of California. Charlie Tye is a big fellow with a friendly grin, knows everybody and likes people. He is a human individual. Charlie is a rabid sportsman. He broadcasts at the ball games. He encourages clean sport among the kids because he has a boy of his own and knows the meaning of clean sports to clean kids. Everybody likes Charlie Tye and Charlie Tye likes everybody. During the war he published a four-page paper that was sent free of charge to the boys in service. It was a clearing house for the news avidly devoured by them. It carried items about the fellows who were inseparable, fellows who played on the same softball team and now found themselves serving on different continents the width of the world between them. Charlie knew what they liked and he gave it to them. It was full of homey, homely gossip. You see, Charlie Tye has a boy and he knew what that boy liked. That boy was in the service and he was intensely proud of that service. That boy is now in a Veterans' Administration hospital as a result of his service. Charlie goes to see him regularly. He knows his doctors, his nurses, the orderlies, and the people around the hospital because he is vitally concerned with the treatment his son is getting, just as he is vitally concerned with the treatment other men in that hospital and in the hospitals throughout the United States are getting.

I received an interesting letter from Charlie Tye the other day dealing with the subject of hospitalization and drawn from his own broad experience with that subject. I commend it to you because I

think it is good reading. I think it has a message we all might gain by reading. Here is Charlie's letter:

OAKLAND, CALIF., April 29, 1947.

HON. GEORGE MILLER,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR FRIEND GEORGE: As you know my son has been a patient at the Palo Alto veteran's hospital since his return from the Navy service.

I have been a frequent visitor to see him and have closely observed the attendants, nurses, doctors, and the general service and so forth.

I want you to know I think those people are doing a great service to our boys, and I am entirely satisfied with the treatment accorded my son, even though he is still in bad condition, but I know it's no fault of theirs. They have tried every method known to aid him.

Today I learned that Congress is contemplating cutting the appropriations of the veterans' hospitals. George if you could visit these places and see the yeoman service being rendered to these poor unfortunate souls, you would yell to the high heaven against such a short-sighted and selfish action.

Instead of cutting, Congress should increase the amount of money so that these doctors, nurses, and attendants could have the proper number of helpers to aid them in their work.

There is much to learn about the care of the sick-minded, and our mental institution doctors are in a real good position to learn if we give them the tools to work with.

If we can spend billions on war, we should be able to spend millions on the care of the boys who were injured through war, and to find better methods to take care of all our citizens through the knowledge gained in our hospitals.

Palo Alto has a healthy climate, with a wonderful site, but they need more athletic rehabilitation directors, more attendants, more doctors, more nurses, and more equipment.

George, you know many people cannot express themselves, and so perhaps you never hear of our boys in the hospitals, but having a personal interest, I feel that I speak for thousands of parents and for those who work in the hospitals, when I say, "let's give the veterans' hospitals all they need to do a job, which every good American will applaud."

My best wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLIE TYE.

Polish Constitution Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MARTIN GORSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. GORSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include therein the following resolution passed at a huge rally of Americans of Polish descent at Humboldt Park, Chicago, Ill., commemorating Polish Constitution Day:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE ANNUAL POLISH THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION COMMEMORATION, MAY 4, 1947, AT HUMBOLDT PARK, IN CHICAGO, ILL.

We, 100,000 Americans of Polish descent, massed in a rally under the auspices of the Polish National Alliance at the statue of Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Revolutionary hero of Poland and of the United States, in

Humboldt Park, Chicago, Ill., to commemorate the anniversary of the Polish May 3 Constitution.

Being imbued with the spirit of genuine liberalism that emanates from that great document, moved by its concept of moral right and stirred by its faith in the dignity of the common man, stand apprehensive of the Communist forces that imperil these ideals and menace our American democracy, and thereupon resolve these declarations:

1. We approve wholeheartedly the new doctrine enunciated by President Truman to quarantine communism by bringing immediate aid to Greece and Turkey and urge the Congress to effect quick passage of the bill embodying that program. To implement that doctrine more fully it is necessary that such aid be also extended to other countries such as Poland where the people are in mortal struggle with their Communist oppressors.

2. We commend the House Committee on Un-American Activities led by Representative THOMAS for its fearless and vigorous campaign to expose and prosecute members of the Soviet fifth-column operating in this country. The activities of termites that would bore into the framework of our institutions from within must be relentlessly suppressed.

3. We support bill H. R. 2910 introduced by Representative STRATTON which would admit the 400,000 displaced persons from Europe into the United States through the application of the unused immigration quotas of the last war years. Admission of these victims of Nazi cruelty and Soviet despotism would not only be in the finest tradition of our noble history but would strengthen the moral fibers of our Nation in its challenge against totalitarianism, revitalize our national economy, and atone for the Allied blunders that aggravated their plight.

4. We urge most strongly President Truman and the Congress to reject the recent proposal of Secretary of State Marshall made at the Moscow Conference to partition Poland again by revising her western borders in favor of our German foe. The proposal is inherently wrong and is in utter disregard for the bitter lessons of history. Return of these Polish western lands to Germany would not spell the desired political stability and economic health of Europe but would inevitably plunge the world into another conflagration.

These western lands cannot be considered as compensation for the much greater Polish eastern territory seized by Soviet Russia. That seizure was criminal and cannot ever be sanctioned or condoned by any amount of compensation. Moreover, the western lands have always been culturally and economically an integral part of Poland since the tenth century except when seized and held by German military might and now at best can constitute but small compensation for the unprecedented pillage and destruction inflicted by Germany upon the land and people of our Polish ally.

These western lands, having now been resettled by 4,000,000 Poles with the full approval of the allies, are fast becoming interrelated with Polish economy that will rebound to the general peacetime stability of western Europe.

The severance of these lands in favor of our German enemy would discredit the democratic forces in Poland and diabolically enough thrust the Polish Nation into the monstrous Communist empire which is even now striving to absorb it.

5. The fundamental evil responsibility for the European disintegration can be traced to the infamous Yalta deal where great principles were compromised for questionable political expediency. Now only a swift disavowal of the Yalta pact will restore European cohesion and equilibrium.

Let us strive to effect the withdrawal of the Red forces from Poland and the other countries of eastern Europe, recognize the sovereign independence of the Baltic nations, restore the eastern lands of Poland—about which issue there prevails such morbid silence—bring about the free and unfettered elections in Communist-dominated countries and the secretary's objective for a peaceful and stable Europe will at once become a reality.

6. The current congressional debate to bar all nations under Soviet domination from participation of the administration's \$350,000,000 foreign-relief bill ought not to be applied to the Polish Nation. For that nation was saddled with a Soviet-dominated regime by the Allies themselves contrary to its will and desire. We, therefore, beseech our Government to extend the proposed relief to the destitute people of Poland provided that it is administered under strict American supervision to assure its fair distribution.

7. To former Ambassador Arthur Bliss Lane for his forthright and undaunted stand in behalf of the Polish Nation and for his stirring patriotic address here, we express our deep thanks and sincere gratitude. May his clarion call for national unity and concerted action against the spreading menace of communism find a resounding echo in the hearts of all Americans.

May Providence in these perilous times bless our Government with wisdom, foresight, and daring and endow our Nation with moral strength and bodily vigor that our world responsibilities might be discharged with dignity and honor.

We, on this Constitution Day, aware of our liberal heritage, rededicate ourselves to the preservation of our American way of life and to the constant vigil of world peace and American security.

CHARLES ROZMAREK,
Chairman.
JOSEPH WOJCIK,
Secretary.

Veterans' Administration

SPEECH OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to read this morning that General Bradley has announced he will not quit his Veterans' Administration job until the job is done. It has been very confusing to everyone in the Veterans' Administration to feel that he may resign any minute. I am sure every Member of Congress wants to help him in the tremendous job he is doing.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following letter written by General Bradley to his assistant and deputy administrators. I hope every Member of this House will take the time to read and study this letter. It sets forth, clearly and understandingly, the general's aims and policies:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., May 2, 1947.

To All Assistant and Deputy Administrators:
Next week I shall go before Congress to show why we shall need \$7,000,000,000 for the Veterans' Administration in 1948.

However justified our requirements may be, those vast expenditures offer a challenge to reductions in Government spending. The billions of dollars involved can too easily create false hopes for large-scale savings. Even the accepted necessity for our veterans' program cannot save the Veterans' Administration from becoming a target in this effort to reduce the budget.

The Veterans' Administration has sought reductions wherever those reductions might be made without imperiling our operations. But if further reductions in the name of economy threaten to cripple our program and dull its objectives, I feel it my duty to point out the danger. Where reductions in readjustment expenditures might result in the waste of human resources, where reductions in expenditures for hospital treatment might threaten standards of medical care, I shall oppose such reductions and defend the budget we shall need.

Our role unfortunately is an awkward one. At a time when other agencies can trim their budgets to peacetime needs, we are compelled to increase ours to pay for the effects of war. As far as expenditures for veterans are concerned, the war has only begun. We cannot hold out a promise of near or substantial reductions and at the same time provide the services and benefits voted by Congress. It is not possible to legislate benefits on one hand and refuse to pay their costs on the other. It would be folly for the American people to anticipate anything other than a period of unprecedented high expenditure for veterans' benefits for half a decade or more.

The pattern of this spending has already been set. During the next fiscal year, taxpayers will pay approximately 20 cents out of each Federal tax dollar for benefits to veterans. This proportion will increase before it begins to slacken. Our Veterans' Administration budget for the next year alone almost equals the entire cost of Federal Government in 1939.

An expenditure of this magnitude presents incredible dangers of waste in the administrative procedures this program entails. It will tax each employee of the Veterans' Administration with the sternest responsibility for competent, effective, and intelligent administration of those funds.

I have no doubt that Congress and the American people will pay willingly for the benefits voted veterans of this and previous wars. But they will not tolerate excessively high administrative costs. They will not tolerate extravagance and waste. And certainly they will not tolerate surplus or incompetent employees.

In appropriating funds for these activities of ours, Congress must also find the taxes that will support them. To warrant those tax levies on the people, Congress must determine to its own satisfaction that our appropriations are merited and just. For this reason, it becomes the duty of Congress to scrutinize our program and to direct wherever it can reductions in personnel and cost.

If I am shown that any of our estimates are needlessly high or inflated, I shall be the first to agree in cutting them down. For while I am determined to achieve our objectives, I am also determined to reach them at the lowest possible cost.

Our \$7,000,000,000 budget for 1948 is divided into three principal parts.

Approximately \$5,275,000,000—or 75 percent of the entire budget will go in the payment of direct cash benefits to veterans and their dependents. These benefits consist principally of pensions, compensation, educational subsistence, and readjustment allowance.

Approximately \$1,365,000,000—or 19 percent of the entire budget will go in the form of indirect benefits to veterans. These benefits include the cost of medical, hospital and domiciliary care, educational tuition and

counseling, vocational rehabilitation, hospital construction, veteran travel, and insurance.

Approximately \$430,000,000—or 6 percent of the entire budget will be devoted to administrative costs—excluding the medical service. This expenditure includes salaries, office rentals, printing, travel, and such items as administrative supplies and equipment.

Administrative costs are a burdensome but essential part of any Government operation. This is particularly true in the Veterans' Administration where we administer an intricate and complex program involving a wide variety of benefits and laws.

The \$5,275,000,000 payable in cash to veterans and their dependents is a charge for which Congress has already obligated the American people by law. This obligation cannot be reduced without changes in the law.

Of the \$1,375,000,000 requested for indirect benefits to veterans, the greatest sum will go for the payment of tuition for approximately 2,000,000 students in schools and for the payment of medical care for patients in our Veterans' Administration hospitals and out-patient clinics.

It is true that this latter expenditure could be reduced by lowering our standards of medical care. However, I cannot countenance any reduction that might imperil our medical program and endanger the results we have obtained. If the American people risk this program to decay in their effort to save money, they shall reckon its cost the rest of their lives in the loss of health and human resources. I shall not be party to any retrenchment that might threaten to drag this agency into the backwaters of American medicine.

During the last 20 months since VJ-day we have been struggling through an emergency phase of our work. At the very time we were compelled to reorganize, decentralize, and expand, we were confronted with our heaviest burdens. Within 20 months more than 12,000,000 veterans emerged from the armed services. In addition to compensation, insurance, and medical care, millions of them sought benefits of the virtually untried Readjustment Act.

From the outset we looked upon the Servicemen's Readjustment Act as emergency legislation designed to meet the emergency brought on by demobilization. I did not hold you to penny-wise administration of the law, but asked that you do the job as promptly, effectively, and as inexpensively as you could. The speed with which we tackled the task resulted in some waste, some inefficiency, and some extravagance. This is unavoidable in an emergency operation. Even waste was preferable, however, to the loss that might have resulted had we concentrated on costs instead of results. The results indicate that in 20 months we have already come a surprisingly long way:

1. Medicine in the Veterans' Administration has advanced until today it ranks as the outstanding medical program in the world. Veterans entering our hospitals are assured of treatment at the hands of physicians who are among the most qualified in the Nation. This goal has been achieved primarily because the doctors of this country responded wholeheartedly to our call for help and brought into our hospitals the vast resources of their skills, training, and knowledge. We met this crisis, not because we depended upon ourselves but because we said, "This is not a problem for the Veterans' Administration. It is a problem for American medicine." More than that, it is a problem for the American people." This achievement, made possible through the fullest use of outside resources, is our best example of the new thinking and the new technique that should guide all operations in the Veterans' Administration.

2. In 20 months we have discharged more than 685,000 patients from our rapidly growing hospital system. With improved medical care, we have more than doubled the rate of turn-over in patients. We have added more than 23,000 hospital beds in VA hospitals alone. We have provided almost 8,000,000 out-patient examinations. We have given almost 6,000,000 out-patient treatments.

3. We have established 13 branch offices for supervision and control of local operations. We have opened 14 new regional offices and have moved 28 regional offices from remote locations to downtown centers of metropolitan areas. We have established 721 contact offices in the smaller towns and 305 advisement and guidance centers. We have opened 29 additional hospitals, including surplus Army and Navy institutions. We have opened 152 out-patient clinics and 31 clinics for mental hygiene.

4. During this same period we have handled more than 5,500,000 pension and compensation cases for veterans and their dependents. We have paid more than \$1,865,000,000 in disability benefits.

5. In 20 months we have guaranteed \$3,875,000,000 worth of veterans' loans on homes, businesses and farms.

6. We have paid out more than \$2,000,000,000 in readjustment allowances.

7. In 20 months we have handled almost 6,500,000 applications for education and training. We have paid out more than \$2,000,000,000 in subsistence and tuition.

Most important, we have been able to meet with only rare exceptions the demands of more than 14,000,000 veterans of World War II during the critical period of their readjustment. We can take some satisfaction in knowing that our work has substantially aided the rapid return of more than 11,000,000 veterans to jobs and the enrollment at one time or another of approximately 3,200,000 veterans in education and training. All this has been accomplished without any significant failure or serious break-down within the Veterans' Administration.

We have now completed this emergency growth.

The emergency phase of our work is ended; a new high-production period has just begun.

Although we have leveled off in size, there has been no slow-up in our work. We have reached the point where we can put greater emphasis on more efficient production and strive for steadily increasing quality.

For the duration of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, there is little likelihood of any substantial cut-back in our need for personnel funds. However, when the life of this act eventually runs out, we can anticipate sizable reductions in both employees and in costs. This will signal the start of a third or peacetime cycle in our work. Even during that period, however, reductions in readjustment services will be offset partially by increases in the medical and compensation programs provided by existing laws.

During the new high-production period we have entered, the tempo of our activity will be governed considerably by the economic climate of the Nation. As long as we maintain prosperity levels of employment and income, veterans will have lesser need for their readjustment benefits. However, if an economic recession should strike the Nation, the Veterans' Administration will be confronted with a new and critical period of emergency. Readjustment allowances would be called upon to support jobless veterans during their period of unemployment. And it is probable that education and training benefits would be sought by many other veterans in their effort to ride out a recession.

In spite of the rapid strides we have made in the Veterans' Administration during the emergency readjustment period, I am dis-

turbed by reports of failure to render service. I know that in an undertaking as huge as this, we can never reach perfection. But too often when I am called before Congress to explain our personnel requirements, I am confronted with examples of carelessness and delay in the performance of our work. We must remember that we shall be judged not so much by our accomplishments as by our deficiencies.

Now more than ever before we must concentrate on prompt and direct service to veterans. We are dealing with men, not procedures; with their problems, not ours. We must constantly seek to understand those personal problems and exercise the imagination to solve them. We cannot permit administrative difficulties to obscure the objectives of our work. We shall not do our job as it should be done until we remember that the end is more important than the means, that every bit of work must contribute something to the welfare of the veteran.

When I came into this agency on VJ-day, I recognized that we faced a period of crisis which we could not survive without the trust and confidence of the American people. We asked them to be patient with us and to endure delays while we sought to modernize and expand the machinery for this job. I can no longer ask for more patience. The public has a right to expect prompt, courteous, and efficient service from the Veterans' Administration. More than ever before, I must hold each assistant and deputy administrator individually responsible for the efficiency of services under his direction. I am not at all unmindful of the strenuous effort most of you have already put into this job. But I doubt that any of you are as yet satisfied—any more than I—with what we have achieved.

One of the purposes of decentralization was to give managers in the field authority to handle their local problems promptly. Central office retained only the responsibility for determining policy and for supervising the program through deputy administrators. In general, this practice has achieved the gains we sought from it. However, I am still concerned with the failure of some employee to exercise their full authority in meeting local problems. Sometimes this may have been due to confused instructions from central office, to complicated directions and befuddled language. In still other instances this is due to unwarranted timidity on the part of officials themselves. There are still too many people who would rather pass the buck than make their own decisions.

Muddy language is not confined to policies alone. Each of you has seen replies to simple questions in which the meaning was lost through hopelessly obscure wording. When a person writes to the Veterans' Administration he is entitled to an easily understood, frank, and courteous reply. If our replies cannot be understood, they are not only not worth writing but they simply create additional work.

During the period of expansion when we were forced to add more than 150,000 new employees to the Veterans' Administration we suffered from understandably low worker production. Now that these employees have been trained in their tasks we must expect greater and more efficient output. There is no room in the Veterans' Administration for negligent or incompetent employees.

In an activity as vast as the Veterans' Administration we are cursed with the problems of bigness. In view of the number of employees required to supervise the work of others, in view of the overhead required to keep our machinery in order, there is the danger that we may become so involved in the tools and crafts of administration that not enough of our effort is expended directly in aid to the veteran.

When I came to the Veterans' Administration I said that we wanted men and women who would keep their eyes on the human needs of the veteran. I am told that some employees have drifted away from this objective, that they have permitted red tape to blind their vision and obstruct their judgment.

This rigidity, this unyielding attitude, on the part of some employees who put their methods before results, who employ the letter of regulations without applying their common sense, is at the root of many problems that leap up to confront us.

There is likewise an unfortunate tendency on the part of some employees to look on their jobs with almost divine right. The Veterans' Administration is not a proprietary bureaucracy. It belongs to the people, not to the employees. We are simply servants of the public, ordained to represent their wishes through administration of the laws of Congress.

I am making this letter public not only because it marks a new phase in our work but because any matter of vital concern to this program is also a matter of vital concern to the American people. They have ordered this program and they will be paying the bill. They have a right to know what their money is buying. It is as important that we represent the American people in the administration of this program as it is that Congress represent the American people in the enactment of its laws.

Many of you have probably been reading in the newspapers that I am tired and discouraged and want to quit. I am no more tired than many of you. Certainly I am not discouraged. I mean to do my best and I shall not quit of my own accord until my job is finished.

Sincerely,

OMAR N. BRADLEY,
General, United States Army,
Administrator.

Mr. Speaker, it will be a great help to us and a great help to the veterans if, as a result of General Bradley's directive, official correspondence is clarified and simplified. When veterans write the Veterans' Administration they are often told things that are extremely confusing. That is one reason why the men have had such difficulty with their insurance, and why many have allowed it to lapse. They have received the same letter over and over again from the Veterans' Administration regarding reinstatement. If his men carry out General Bradley's orders, we will have a much better administration.

Long Beach Federal Savings and Federal Home Loan Bank of Los Angeles

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIS W. BRADLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. BRADLEY of California. Mr. Speaker, the unwarranted confiscation of the solvent \$26,000,000 Long Beach Federal Savings and the \$43,000,000 solvent Federal Home Loan Bank of Los Angeles have jeopardized the homes and savings of 24,000 people in my district. Such seizures and confiscations by pub-

lic officials of solvent financial institutions without notice, without hearings, and without cause, for the purpose of reprisal and intimidation as disclosed in testimony before a committee of the Congress, render officials responsible for these outrages unfit for public office.

Nine months ago a congressional investigating committee, after full hearing, recommended return of both of the above-named seized institutions. These recommendations have not been carried out.

Therefore, on Friday, May 2, I introduced a resolution requesting the removal of John H. Fahey and Harold Lee as officials of Federal Home Loan Bank Administration. This is the exact resolution introduced some time ago by the Honorable Cecil King and its reintroduction is by agreement between us. It is unfortunate that this Congress, with its multiplicity of problems, should be burdened by such maladministration on the part of executive agencies and with having to air such flagrant abuses of authority which go to the very foundations of our democracy.

I hope that prompt action by this Congress may be accomplished to rescue the homes and savings of 24,000 citizens of my district.

The conclusions and recommendations of the congressional committee are as follows:

CONCLUSION

The action here complained of was not only a disservice to the Government but also a greater disservice to the people for the protection of whose rights and affairs our Government exists. Should the time come when our Government is incapable of discharging that fundamental function, it must cease to exist in the form and for the purpose for which it was founded. The same end is inevitable for any endeavor with which the Government is identified. The necessity for unquestioned rectitude of purpose and sound, just, and impartial administration of governmental endeavor is paramount.

The Federal Home Loan Bank System was created to meet a need which the Nation experienced. It is a potential factor in the era which lies ahead of us. The functions of this Government agency loom up as far more important in the future than it has ever been. Unless its administration is elevated to a higher esteem and undergoes decided improvements, its efficiency will be seriously impaired.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of your committee are—

(1) That the Commissioner revoke the order reducing the number of districts from 12 to 11 in the Federal Home Loan Bank System.

(2) That the Commissioner take all necessary steps to reestablish a Federal Home Loan Bank of Los Angeles and a Federal Home Loan Bank of Portland, and revoke the order or orders by which the assets of these two district banks were intermingled.

(3) Should the Commissioner, in the light of the evidence adduced before your committee, still adhere to the opinion that the number of districts should be reduced from 12 to 11, and is still of the opinion that he has the legal authority to reduce the number of districts, he should proceed to give due notice of such intention to all of the associations in the area affected, hold hearings, and give due weight to the recommendations of the officials of the banks involved and to the views of the associations which

are members of the regional banks affected, and should likewise take into consideration the views of the industry generally. Any sudden and unheralded action, such as that taken in the case of the Los Angeles bank, is certain to have an unfavorable effect on the confidence of the public in the institutions involved.

(4) That the Commissioner revoke the order appointing a conservator for the Federal Savings and Loan Association of Long Beach and restore the assets and affairs of the association to its duly elected management, and render a proper accounting for the same, as expeditiously as is consistent with judicial determination of the questions at issue. Your committee questions whether the law ever contemplated that the Board should have the extraordinary power to seize and appoint a conservator for a solvent institution as a part of the supervisory functions entrusted to the Board over member banks.

(5) That the appropriate committees of Congress give consideration to the necessity (if, in the opinion of such committees, the necessity exists) of amending the Federal Home Loan Act in the following particulars:

(a) Clarifying the authority of the Board in the matter of approval of elective officers of the regional banks to the end that neither the Board nor other officials may exercise such authority arbitrarily.

(b) Clarifying the authority of the Board or the Administrator to increase or decrease the number of regional banks, and specifying the conditions and procedure under which such changes may be made.

(c) Prohibiting the agency from appointing conservators for any member association except under specific and well-defined limitations.

(6) It developed in the hearings that the order relating to the appointment of a conservator for the Federal Savings and Loan Association of Long Beach had not been filed with the Federal Register, as required by law. The Division of the Federal Register advised your committee that only on three occasions has the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration complied with the requirement that its orders be filed with the Federal Register. Your committee further recommends that the Administrator comply with the law in this respect in the future.

HOWARD W. SMITH, Virginia.
JOHN J. DELANEY, New York.
HUGH PETERSON, Georgia.
ALBERT GORE, Tennessee.
FRED A. HARTLEY, Jr., New Jersey.
JOHN JENNINGS, Jr., Tennessee.
CLARE E. HOFFMAN, Michigan.

In addition to Resolution No. 203 to remove these undesirable officials, I have introduced other bills, Nos. 330 and 3302, to supplement pending legislation to fulfill the unanimous recommendations of the investigating congressional committee.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

SPEECH

OF

HON. PETE JARMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from New Jersey reports from his district that the people of that district with whom he has conferred wish to fight communism in this country first.

I yield to no man in the United States in my desire to stamp out communism in this country. In fact, in my opinion, one of the excellent byproducts of the bill we are about to consider will be that it will tend to cause the communistically inclined people of this country to stop, look, and listen. I cannot help but wonder, as I heard the gentleman's report from his people, how they would have felt had we waited to fight Hitler first in this country?

Mr. Speaker, I include as a part of my remarks the following editorial from the Washington Post of May 4:

AVOIDING A BLUNDER

It is not so much the bill to aid Greece and Turkey as the Rules Committee which has been saved by its belated decision to let this measure go to the floor of the House. The bill could not have been bottled up by the rule-makers without bringing an avalanche of wrath upon their heads. More than a week ago it was reported favorably to the House by that body's Foreign Affairs Committee with only one outright dissent and one plea for amendment. Of course, the Foreign Affairs Committee is the only House group which has a right to pass upon the merits of legislation in this sphere before it reaches the House itself. Had the Rules Committee undertaken to veto what Foreign Affairs had done, such a high-handed usurpation would certainly have brought demands for stripping the committee of dictatorial power, and such demands would have had strong support among both House Members and the rank and file of citizens.

We think that Chairman Leo E. Allen, of the Rules Committee is entitled to a good deal of credit for subordinating his personal opposition to the bill to his sense of duty in letting the House vote on it. The same can be said for Representative HARNES, who is reported to have voted to send the measure to the floor in spite of personal dislike for it. Yet these men have merely acted in accord with the proper function of the committee on which they serve. Their task is to facilitate the movement of important legislation through the House—not to sit as supercensors on every important bill that is approved by the legislative committees. We hope that their action will be regarded as a precedent whenever the committee is tempted to arrogate to itself the so-called "gag" power that it has so frequently exercised in the past.

As for the aid bill itself, it is obvious that the House should lose no more time in enacting it. The opponent's next move will be to destroy or impair it by means of amendments. Some of these may seem plausible, but their effect would be to tie the hands of the Administration in carrying out a policy of inestimable importance. Congress is naturally concerned that the money be wisely spent and that as much as possible of it shall be devoted to actual reconstruction in war-torn Greece. But wise administration cannot be guaranteed by attaching restrictive amendments to an authorization bill. It can come only from the selection of an able and fearless administrative staff having the full confidence of the President and congressional leaders. The greatest contribution that Congress could make, in our opinion, would be for all of its members to recognize the Truman doctrine for the momentous policy that it is and to stop trifling with it as if it amounted to only the creation of a Mediterranean WPA.

Greco-Turkish Loan

SPEECH

OF

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I have been accused many times of being mistaken. I have been accused many times of being wrong, but I have never been accused of being inconsistent. I voted in the first place against lend-lease. I did not believe that if we provided the tools, as Mr. Churchill suggested, we would not have to provide the men. I voted against UNRRA and every appropriation for UNRRA. I voted against the British loan. Today I do not need tell you how I am going to vote on this Greco-Turkish loan.

Mr. Speaker, the \$400,000,000 lend-lease request for Greece and Turkey is the first step in the 3-year program of world rehabilitation that will cost American taxpayers at least \$21,000,000,000. This estimate is made by conservative authorities in the field of world finance. If we extend this new lend-lease aid to Greece and Turkey we will be forced to follow through with a complete program of world rehabilitation as a part of our new policy to stop Russia now.

If we do this, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that the financial burden we are assuming is not the whole burden. This new foreign policy will mean that we must continue to export huge quantities of scarce goods—food, clothing, fats and oils, sugar, farm machinery, and so forth—thereby boosting prices of these scarce articles higher and higher. It is estimated that the program will require us to export between thirteen and fourteen billion dollars' worth of goods each year for the next 3 years. This will result in an ever-increasing spiral of price and wage boosts, with their attendant labor frictions and work stoppages.

President Truman's new foreign policy, if adopted, will also mean that Uncle Sam accepts the role of world policeman; that from now on he will have to furnish the military might required to stop trouble wherever and whenever it arises in any corner of the world. It will mean that he has taken over the responsibilities and obligations that we had hoped a strong United Nations Organization would assume and carry. The world now recognizes the fact that the UNO is a weak reed, and so Uncle Sam is being called upon to feed the world, to finance the world, to police the world, and to support the world, in order to save the world from communism.

We saved the world from Hitlerism at a cost of \$300,000,000,000, plus thousands of lives, and "blood, sweat, and tears." Now we are asked to save the world from communism at a cost that can neither be estimated nor predicted.

Before taking the first step we should ask ourselves, "Is Uncle Sam strong enough to do all this, even if he should be willing to do it?"

Mr. Speaker, at the time of the San Francisco World Peace Conference many Members of Congress urged that the United States, with England and other peace-loving nations, should offer the following amendments to the Charter of the proposed United Nations Peace Organization, and demand that they be adopted:

(a) Abolish the veto power in the Security Council.

(b) Require all nations to agree to world-wide inspection upon atomic energy development.

(c) Agree upon a world-wide limitation of armaments.

We suggested that if Russia refused to agree to these amendments, or safeguards, and walked out of the Conference, the United States and England, with the other peace-loving nations, constituting at that time at least 70 percent of the world's military power, should go ahead and complete the UNO, leaving Russia on the outside. After the organization was set up and functioning then Russia should be given the opportunity to come in or stay out as she desired. However, if she remained outside and thereafter disturbed the peace of the world—as she has done in the Balkans, Greece, Turkey, China, and elsewhere—the UNO could brand her as an aggressor nation and throw the military might of the rest of the world against her. Our recommendation would have forced Russia to join the UNO or commit national suicide if and when she became an aggressor nation. The recent stalemate at the Moscow Conference, as a result of Stalin's attitude, causes the same Members of Congress who recommended that action at the San Francisco Conference to wonder if it is too late to act now.

Mr. Speaker, in discussing prospective aid from the United States with an American representative, a prominent Arab of the Middle East said:

All we are interested in is how many dollars will we get and when.

This statement expresses the general attitude of Europe, of the Middle East, and of the Far East. If we assume financial and economic responsibility for the rest of the world in an effort to stop the spread of communism, what will the program cost?

Since VE-day we have spent on International commitments between \$8,000,000,000 and \$9,000,000,000. That is the net amount of our postwar capital exports to date, and that is only the beginning. We are committed to extend further credits to foreign countries of approximately \$12,000,000,000. There is no knowing when these distressed countries will be able to stand upon their own feet and pay their own way, as evidences of this condition in both England and France are much worse today than they were a year ago when we provided them with their first postwar loans.

This means that both England and France will each soon be asking for another sizable loan to further bolster up their tottering financial and economic systems.

Summing up the serious world situation in which we find ourselves today, and the part the United States is expected to play in straightening out that world situation, I use the words of Chester D. Trip in his economic trend-line studies of April 30, 1947:

An impoverished world needs our help. But that help must not bankrupt the benefactor by raising domestic prices sky high. And with or without such help, the world can survive peace only if it works out its own troubles, concentrating on the burning problems of the present instead of chasing after Utopian ideals of the future.

Mr. Speaker, the proposed Italian peace treaty is a very drastic one. If ratified in its present form, Italy will be rendered helpless before her Communist-dominated neighbor, Yugoslavia, whose dictator ruler, Tito, is a Charlie McCarthy for Stalin. Thus the provisions of the Italian peace treaty, that we have agreed to, go absolutely contrary to President Truman's announced policy in connection with aid for Greece and Turkey. On the one hand we strengthen Stalin's hands by weakening Italy, and on the other hand we propose to strengthen Greece and Turkey in order to block Tito and Stalin. Does this make sense? Can Uncle Sam ride with the hounds and run with the hare at one and the same time?

Mr. Speaker, how long can our capitalistic system last under the continuous drain that has been placed upon it? England has gone the way of all Europe, at least she has deserted the capitalistic system and become a hybrid government, half democratic and half totalitarian. She has at the same time gone on relief. Not only has she gone on relief herself, but she is asking us to place her former dependent nations—Greece, Turkey, Iraq, and Iran—on our relief rolls. The idea of placing these impoverished nations on our relief rolls is to keep them from falling into the outstretched totalitarian arms of the U. S. S. R.

Democracy is dead in Europe. It died of war wounds. Democracy as we know it never existed in Asia. Democracy in South America exists in name only, because dictatorship is the order of the day south of the Rio Grande. In view of these facts we should devote all our efforts to preserving democracy at home. In order to do so we must keep our financial house in order; we must keep financially strong and solvent; we must not dissipate our strength nor our resources in trying to revive democracy in other parts of the world. If we weaken ourselves in an effort to revive democracy elsewhere, the last stronghold of democracy will become an easy victim for totalitarianism, the enemy of democracy.

In an address at Springfield, Ill., on January 27, 1837, Lincoln said:

If danger ever threatens us, it must spring up among us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher.

Lincoln's words are prophetic. In the light of that warning uttered over 100 years ago, perhaps we should today stop, look, and listen.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

National Rivers and Harbors Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY D. LARCADE, JR.

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. LARCADE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to submit a digest of the deliberations of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress held in Washington, D. C., during the past week, as reported by the Associated Press and published in the Washington Post of date May 4, 1947. The article follows:

FUNDS TO DEVELOP RESOURCES OF UNITED STATES URGED BY RIVERS GROUP

The National Rivers and Harbors Congress requested yesterday adequate appropriations for all phases of our national resources development program.

It said in a resolution:

"We appeal to the Congress of the United States not to be swayed by the hysterical and verbose cries of advocates of a false economy which would deprive great sections of our Nation of funds for protection from devastating floods; would deny the necessary monies to keep open important arteries of commerce, and would fail to provide funds which would keep the arid lands of our country from returning to dust and desolation."

At its final session, the Congress also passed resolutions:

1. Urging that a study be made with a view to formulating a national power policy.
2. Favoring the construction of multi-purpose dams, with full development of hydroelectric possibilities (for flood control, navigation, and irrigation).
3. Opposing the establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority.
4. Recommending that Congress provide funds to continue the reclamation program in the most economic and beneficial manner.
5. Requesting the appropriation of funds for advanced planning of rivers, harbors and flood control projects that have been authorized by Congress.

The organization closed its first postwar convention shortly after hearing Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina urge continued development of river and watershed programs, and receiving reports of its project and resolution committees.

As a final act, the conference elected these directors:

One-year terms—Floyd O. Hagie, Washington; W. A. Smith, California; Walter Gahagen, New York; R. B. Page, North Carolina; Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts; O. F. Wakefield, Ohio; Thomas B. Stockham, Pennsylvania.

Two-year terms—Dewitt L. Pyburn, Louisiana; H. H. Buckman, Florida; Al Hansen, Minnesota; Walter G. White, New Hampshire; Representative Sid Simpson, Illinois; William B. Rodgers, Pennsylvania; J. E. Sturrock, Texas.

Three-year terms—Fred D. Beneke, Tennessee; Senator Chapman Revercomb, West

Virginia; Senator John L. McClellan, Arkansas; Senator John H. Overton, Louisiana; Representative Will M. Whittington, Mississippi; Representative Dewey Short, Missouri, and William H. Webb, Maryland.

The directors elected Senator McClellan as president of the congress, and Senator Overton and Representatives Whittington, Francis Case, South Dakota, and Charles R. Clason, Massachusetts, as vice presidents.

Labor Law Not "Repressive," Merely Regulatory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEROY JOHNSON.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, upon a passage of a bill regulating labor, the hue and cry went out that it would result in industrial chaos; that the bill was "unfair to labor," "restrictive," "repressive," and so forth. It was even stated that the purpose of the bill was to destroy labor unions. I have talked to dozens of men who voted for this bill, many of who have been and are friendly to labor. I have yet to find one who had any malicious motive, as far as the members of organized labor or unorganized labor are concerned, in the vote which they cast for this bill.

It seems to me that it must be obvious to any impartial person that the way labor leaders have conducted themselves the last few years that there must be some regulation whereby their powers may be restricted for the interest of the general public. Furthermore, many individual laborers are merely pawns in a great system in which they have very little, if anything, to say about what their union or the leaders of their union do. The purpose of this legislation is to try to bring balance to our industrial relations. Some of the things that labor leaders do, if done by employers, have been declared an unfair labor practice. Yet, these things are legitimized by the Wagner Act and its administration. In other words, one side of the bargaining table, the employer, may do something which the law or the administrative agencies administering the law declare an unfair labor practice. Yet, this same conduct or similar act when done by the employee or his agent on the other side of the table is not considered an unfair labor practice.

It is obvious that the right of employers has been curtailed too much with respect to the matter of freedom of speech. The way the law has been administered it practically closes the mouth of the employer as far as discussing anything with his employees.

The fights and controversies between unions, such as occurred in the movie industry and other places, are tragic, not only as far as the individual workmen are concerned but as far as the great public which is affected thereby is concerned.

It may be that the Senate may change or refine certain policies laid down in the House bill. What the American public should understand is that this law was aimed at some regulation of the excesses of labor leaders and some protection for the individual workman and his right to work as well as protection of the public.

An interesting editorial occurred in the Washington News on May 1 which shows that history points out that every group whose status quo and special privilege is effected always cries "wolf" when some change is made for the benefit of people and the public who suffer by virtue of the especial privileges of that group. That is true in this case. For the information of Members we hereby quote the editorial:

OLD STUFF (AND NONSENSE)

Labor-union leaders aren't too smart in screaming that legislation they oppose would bring on chaos, disorder, depression, regimentation, and slavery.

And they aren't at all original.

Down through the ages, the beneficiaries of status quo and special privilege have always raised just such cries against proposals for change.

In our own country, it wasn't so long ago that workers who wanted protection for their right to organize unions were denounced by employers as anarchists plotting to undermine the foundations of society.

Pleanty of statesmen, and even preachers, defended chattel slavery as an institution ordained by God for the uplifting of inferior races.

The Government-owned postal system—many businessmen thought—would mean the beginning of the end for private ownership of property.

Pure-food-and-drug laws were sure to wreck business and starve our people. Pasteurized milk was an assault on the freedom and the very existence of dairy farmers.

Regulation of railroads and public utilities was certain to destroy free enterprise. Anti-trust laws would spell stagnation for industry and permanent unemployment for millions.

Equal suffrage threatened our noble womanhood with degradation. Laws against child labor would deprive parents of the direction of their children and wipe out the incomes of widowed mothers.

Federal regulation of stock exchanges and security issues was an open invitation to national disaster. And only recently the National Association of Manufacturers saw in Government control of atomic energy a dark plot to socialize patents and stifle invention.

All this doesn't mean that Congress can afford to ignore the danger of going too far in writing labor legislation. It does justify belief that legislation can be written to regulate unionism in the public interest with no such disastrous consequences as the union politicians are predicting.

This on the basis of past experience. For all this old hokum about chaos, disorder, etc., has been used before. And the things that were going to bring destruction became law and were accepted, while the dire prophecies that greeted them are almost forgotten.

the Greek-Turkish loan will not be given time to discuss the matter at any length. I am therefore taking this opportunity to present a few matters for your consideration with regard to it.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. REED of New York. I yield.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. It was agreed in the Rules Committee when this measure was under consideration that time would be granted for the opposition to be heard. I understand that is a gentleman's agreement with the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee.

Mr. REED of New York. I am very glad to know that that condition now obtains.

Mr. Speaker, Lenin, godfather of communism, boldly declared: "We shall oblige America to spend herself into destruction."

It is my contention that every vote cast for a foreign hand-out of our taxpayers' money will be the acid test as to whether or not Lenin's prediction will come true.

Under leave to extend, I am inserting an article published in the Jamestown Shopping Guide, May 1, 1947:

LENIN SAID: "WE SHALL OBLIGE AMERICA TO SPEND HERSELF INTO DESTRUCTION"

The endless schemes of planners to spend the American Republic toward destruction are without end. Is it only a coincidence that this mad spending fits perfectly into the well-known and diabolical Communist objective to bankrupt us?

Lenin, godfather of communism, boldly declared: "We shall oblige America to spend herself into destruction."

This is the master plan of the Communists to wreck our country. It is part of Lenin's Collected Works, the bible of the Communists. For many years its contents have been known to every intelligent person who wished to know the truth. Officials have known this for 30 years.

Stalin, in his Communist strategy, page 95, of his official book, Foundations of Leninism, published 13 years ago, in 1934, declares that "practical bankruptcy" is a special means of preparing a nation for easy victimization or communistic take-over.

People who lay awake nights worrying about the Russians showering terrible atomic bombs on American cities and towns need not worry. The Russians will not need to shoot anything, if we are so foolish as to go bankrupt, and complete the softening-up process by spending ourselves into our own destruction. Alert, patriotic Americans oppose taking the Communist's bait by playing their game, by squandering our remaining dollars all over the world, only to leave the home base bankrupt, wide open to the Communist take-over.

In view of these facts, some of the people who today claim they are out to defeat communism and save America, look ridiculous. By advocating spending plans, they are playing the very game the Communists most desire them to play—wreck the United States.

You can't eat your cake and have it, too. You can't spend the remaining dollars of Uncle Sam in a score of foreign lands, and still have the money here when you need it to save your country. Any grade school kid knows that.

The proposal to "save democracy" in Greece and Turkey, at an initial expense of \$400,000,000, is but the curtain raiser in a gigantic fantastic campaign of the planners, to export \$39,000,000,000—yes, thirty-nine billion American dollars, abroad in the next 3 years, starting right now. If you just add what we now owe in Federal debt, \$260,000,-

000,000, plus the annual costs of our armies of occupation abroad, plus the local, State, and Federal annual tax costs, you can easily see that this is a starter to spend the last dollar we possess. At most, after the plan has been carried out, as mapped by planners, there would be only a few crumbs remaining for United States.

Financing foreign countries with American dollars to the tune of \$7,000,000,000 a year for the next 3 years—\$21,000,000,000 in "loans"—is planned to hand a ready-made economy to foreign lands.

Planners have blueprinted a plan to boost American foreign trade to \$13,000,000,000 or more a year, for the next 3 years. Experience tells us that a dollar sent abroad as a gift or loan, does not return to America. It is a dollar gone forever.

But, if we stretch our imagination to the breaking point, and assume that foreign countries will spend all the \$21,000,000,000 we hand them in the next 3 years "to put them on their feet," and we hope to sell our goods to the bankrupt countries of the world to the tune of \$13,000,000,000 a year for 3 years, that it would be necessary for us to accept each year for 3 years, \$6,000,000,000 worth of I O U's of very doubtful value. Figured this way, the whole \$13,000,000,000 is converted into I O U's, or \$39,000,000,000 in 3 years, plus the \$21,000,000,000, or a grand total of \$60,000,000,000.

In the most prosperous year the United States ever experienced, our foreign trade never exceeded 6 percent of our whole business volume. To expect to expand that small percentage, at such tremendous risk, is like wagging the dog with its tail.

But the foreign countries we expect to sell our goods to, and create prosperity on American farms and factory, all pay such low wages that it is utterly impossible to compete on our high wage scale. We cannot hope to develop an export trade unless we are willing to flood the American market with cheap, inferior goods made abroad. This would result in boosting by millions the number of unemployed American factory and farm workers.

A recent comparison of the world's wages, shows by what a wide margin the American factory worker's income tops all others. For an average 40-hour workweek, workers of the world receive the following weekly pay:

	Weekly wage
Czechoslovakia	\$8.40
Netherlands	12.80
Russia	14.40
France	16.40
Britain	17.60
Sweden	18.40
Canada	29.20
United States	46.40

This puts the American worker in a class by himself; of all world workers, he is best able to use his 40-hour week to provide himself with an income that supplies home, food, clothing and shelter for self and family and have enough remaining to purchase a motor car and electric appliances. The worker in Britain, with his \$17.60 weekly pay, must work 46 hours, or six extra hours a week, to repay the Socialist-imposed food subsidies he pays for less and cheaper food.

How do our planners hope to develop and expand an export trade which will profit anyone, in foreign countries, when Czechs for example—receive only \$8.40 per week—less than one-fifth the weekly pay of the American? Then there are the vast hordes of China, Japan, and India, all ready to flood the American market with their goods—millions of workers who receive 50 to 60 cents a day—\$2 to \$3 per week for a 50-hour work week.

After World War I, planners set out to redesign the world. We squandered \$6,000,000,000 on worthless bonds in Germany, and a like sum in South America. We never realized a return to pay for the printing of the bonds. Today the world is in a far worse financial condition than 30 years ago.

Aid for Greece and Turkey

SPEECH
OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I realize that those of us who are against

Suppose your local businessmen developed sales as do Washington planners? They discover the people out in Pan Cake Hollow are not buying enough goods and services in their city. A commission of smart young men is named to see what can be done about it. After numerous meetings, investigations, and goings-on (behind closed doors), they discover the folks out in Pan Cake Hollow just do not have any money to spend.

"We'll attend to that," report the local planners. "We'll just give them the money to spend, so they can come to our stores and buy things."

So, the local chamber of commerce stages a money-raising campaign to provide the folks in Pan Cake Hollow with some money to spend. Enough money is contributed by local business and professional people to hand each resident—man, woman, and child—\$100 each, which they are asked to please spend in the city stores. No strings are attached to the deal; the money is simply handed over. The businessmen have given the money, a dead horse to them, but the people in Pan Cake Hollow are very, very happy. They have a lot of money they didn't earn, never expected to get, and what to do with it is now the question?

Now, as an added cost on top the gift, the businessmen put on a high-pressure advertising and sales campaign to get back, if possible, as many of their dollars from Pan Cake Hollow, as they can. But the people out there find that they can make the money go farther if they spend it in the local store or in the stores of another city, and so most of the money never is spent in the town which gave it.

You would imagine after one experience like that, no one would waste any more time mapping out a do-good campaign. But, you imagine wrong; after several similar experiences, in which billions and billions of American dollars flew away never to return to the United States, a band of self-appointed planners in Washington have mapped out the most gigantic give-away campaign in history, and intend to put it over at a time when the American people are mortgaged for about all they are worth.

The planners have neglected to date to advise either Congress or the people, to which country the United States will turn for a hand-out when we go bankrupt and our people are freezing and starving. We ought to know that address now.

Pressed for details as to how planners expected to supervise the expenditure of the vast sums of money, planners were forced to acknowledge that they had absolutely no over-all plan. It will be done on the typical American "on a wing and prayer" method of trusting the gods to deliver good returns for noble deeds performed.

Take one instance as an example. Planners hope Congress will let them ship \$350,000,000 worth of food and clothing to certain starving people. But they frankly told Congressmen that they had no supervisory staff to make certain how the food and clothing is to be distributed. They expect to depend on reports of American newspaper correspondents to investigate and report. Since few foreign countries even permit American newspapermen to wander around, write dispatches and make uncensored reports to home folks, we know before we start we shall receive very skimpy reports. We also know that vast stores of food and clothing have been diverted and ended up in Russia.

So, we find the planners are willing to place American taxpayer's money in new bets on the international gambling table, and take chances on the results.

"The shocking thing is to spend without a plan, to make 'loans' wilfully as the breezes of UN oratory rise and fall," declares the editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. "We need a blueprint of the kind of world

we will build. Unless we have a simply stated plan of action we shall get nowhere. Unless our spending is done with a time table and greater and lesser objectives we shall succeed only in dissipating our national wealth, bringing the United States down to the same bankrupt level of the rest of the world."

We are told it is necessary that we take over the world's troubles "because the British Government is practically bankrupt," and unable to assume responsibilities. Recently, British officials proudly announced to the world that they had balanced their budget for the first time in several years, and had a surplus of nearly \$1,000,000,000. Yet, we are told it will soon be necessary for us to assume the British job of German occupation, half of which has been carried by Britain.

Planners have arranged for Great Britain to draw \$1,600,000,000 in United States loans this year, an additional \$1,300,000,000 in 1948, and \$300,000,000 in 1949. Some extra financing then may be covered by the World Fund. Is it any wonder the British think U. S. means "Uncle Sucker?"

The gigantic \$39,000,000,000 foreign-loan campaign will mean every American citizen—man, woman, and child—will contribute in increased taxes about \$330 per head per year. We would have added to our present \$2,200 individual Federal debt mortgage \$330.

Before your family of four, with your present income, purchased, say, a motorcar costing \$1,320, would you stop and consider whether, with your present debt compared to your income, you could afford the car? You will be forced to pay for this program of the planners just the same as you would for that car. Wise people are now telling their Representatives in Washington what they wish done about this.

Would the American people perform a greater good to the world's people by demonstrating that our kind of government and productive system is a success, providing the greatest good to the largest number of people, or would we perform a greater service by going bankrupt trying to free 2,000,000,000 people of worry who desire to live under their present conditions or who are doing practically nothing to change their condition?

If it is necessary to hold a special election to build a schoolhouse in your community, say at a cost of \$100,000, should we not also hold an election before we permit exportation from the United States of \$100,000 or \$1,000,000 from each community?

Should a few unknown planners, behind closed doors, decide for us what we shall do with the remaining surplus we have, or shall we, the people, decide? Just what is this democracy we are setting out to save for somebody else?

Britain balanced her budget (with billion-dollar surplus).

This is how we stand:

United States funds available for world aid since war's end

Contributions:	
UN	\$29,289,349
UNRRA	2,700,000,000
World Bank	3,175,000,000
World Fund	2,750,000,000
Lend-lease	2,163,000,000
Other advances:	
Surplus property	1,148,000,000
Loans to Great Britain,	
Philippines	4,390,000,000
War Department grants	1,771,926,293
Export-Import Bank	2,931,209,176
Total	21,058,422,818

The Government received last month \$5,700,627,639.

The Government spent last month \$3,958,257,688.

The Government owes \$259,123,934,984.

May 3, the Polish National Holiday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE G. SADOWSKI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 5, 1947

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on May 3 Poles everywhere and citizens of Polish origin in many countries celebrate a Polish national holiday—the Polish Third of May Constitution Day.

In the United States, wherever Americans of Polish descent live, in cities and towns from coast to coast, this holiday is observed with appropriate exercises throughout the month of May, to pay tribute to the Polish Nation and to remind fellow Americans that Poland was one of the first pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

Just recently the Polish Constituent Diet adopted unanimously the following declaration:

(1) Equality before the law, regardless of nationality, race, creed, sex, origin, social status, and education.

(2) Liberty of person, life, and property.

(3) Freedom of conscience and worship.

(4) Freedom of scientific research and the publication of results thereof, and freedom of creative artistic endeavor.

(5) Freedom of press, speech, association, assembly, public meetings, and demonstration.

(6) The right to vote and to seek public office.

(7) Inviolability of the home.

(8) Secrecy of the mails and other means of communication.

(9) The right of instituting court actions and of filing petitions with the proper state authorities.

(10) The right to work and to periods of rest.

(11) The right to relief in case of unemployment and incapacitation.

(12) The right to education.

(13) Protection of family life and care of mother and child.

(14) Protection of health and working capacity.

This reaffirmation of the rights and liberties of its citizens is greeted with great joy by every freedom-loving American. This proves to us that the good, Christian people of Poland are not Communists and that Poland will be a great free and independent republic again.

From the many visitors who have been in Poland we learn that the Polish Nation is rising rapidly from its ruins and destruction. They have revived their ruined capitol and have brought back life to their savagely destroyed country.

The will and fortitude, and love of country is beyond description. This was the one thing that Hitler and all the Nazis could not destroy.

This then, too, is the guarantee to the world that Poland will never go communistic.

But today I am deeply disturbed. I am not disturbed about Poland and that the Polish people shall not be successful in their struggle for reconstruction. I am fully confident that these virile, heroic and indestructible people will overcome all of their difficulties as they have throughout history. I am worried

a National Science Foundation only the scientific professions are specified, but to my mind medicine should eventually be included. Indeed, the case for a Federal scholarship program for premedical and medical students is very strong. You may ask why not other professions as well. I would have no objection to enlarging the list eventually if the expenditures were not too great. But we must make haste slowly in these matters, and a few selected professions should be tried first as a sort of pilot-plant operation.

In conclusion, I should like to speak for a few minutes of that core of common learning which should be the common heritage of all American youth. It will be composed of material drawn from the fields of history, political science, economics, fine arts, and literature, that is, the social sciences and the humanities.

In our ideal republic of the future we are surely concerned not with what a man has studied but with what he does. We may hope that men and women will be more interested in wise collective action of the citizens; that there will be less "gang politics," less despoiling of the public treasury, fewer completely selfish pressure groups, more self-sacrificing men in public office—in short, a much healthier body politic.

The future citizens we desire to educate must have strong loyalties and high civic courage. These loyalties must be to the type of society we are envisaging and to the United States as the home of this society. Such emotional attitudes are in part the product of a common set of values. One of the tasks of the public schools is to evoke these loyalties through the medium of formal study. This can be done to some degree by the study of our heritage.

But the war has underlined the fact that the most effective loyalties are often to small groups of men bound together by a common experience and a unity of immediate purpose. A unifying faith is in such instances not a matter of words or intellectual concepts but a direct relationship between men in danger. A not dissimilar loyalty, though in a lesser degree, is seen at work in athletic sports and certain types of extracurricular activities. Having once experienced this type of emotional situation, a man or woman is more likely to respond another time and is probably more inclined to transfer such loyalties to larger groups.

For these reasons the present emphasis in many public schools on "democratic living" seems to me to be of first importance. I should place high in the priority list of goals to be achieved by every teacher the inculcation of what we Americans call a "democratic attitude," and a firm character which is nonetheless tolerant of other views. A loyalty to the type of society we are slowly endeavoring to shape on this continent can be evoked far better by action than by words. To the extent that the school itself is a society exemplifying the ideals we extol to that extent we tend to win the loyalty of even the most ruthless individuals in the group. And there is a good chance that this loyalty will be transferred later to the Nation.

Now, I should not want to leave the impression from my remarks tonight that I thought there were no problems other than financial in connection with our public schools. There are many and none more difficult than in the controversial area of the general education of which I have just been speaking. The social sciences and the humanities are the core subjects and we all know that it is possible for teachers to interpret the past of the human drama in a variety of different ways. As we all know, these interpretations may be grossly distorted for propaganda purposes. The totalitarian states have always regarded their schools and colleges as instruments for forming the political and social philosophy of the coming genera-

tion into relatively narrow molds. Is it possible in this democratic country with our wide diversity of religious, political, and social outlooks to have any agreement as to what our schools should teach in these controversial areas? To my mind it is, provided we are agreed at the outset that we must base our case on the importance of a diversity of opinion. I believe there is a group of American ideals of which I have already spoken which spring from the history of our country and which can be taken as the core of our common faith.

Such phrases as the dignity of the individual, the spirit of democracy, equality or opportunity, freedom of expression and political action, may sum up some of the most important characteristics of the common denominator which binds us together as a free people with a special history of our own. But there can be no doubt that it is characteristic of our tradition and our faith that we must be free to allow wide differences in interpretation of these basic ideals, and we must insist as far as possible that our teachers be neither propagandists nor dogmatists. Rather they must stimulate freedom of thinking and discussion to the degree that the maturity of the people makes this possible at every stage in the educational process.

In short, our education is based on our belief in the efficacy of free inquiry and the use of reason. Our system of education is diverse and flexible in its structure, and both comprehensive and tolerant as to the many ways in which our fundamental faith may be expounded or interpreted to the young people of the land.

How significant this aspect of our educational system is to the future of this republic I may illustrate by telling a final story which was recounted to me by a superintendent of schools who went to Japan last summer on an educational mission summoned by General MacArthur. This mission had for its purpose the study of the educational system in Japan.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. TWYMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. TWYMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit a telegram which I received yesterday from Mr. C. M. Burgess, an important manufacturer in the State of Illinois. It indicates his position with reference to President Truman's proposal for aid to Greece and Turkey.

The telegram follows:

GENEVA, ILL., May 5, 1947.

HON. ROBERT J. TWYMAN,
Congressman from Illinois, House
Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

I still urge you to oppose Greek-Turkish subsidy and any other gifts or loans to foreign countries unless there is a definite and guaranteed basis of repayment with interest. History has demonstrated that most loans are defaulted. This Greek deal can be a precedent for others which can bankrupt us. It is entirely political and the Russian situation is not and will not be involved except as New Dealers try to involve Russia so as to secure public approval of themselves. Certain business interests and bankers approve of it for their own selfish reasons. This is demonstrated when National Manufacturers Asso-

ciation board approves loan on recommendation of John R. Suman, vice president, Standard Oil, New Jersey. Most members of NAM in down-State Illinois are opposed to action taken by NAM. My company is resigning its membership in NAM because of the un-American position assumed by NAM board in respect to this cheap political issue.

C. M. BURGESS.

Address of Hon. John Davis Lodge Before Polish-American Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1947

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, it is a genuine pleasure to include the following very timely speech made by my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Connecticut, Congressman JOHN DAVIS LODGE, Fourth District of Connecticut, before the Polish-American Congress, district of Connecticut, in Hartford, Conn., on Sunday, May 4, 1947:

Mr. LODGE. Ladies and gentlemen, I am very pleased and honored to participate in these exercises celebrating the one hundred and fifty-sixth anniversary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution on May 3, 1791. I am happy, also, that the State-wide campaign for American-Polish relief is getting under way.

I am particularly grateful to you for this opportunity because as a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, I have some thoughts with respect to the world situation, and Poland in particular, which I should like to discuss.

With respect to relief to the needy of Poland, as you probably know, the relief bill was passed by the House last week. Unfortunately, it was amended on the floor so as to reduce the amount of relief from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000. I objected very strongly to this reduction. There was also an attempt to take Poland and Hungary out of the relief bill on the ground that they were Communist-dominated and that therefore the relief would be misused. Fortunately, we were able to reach a compromise so that Poland and Hungary will now receive relief, provided the Polish and Hungarian Governments will allow American missions to go into these countries for the purpose of seeing to it that the relief actually reaches the needy and is not used by the Communist plutocrats for their own nefarious purposes. This seemed to me a wise provision in order to avoid the fiasco connected with Polish relief under UNNRA.

As I have said, I vigorously opposed depriving Poland and Hungary of relief. I pointed out that if we acted in that fashion it would constitute a sort of double betrayal. We betrayed Poland at Yalta, and we would have compounded this shocking crime had we deprived her of relief. I believe that there are adequate safeguards in the bill so that if we find that relief is not in fact reaching the needy we can terminate that relief. It is my hope, however, that the bill as now written will bring relief to those who need it.

It was my position that we should not by hasty and ill-considered action throw millions of freedom-loving and hungry Poles into the uncharitable arms of the Communists. It is my settled conviction that we

must instead give them hope, help them to revive, and indicate to them that we are prepared and determined to salvage from this troubled world some of the blood-soaked and tear-drenched principles for which we fought a successful war.

Let us now turn our attention to international events. These have been such as to cause us to reexamine the world situation with reference to its basic and essential outlines. The deadlock at Moscow with respect to Germany, the inability of the conferees to reach a decision on a treaty for Austria, the Greco-Turkish problem, the difficulties in Korea, the political disturbances in France and Italy, and many other signs of increasing disruption make it necessary that we take stock of our position in the world, and that we scour our brains in an effort to preserve a peace based on the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations.

The problem of Poland, which is still one of great importance and urgency, is a problem which many people here and abroad regard as the test case of American resolve toward questions of international justice and that fair play among nations which alone can provide an enduring basis for peace.

I know that I need not recall to you in any detail the part played by Poland as our loyal and gallant ally in the war. Her military effort inside and outside Poland, on practically all European fronts, on land, on sea, and in the air, the courage of her indomitable people, their fighting spirit and readiness to sacrifice their lives for their independence and the principles at stake in the common cause, greatly surpassed all estimates. In fact, Poland's record as a fighting nation, as an unswervingly faithful ally, as the only nation which, regardless of Hitler's unprecedented barbarisms, never produced a quailing—stands out unexcelled.

You will recall that on the 3d of September 1939, 3 days after Germany's attack on Poland, Great Britain declared war on Germany in accordance with her treaty to defend Poland's independence and territorial integrity.

You will recall further that on July 30, 1941, the day that the Polish-Soviet treaty was signed by General Sikorski and Ambassador Maisky in London, Mr. Anthony Eden, then British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, handed to General Sikorski a statement which ended with these words:

"I also desire to assure you that his Majesty's Government do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939."

You also know that the Atlantic Charter which was incorporated in the United Nations Pact of January 1, 1942, declared:

"Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

I think you will agree that free public opinion in all the countries which were signatories of this pact widely construed these phrases as a guaranty by the United Nations, jointly and severally, of the independence and territorial integrity of Poland, as well as of Holland, Belgium, France, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, China, Korea, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, and also of Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania. Many Americans are deeply disturbed by the fate of Poland which stands today as ineluctable testimony to our failure to live according to the principles for which Americans have died in two world wars.

This concern was accentuated by the fraudulent Polish elections held on January 19,

1947. The American people realize that particularly with respect to Poland, the United States is suffering serious strategic set-backs and losses in prestige all over the world. This active interest in international affairs is further demonstrated in the press and in the unusual demand for literature dealing with problems of our international relations. In my own survey of public opinion, it appears to me that aside from the normal political considerations and desires arising out of readjustments to peacetime economy—basic problems of taxes and wages and living costs—there is in America a groundswell of apprehension regarding the conduct of our foreign affairs. As so often happens under our system the people are in this instance a step ahead of their own Government. It appears to many Americans that we have not only sacrificed moral principle but also needlessly weakened our strategic and economic position in a confused effort to preserve by appeasement something of what we gained by force of arms. These concessions, largely predicated on our military position at the war's end, make it increasingly difficult for us to use our strength to achieve the peace which is the declared purpose of the United Nations Organization.

I favor the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey not as a solution even of the problem there but because there is no constructive alternative and because it is an indication, I hope, of our determination to stand against the freedom-hating forces of the world.

It is a good beginning but it must be followed by determined efforts to reach the core of our dilemma. The core is, I believe, the betrayal of Poland. In this particularly tragic case, we not only failed to live up to our promises, we also participated in the partition of Poland which has made all subsequent problems much more difficult to solve.

Now, I do not suggest that the American people should be prepared at this time to implement the terms of the Atlantic Charter by force. However, we fail even to interpose a consistent policy of diplomatic insistence on the principles agreed to. In plain words, we acquiesced in and countenanced Soviet expansion not only in Asia but throughout eastern Europe. This diplomatic weakness was certainly no help to General Marshall in Moscow. He felt as many of us have felt all along that it is better to reach no agreement than to reach a bad agreement.

By agreeing to the compromise on Poland reached at Yalta and implemented by further concessions at Potsdam, we assumed in fact a responsibility for this fifth partition of Poland and for the imposition of a provisional government composed mostly of Comintern agents known to have been selected by the Soviet oligarchy.

Our Government has failed to obtain the carrying out of the one and only condition upon which it attempted to justify its recognition of that government, namely, the holding of free and unfettered elections.

The elections held on January 19 were officially declared by the United States Government to have been conducted in flagrant violation of pledges, and of the three solemn warnings contained in official notes addressed by the then Secretary of State on August 19 and November 22, 1946, and on January 9, 1947, to the provisional Polish Government and on January 5, 1947, to the British and Soviet Governments as cosignatories with us of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

While I understand fully the desirability of maintaining contact with the Polish people through our diplomatic officials in Warsaw, it should be noted that this continued recognition of the Polish Government by the United States constitutes in the eyes of many people a recognition of the validity of the very elections which we have officially condemned.

As I have indicated, the Soviet Government continues to regard Poland as the test case of its relationship to its western allies. For in this specific case, in which our signature on definite tripartite agreements involves our direct responsibility, the Soviet Government, barely 8 weeks before the momentous Moscow Conference, appeared to make use of the Polish elections to sound out our Government on its policy. Implicit in this Soviet attitude was their desire to ascertain whether we were ready to make further concessions or were at last determined to insist on the sanctity of those international agreements to which we are directly committed.

The fact that in the case of Poland we are now once more given the opportunity to make a definite stand on a matter of fundamental principle in which our immediate interests are secondary should afford our Government a welcome opportunity to reassert our determination that these principles shall be established as the true basis for international relations.

It is my considered opinion that although we must give firm and patient support to the United Nations Organization, we must also take into consideration the elements of power and basic strategy which still operate in spite of the war's end. We are living in a period of continuing conflict, and I feel that it is vital that we make full use of our residual strategical position in order to salvage at least some of those things for which the war was fought. With that idea in mind, may I suggest that in spite of our dwindling Military Establishment, in spite of the severe drains which have been made on our financial and industrial resources, we still have substantial bargaining counters left with which to insure the rights of self-determination guaranteed by the terms of the Atlantic Charter. We can in this way regain the initiative which was ours during the war; we can by this method give a vigorous demonstration to the world that we are prepared, in the interests of peace, to exercise the responsibilities of leadership to which our military and industrial predominance entitle us.

The proposed aid to Greece and Turkey constitutes an admission that our foreign policy urgently requires revision. The coincidence of moral principle and strategic considerations in the case of Poland seem to me to indicate that Poland should be the focal point for such a new policy.

It has been maintained by many of our most distinguished thinkers that the European dilemma cannot be brought to a satisfactory solution until the problem of Germany has been dealt with. For this reason increasing sentiment was evidenced to postpone the ratification of the four treaties (Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Rumania) until the German and Austrian problems had been decided at the Moscow Conference. Since neither the German nor the Austrian problems have been negotiated, it would seem most unwise, not to say dangerous, for the Senate to ratify these four treaties, particularly those which concern Hungary and Italy. Furthermore, it appears clear that a satisfactory arbitration of the German problem is almost impossible until the Polish question has been solved. If we fail to face-up to this original mistake, all our actions based as they must be on that mistake, will be fraught with portentous implications for the future. With the case of Poland as a significant precedent, the Soviet Government is in a far stronger position to establish a similar government in Germany. Since no freely-elected German people's government would consent to the transfer already made of a large part of eastern Germany to Poland, the Soviet Government has an added reason for imposing a Russian gauleiter on the German people. Once that is accomplished, it is but a step to build up a strong Germany under Soviet tutelage by restoring these vast agricultural tracts to

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

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For actions of May 7, 1947
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CONTENTS

C.C.C.....	4	Farm program.....	1	Loans, farm.....	1
Claims.....	12	Federal aid.....	3,15	Machinery, farm.....	13
Cooperatives.....	14	Foreign affairs.....	5,19	Personnel.....	11
Dairy industry.....	9,14	Forests and forestry...1,10		Prices, support.....	9
Education.....	15	Insect control.....	1	Soil conservation.....	1,22
Electrification, rural.16,18		Labor.....	2	Sugar and sirups.....	8
Expenditures.....	17	Labor, farm.....	7	Territories & possessions.1	
Extension work.....	21	Lands, reclamation....16,18		Transportation.....	6,20

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee ordered reported measures to create joint committee to investigate agriculture, to protect forests from insects and diseases, and to extend soil conservation and tenant-loan programs to Virgin Islands. CCC-charter proposal was taken from S. Banking and Currency and referred to Agriculture and Forestry. Rep. Hope introduced bills to extend Sugar Act 1 year and to provide for Federal-State cooperation regarding farm labor. Rep. Murray (Wis.) introduced bill directing USDA to support milk prices.

SENATE

1. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee ordered reported the following measures, on which reports are expected to be filed today: (pp. D213-4)
 - S. Con. Res. 11, to create a joint committee to investigate certain matters affecting agriculture, with amendments.
 - S. 597, to provide for protection of forests against destructive insects and diseases, without amendment.
 - S. 512, to extend the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act and Title 1 of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act to the Virgin Islands, with perfecting amendment.

(Copies of these measures, as reported, will not be available until the reports are submitted, when this Digest will carry a statement to that effect.)

2. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4777-808).
3. FEDERAL AID. Received from the Mich. Legislature a memorial opposing Federal aid to States (pp. 4775-6).
4. CCC CHARTER. The proposed legislation to provide for a CCC charter was, at the request of Chairman Tobey of the Banking and Currency Committee, referred to the Agriculture and Forestry Committee (p. 4777).

HOUSE

5. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H.R. 2616, the Greece-Turkey aid bill (pp. 4812-71).
6. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Received a N.J. Legislature resolution opposing an agreement for the construction of this project (p. 4873).

BILLS INTRODUCED

7. FARM LABOR. H.R. 3367, by Rep. Hope, Kans., to enable the Secretary, through the Federal Extension Service, to cooperate with the land-grant colleges and universities in carrying out a program for the collection and dissemination of information with respect to the supply of, the need for, and the effective use of agricultural workers. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 4872.)
8. SUGAR. H.R. 3368, by Rep. Hope, Kans., to extend, for an additional year, the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937 and the taxes with respect to sugar. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 4872.)
9. PRICE SUPPORTS; DAIRY INDUSTRY. H.R. 3370, by Rep. Murray, Wis., to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to support the price of milk at not less than \$3.10 per 100 pounds. To Banking and Currency Committee. (p. 4872.)
10. NATIONAL FORESTS. S. 1240, by Sen. Cain, Wash., to transfer certain lands from the Olympic National Park to the Olympic National Forest, Wash. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4776.)
11. PERSONNEL. S. 1244, by Sen. Magnuson, Wash., for the purpose of regulating the conditions of employment of mechanics and helpers, at all Government navy yards, naval stations, arsenals, and other Government establishments. To Armed Services Committee.
12. CLAIMS. S. 1224 (see Digest 84) amends Sec. 410(a) of the Federal Tort Claims Act so as to allow payment by the U.S. of punitive damages in those States in which only punitive damages are allowed in the event of wrongful death.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. FARM MACHINERY. Extension of remarks of Rep. Hagen, Minn., discussing the shortage of farm machinery as caused by non-cooperation of Government agencies in steel scrap efforts, and including a leaflet on the steel situation (p. A2256).
14. DAIRY INDUSTRY; COOPERATIVES. Rep. Reed, N.Y., inserted Chas. W. Holman's (Economist) statement on the importance of the dairy industry and farmer-cooperatives and tariff policy regarding the industry (pp. A2259-61).
15. EDUCATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Hoey, N.C., favoring Federal aid for education, and including Walter Lippman's article on the subject (p. A2248).
16. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Horan, Wash., inserted a Spokane (Wash.) resolution urging support of appropriations for the Bonneville Power Administration (p. A2263).
17. EXPENDITURES. Rep. Norrell, Ark., inserted an Arkansas Democrat editorial, "Federal Spending and Taxes Too High" (p. A2268).
Rep. Jenkins, Ohio, inserted a Sandusky, Ohio, Register-Star-News editorial, "Truman Should Practice What He Preaches" (pp. A2268-9).
18. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. Angell, Ore., inserted a Portland Oregonian editorial opposing appropriation cuts and discussing work of the Bonneville Power project (p. A2276).
Rep. Angell, Ore., inserted a Portland (Ore.) Journal article, "How Northwest Projects Pay Their Way" (pp. A2277-8).
19. FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Rep. Javits, N.Y., inserted the State Department's report,

States Capitol Grounds, to regulate the use thereof, and for other purposes," approved July 31, 1946.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 591. An act to amend the act of January 5, 1905, to incorporate the American National Red Cross.

THE LATE HONORABLE WILLIAM J. FITZGERALD

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SEELY-BROWN].

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret and with profound sorrow that I announce the death of William J. Fitzgerald, former Member of this House from the Second District of Connecticut, who served here in Washington from 1938 through 1942.

As former mayor of the city of Norwich, Conn., as deputy State labor commissioner and war manpower commissioner, as a prominent leader in the labor movement in Connecticut, he was always faithful to his trust and to his many associates. Although of different political faith, I was always pleased to call him one of my friends. I know his former colleagues here in the House join me in extending our deepest sympathy to his family and many friends.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. I join with my distinguished friend from Connecticut in the splendid tribute that he has paid to our late colleague, as we called him and knew him, Bill Fitzgerald. His passing is a matter of keen regret to me personally, as I enjoyed a very close relationship of real friendship with him. Bill Fitzgerald was one of the most sincere Members of the House that I have ever had the honor of serving with in this body. He was a man of outstanding courage, of strong and sound convictions, and was possessed of a nobility of character which was an example and an inspiration for all to observe and follow. I feel keenly his passing, and I know that my colleagues who served with him share that feeling of regret. Again, I join with my friend from Connecticut in the splendid tribute that he has so eloquently paid to the memory of a great man and a great legislator.

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. I yield.

Mr. FOGARTY. I, too, would like to join in the splendid tribute that has been paid to our late colleague, Bill Fitzgerald, of Norwich, Conn. It was my privilege to have served with him in this Congress in 1941 and 1942. I knew him to be a man of great character. He had a tremendous amount of energy. He was a great Congressman for the people of his district in those days. He was a great leader and a great friend of the common people, not only in Connecticut, but throughout the entire country.

I know that the Members of the House of Representatives sympathize with his family in their bereavement on his passing.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, is it the intention not to have any 1-minute speeches?

The SPEAKER. Not until this bill is out of the way. We want to get through with the general debate on the bill today and commence the reading of the bill for amendment on tomorrow.

Mr. BENDER. Will the same situation prevail tomorrow?

The SPEAKER. Yes.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UTILITIES, INSURANCE, AND BANKING OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Public Utilities, Insurance, and Banking of the House Committee on the District of Columbia may sit during general debate today.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MERROW asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein two editorials concerning the International Information and Cultural Office.

COMMITTEE ON MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries may sit today during general debate.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. OWENS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include part of a radio address and four letters.

Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. GOODWIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a magazine article.

Mr. BENDER asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three different instances.

Mr. REED of New York asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a statement before the Ways and Means Committee by Mr. Charles Holman.

Mr. HAGEN asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a circular entitled "The Iron and Steel Scrap Situation."

Mr. COLE of New York asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

Mr. PATTERSON asked and was granted permission to extend his re-

marks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. KILBURN asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

AMERICAN HEROES' DAY

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point on a resolution which I introduced making May 7 a national holiday named American Heroes' Day.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, May 7 is a day set apart by destiny on which all Americans everywhere are bound by the dictates of their hearts to honor the brave men who successfully preserved our Nation by giving unstintingly of themselves to achieve victory in World War II.

May 7 is American Heroes' Day because it binds together those who fought in Europe and those who fought in the far reaches of the Pacific. May 7 is American Heroes' Day because it unites in its observance the honoring of courage in triumph with the honoring of courage in tragedy. On May 8, 1945, Hitler's minions surrendered. On May 6, 1942, after the most brilliant and sacrificial defense since the Alamo, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down from the Fortress of Corregidor.

Sacrifice, whether in sorrow or success, should be justly venerated. The accident of time has given us the means of veneration. On May 7 Americans can look back on suffering and look ahead to success. I know not how this day ought to be observed. But I do know that this is the day.

The authority for American Heroes' Day goes back beyond the Congress and the President who were created by the Constitution. It goes back to the very creators of the Constitution themselves—the American people.

To paraphrase President Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this day. The brave men, living and dead, who gave us this day have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what I say here, but it can never forget what they did to save the light of liberty for all mankind. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated on American Heroes' Day to the unfinished work which they who fought to save the things we love have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated on this day to the great task remaining before us—that from those who died that we might live and from those who are here with us now we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave and are giving the full measure of devotion; that we on this day are highly resolved that these dead shall not have died in vain or that these living shall not have lived in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the

people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth.

In the sincere hope that Members of the Eightieth Congress will concur in the suggestion to establish this day of national observance, I have today introduced a resolution asking that in future years May 7 be set apart as American Heroes' Day.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANGELL asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD on the subject How the Northwest Projects Pay Their Way, and include two editorials.

Mr. ANDERSON of California asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a brief speech by the president of the University of California.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD to congratulate the students of Western High School for lifting the little iron curtain and showing the American people the Communist program of poisoning the minds of the students of this Nation in our public schools and colleges.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. BROOKS asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an editorial from the Freeport Journal entitled "Home Demonstration Work Week" and in the other a speech on soil conservation in Louisiana.

Mr. ALLEN of Louisiana asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. PRESTON asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. SMATHERS asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include certain editorials.

Mr. GORDON asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address delivered by Arthur Bliss Lane, former Ambassador to Poland.

Mr. KEFAUVER (at the request of Mr. PRIEST) was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address on monopolies by Mr. Ed Wimmer.

Mr. WHITTINGTON asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address delivered by Lt. Gen. R. A. Wheeler, Chief of Engineers, at the thirty-seventh convention of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress, May 2, 1947.

Mr. LANE asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three instances; in one to include a telegram received from the merchants of the city of Peabody in their determination to keep prices down and to reduce prices; second, to include a newspaper article; and, third, a radio address.

Mr. FOGARTY asked and was granted permission to revise and extend the remarks he recently made.

Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in three instances and include certain articles.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute on the Greece-Turkey assistance legislation.

The SPEAKER. The Chair previously announced that no 1-minute speeches would be allowed today or tomorrow. The gentleman may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD, if he desires.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I would, of course, prefer to make my remarks on the floor, but under the circumstances I ask permission to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH]?

There was no objection.

GREECE-TURKEY ASSISTANCE

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the debate that has taken place thus far on the Greece-Turkey assistance bill clearly reveals the fact that the American people are strongly opposed to it. It reveals another important fact—namely, a determination on the part of Congress to ignore the will of the people and to launch the Nation upon another program of lend-lease that promises well to lead the Nation into World War III. If the Congress passes this bill, it will have demonstrated to all those who have eyes to see and ears to hear that constitutional and representative government have been suspended, if not abolished, and dictatorship is in the saddle.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The chair will count. [After counting.] Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 51]

Allen, Ill.	Ellsworth	Murray, Tenn.
Bland	Fellows	O'Toole
Bonner	Fisher	Patman
Boykin	Fuller	Pfeifer
Bulwinkle	Gifford	Powell
Camp	Gregory	Reeves
Canfield	Hart	Scoblick
Carson	Hartley	Sikes
Chapman	Hinshaw	Smith, Maine
Clark	Jennings	Somers
Clements	Jensen	Taylor
Colmer	Kefauver	Thomas, N. J.
Cox	McDowell	Towe
Crawford	Madden	Trimble
Dawson, Ill.	Mansfield, Tex.	Van Zandt
Dingell	Miller, Nebr.	Vinson
Domengeaux	Mitchell	West
Douglas	Morrison	Zimmerman

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 373 Members have answered to their names; a quorum is present.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MCGREGOR asked and was granted permission to extend his re-

marks in the RECORD and include a factual statement on the car situation by the car service division of the American Railway Association.

Mr. MUHLENBERG asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article.

Mr. KEATING asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD with reference to a concurrent resolution which he introduced today.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. DONOHUE asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

Mr. HORAN asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution.

Mr. NORRELL asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the Arkansas Democrat of April 29, 1947.

Mr. SHAFER asked and was granted permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include a speech given before the AAUW.

Mr. ARNOLD asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, with Mr. CASE of South Dakota in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that when the Committee rose on yesterday the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] had 2 hours and 22 minutes remaining; the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], 2 hours and 45 minutes.

The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I am not prepared to yield time at the moment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ROBERTSON].

[Mr. ROBERTSON addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. ROBERTSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BENNETT].

Mr. BENNETT of Michigan. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to the pending proposal to furnish financial assistance to Greece and Turkey.

I want to preface my remarks by saying I am as much concerned as any citizen in this country over the dangers of Russian expansion. Actually, I have been deeply concerned about it for many years. In fact, long before many of our present leaders felt much apprehension about it.

I can best summarize my basic reasons for opposing the measure as follows: A man who cannot gauge his starting point certainly cannot accurately predict his destination. Our present dilemma is premised on that fact. We have not stopped long enough since the end of the war to reestablish our bearings. Actually, we have not even taken time to catch our breath. Our war-time and postwar foreign policy has consisted of one makeshift arrangement after another. It has continually been a "heads you win, tails I lose" proposition from our standpoint. It has ignored every principle of basic justice. Expediency has led to one emergency after another—each one more acute than the one which preceded it. The Atlantic Charter, our basic document for a just peace, died in mortal agony on the rocks of compromise, conciliation, appeasement and despair.

Briefly, that is the record up to now.

Those who have made that record are now reversing their field. The hands which fed the soothing syrup have now reached for the sword. I concede, Mr. Chairman, that it is noble to admit a costly mistake and to take measures to remedy it. But those who have made the errors ought not object to close scrutiny of the remedy they suggest or to a full scale and careful objective analysis of its merits. The pending proposal, I submit, will not stand such a test.

I propose to show that our so-called bipartisan foreign policy has been so inconsistent, so misleading and so utterly devoid of straight thinking that it completely defies description. I propose to show that those responsible for it are as confused and bewildered in their thinking today as they were 3 years ago. I propose to show that the pending measure is born of futility and despair, and is a \$400,000,000 adventure in diplomatic intrigue. That it is of hybrid origin—half belligerent and half benign. That it is half economic and half military. That it is half war-like and half conciliatory. That it is intervention in part and nonintervention in part. And that in sum, it is an unhappy conglomeration of contradictions in policy rolled together in the same ball of wax. Nevertheless, this flash bulb diplomacy generated by an alleged emergency is being handed the American people as the method by which to stop Russian aggression and establish world peace. We are told that our action must be immediate. It matters not if this may prove to be precipitous and unwise. It matters not if it superimposes a more unmanageable emergency upon the present alleged emergency. We must act now. Mr. Chairman, if it were not presumptuous on my part, I would assert that this thesis reaches a new zenith in stupidity. For more than 3 years, we

have stumbled along with an unintelligible foreign policy now referred to as bipartisan. This alleged policy, although baffling and confusing to the American people, has been consistent in its over-all operation—it has constantly subordinated the interests of a just and decent peace to the appeasement of Russian communism.

No one, I think, will seriously dispute the fact that even before the end of the war we inaugurated a policy of leaning over backward to understand Stalin and his government. We have alternately compromised, conciliated, and appeased in order to be sure that he understood our willingness to cooperate with him. It is now past history that in our desire to overdo ourselves in this direction, we succeeded in compromising the rights and liberties of millions of people around the globe, and in addition, caused many governments entitled to be free to be subjugated under the iron heel of Russian communism.

The policy pattern which brought about this situation and which created the almost intolerable circumstances in which we find ourselves today, can be divided in two parts which I shall discuss in order.

First. The so-called Big Three meetings conducted during and after the war and their resultant agreements and understandings.

Second. The creation of the United Nations Organization which was inspired, directed, and brought into existence under the bipartisan guidance of our foreign-policy leadership.

Each of these courses of action generated and sparked the over-all bipartisan plan of letting the Russians do exactly as they pleased. The record shows the plan succeeded well.

I make no criticism of the meetings held by the heads of the major Allied Governments to discuss war strategy and thus bring about better cooperation and assist in the expeditious winning of the war. But the Big Three meetings went much further than that. They discussed and decided postwar questions involving the settlement of peace. Irrevocable commitments were made at these meetings affecting peacetime problems. There was compromise and appeasement—mostly on our side—affecting the rights and liberties of people and governments who were not even present or parties to such agreements.

All of these meetings are of too recent origin to require extensive review. There was Yalta and Teheran and Potsdam where the heads of the major governments, including our own, reached understandings between themselves which made possible the eventual enslavement of millions of people by Russia and destroyed the integrity of governments which we had declared we would make free. In spite of the previous meetings, we had one last chance at Potsdam to lay the groundwork for a respectable peace. But we did not avail ourselves of it.

Instead of steadfastly and forthrightly insisting that the Russians respect the provisions of the Atlantic Charter which they had previously agreed to, we permitted them to ravish and plunder the

nations of Europe which had already been devastated by the war. We failed utterly to uphold one single principle for which we said our boys were fighting. Then we left Europe and its people prostrated and in the clutches of a dictator equally as ruthless as the one we had just conquered. The American people had nothing to say on this subject. Like the previous Big Three arrangements, it was never subject to ratification by the people. The fact was accomplished; the deed was done—it remained only for the American people to pour their money into this stricken area for relief supplies which actually got into the hands of the Russian conqueror. That in sum was our contribution at Potsdam toward the establishment of a decent peace.

While the President and his advisers were in Europe thus engaged in acquiescing to the demands of the Russians, our statesmen at home were engaged at San Francisco in formulating a contemporary arrangement to enforce peace which helped aggravate our difficulties.

Bear in mind that at the time of the San Francisco Conference, no final peace treaty had yet been attempted. Nor was it intended that the San Francisco Conference should write the peace. It was intended rather to create a peace enforcing organization which would from then on maintain peace. It did not matter to our statesmen that their labors were directed toward creating an organization to enforce a peace which had not been written. They made us partners in that organization without knowing whether we would have a good peace or a bad peace to enforce. No one in this country would want to pledge us to enforce an unjust peace yet we were at great pains to create the San Francisco Organization with our eyes completely blindfolded.

Moreover, many months were wasted on this United Nations Organization which could well have been devoted to the main problem of writing a treaty of peace. So it is fair to say that we got the cart before the horse at San Francisco, because while we now have a peace enforcing organization—we still do not have any peace.

It must be apparent also by now the time wasted at the San Francisco Conference played directly into the hands of the Russians. It helped becloud the issues. It gave the Russians time to further extend their zones of aggression, and thus, place all of the Allies in a disadvantageous position when they finally got around to talking final peace.

Nevertheless, those who opposed the ratification of the San Francisco agreement and alleged that it should wait until a peace was written, were brushed aside. It was said it was a great contribution to world peace. Speaking at San Francisco at the closing session of the conference on June 26, 1945, President Truman said:

What you have accomplished in San Francisco shows how well these lessons of military and economic cooperation have been learned. You have created a great instrument for peace and security and human progress in the world. The world must now use it. If we fail to use it, we shall betray all those who have died in order that we might meet here in freedom and safety to

create it. If we seek to use it selfishly—for the advantage of any one nation or any small group of nations—we shall be equally guilty of that betrayal.

By their own example the strong nations of the world should lead the way to international justice. That principle of justice is the foundation stone of this Charter. That principle is the guiding spirit by which it must be carried out—not by words alone but by continued concrete acts of good will.

It (the UN Charter) has set up machinery of international cooperation which men and nations of good will can use to help correct the economic and social causes for conflict. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 91, pt. 5, p. 6979.)

In an address to Congress on the presentation of the Charter for ratification on June 2, 1945, the President further stated:

In your deliberations, I hope you will consider not only the words of the Charter but also the spirit which gives it meaning and life. The objectives of the Charter are clear. It seeks to prevent future wars. It seeks to settle international disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with principles of justice. * * * It seeks to remove the economic and social causes of international conflict and unrest. * * * This Charter points down the only road to enduring peace. (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 92, pt. 5, p. 7119.)

It is clearly evident from these statements the extraordinary faith and confidence that was placed in this peace-enforcing agency less than 2 years ago. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the same nations who created this peace-enforcing organization 2 years ago have as yet been unable to write the peace which this Charter would enforce.

Nevertheless, Mr. Chairman, its proponents asserted that although the peace-enforcing agency was created before the peace was written, disputes might arise in the interim which could properly be settled by this agency. Now we have such a dispute in the Greek-Turkey situation but we are told that UN is not prepared to meet it. So in spite of what has been claimed, it is obvious that UN can not or will not function as of today.

Based upon the foregoing, I assert that two conclusions are inescapable:

First, we have not been able to write a final peace because under our bipartisan foreign policy we have permitted Russian aggression to extend over such widespread areas that Stalin will not even discuss peace except upon his own terms. We cannot agree to Russia's terms even though we are largely to blame for Communist expansion; and, second, the United Nations Organization will not function because there is no peace written which it can enforce and it cannot function in other respects because the Russians will prevent it through the use of their veto.

Therefore, it is clear that our present difficulties cannot be resolved within the framework of the United Nations Organization. Neither can they be resolved within the framework of a treaty of peace which has not yet been written. So we are left with about three alternatives:

First, We may withdraw in frustration from further peace discussions as we did following World War I; or

Second. We may proceed unilaterally as contemplated by the pending resolution; or

Third. We may join with other peace-loving nations of the world and meet directly the issue of a Russian expansion in all parts of the world, and treat it as we find it—one big inseparable problem—which cannot be settled by piecemeal procedure.

Mr. Chairman, I conclude with the assertion that we ought to let the American people decide which of these courses we should follow. Regardless of protestations to the contrary, this problem is too big and too vital to be decided by the bewildering and baffling process which has characterized our bipartisan foreign policy during the past 2 years. I think the people have had enough of our adventures in foreign policy by the expedient and makeshift method. I think they have had enough diplomacy by trial and error. I think the people are tired of crisis after crisis and emergency following emergency which have prostrated our peace efforts. I think the time has come when the people are entitled to a forthright, honest statement of aims. They ought to know where we are going and when we expect to get there. They ought to be fully advised of the burdens we intend to place upon them—both present and prospective.

The pending proposal does not give our people that kind of information. It is another expedient by piecemeal procedure. It has no definite limitations. It is another strike in the dark.

Why should the American people be led to believe that you can stop the spread of communism or Russian expansion by stopping it in Greece and Turkey—when we are presently confronted with the same situation in at least a dozen other countries of the world. Mr. Chairman, I believe we ought to tell the American people the whole story. We ought to tell them that our bipartisan foreign policy has been utterly ineffective, and needs complete revision. We ought to tell them that there is only one real way of stopping Russian aggression and that is to meet it head on. We ought to tell them that it will cost more than \$400,000,000 to stop the Russian tide. We ought to tell them that it may cost four billion or forty billion and maybe another war.

After we have honestly and frankly informed the American people of the situation which confronts them, we should let them make the final decision.

Mr. Chairman, I conclude with this final point. The Russians are where they are today because they have had one clear objective from the outset and have pursued it vigorously and relentlessly and without deviation. Contrast this to our policy. We started out with high principles and objectives—often enunciated but seldom followed. We gave in to the Russians at every turn of the road. Each time we gave in, they fitted a new cog in their plan. We have talked—the Russians have acted. Now we have reached the crossroads and our statesmen propose that we cure the dilemma by giving the patient Castoria when he should be given castor oil.

Our problem is to stop expanding Communist domination on a dozen fronts. We propose to stop it by a half-hearted attack on one front.

There is only one way to meet this problem, Mr. Chairman, and that is to assess it in its entirety and attack it in its entirety. If we do that, I think we will come to the inevitable conclusion that the only way to stop Russian aggression is to move Stalin back to his pre-war boundaries and that any other sporadic action will merely prolong the day when we have to meet this problem squarely. Moving Stalin back may be a big order. But if it is a big order today, it will be a much bigger one 5 years from today.

I repeat again that we ought not move until we make this reassessment of all the facts. Let us make one decision to meet one issue and then pursue our course irrevocably.

If we adopt the present diplomatic monstrosity we are merely adding another blunder to an already colossal list of failures in bipartisan foreign policy.

(Mr. BENNETT of Michigan asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman from Ohio is recognized for 30 minutes.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, the measure before us for consideration is the legislation necessary to implement the message given the joint session of the Congress in this chamber on March 12 by the President of the United States. This message presented to the American people and to us who represent them a new view of our place among the nations which, whether we desire it or not, we are called upon to occupy. It is a place of great responsibility which will require a new form of courage, of vision, of wisdom and of faith. So far-reaching do I believe the results of our deliberations to be that I should be doing less than my part did I not say to you in utmost solemnity that upon our decision in these next days hangs the future not alone of our Nation, but of our civilization and possibly even of man upon the earth.

In my study of world conditions and our relation to other countries during the less than 200 years of our national life, as a background for decision in my search for guidance in the records of our past, I found much that steadied me, much that gave me hope that even at this moment we will do what other Congresses have done: Lay aside our personal biases, our regional prejudices, and consider the problem before us from the broad view of what freemen accept as their responsibility before Almighty God. This is not the first time a Congress has had to face decisions that have increased our influence in the world beyond our borders, nor is it the first time we have had to make decisions involving us with the people of these very same areas.

You will recall the widespread revolts of the early nineteenth century against the selfish domination of tyrants and

kings. It was in 1823, only 8 years after the battle of Waterloo, that the countries to the south of us freed themselves from the bonds of the Spanish Empire. We were the first to recognize their independence. And we went still further—we issued a warning to all the world to keep hands off. It was in his address to the first session of the Eighteenth Congress convening on December 1, 1823, that President Monroe addressed his message containing the paragraphs that later became known as the Monroe Doctrine.

We were but a small country then scarce 50 years old, with a population of but 10,000,000. Mexico was still ruler over vast areas of our present land. We hadn't even inventoried our Louisiana Purchase. But, Mr. Chairman, we knew what we proposed to do. We laid down an American policy, and though the world of that day was incomparably stronger than were we, no one then or since has violated it.

It was in the turmoil of that long ago time when Greece was struggling to free herself from the bonds of the then powerful Ottoman Empire that Daniel Webster, a giant of his time, arose in the House of Representatives to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment.

In defense of his resolution this farseeing legislator said—and I ask you to note how vividly it applies to this moment:

The age is a peculiar one—it has a marked and striking character, and the position and circumstances of our country are no less so. * * * There has occurred no age that may be compared with the present, whether in the interest excited by what now is or the prospect it holds out as to what it shall be. The attitude of the United States, meanwhile, is solemn and impressive.

I would ask you, Mr. Chairman, if his words do not meet the conditions in which we now find ourselves. I suggest it would be well if, for a moment or two, we listen to this great American, remembering that the United States of which he spoke was a pygmy compared with the Great Britain and the Russia of his day.

The wise, sagacious, foresighted Mr. Webster continued:

Ours is now the Great Republic of the earth; its free institutions are matured by the experiment of half a century. * * * As a free Government, as the freest Government, its growth and strength compel it, willing or unwilling, to stand forth to the contemplation of the world. We cannot obscure ourselves if we would: a part we must take, honorable or dishonorable, in all that is done in the civilized world.

Mr. Webster continues with a picture of the Holy Alliance that had been formed by Alexander I of Russia and the restored Bourbon monarchy of France to uphold the divine right of kings. Great Britain would have no truck with this. She looked upon the Holy Alliance as a device by which Russia might achieve military power over all Europe.

Spoke that great statesman one-hundred-and-twenty-odd years ago:

What was the natural tendency of such an alliance? It was to put an end to all nations as such. Extend the principles of that alliance and the nations are no more—there are only kings.

Developing his theme he continued:

Are we prepared to resist this doctrine? The timid shrink and succumb. If it is not resisted here, and in one other spot, it will be resisted nowhere. If there is no vigor in the Saxon race to withstand it, there is none to be looked for elsewhere * * * The radical defeat of this system—

The Holy Alliance—

is that it divides civilization. * * * The harmony which has ever prevailed either in Europe or America has rested on the principle of the mutual interdependence of nations. * * * Take this away and there is nothing left but the sword.

Those words spoken in the Nation's Congress one-hundred-and-twenty-odd years ago can well be repeated in the very midst of this deliberation.

It was feared in 1823 by the United States and England that the Holy Alliance would intervene on behalf of Spain's efforts to regain her lost American colonies.

In reference to President Monroe's pronouncement, Mr. Webster said:

Whatever we do in this matter it behooves us to do on principle. If, on the subject of the rumored combination against South America, we take any stand, it must be on principle that that stand is taken. The near approach, or the remote distance of danger, may change policy but cannot touch principle, and the same reasons of an abstract kind that would lead us to protest in the case of the whole southern continent binds us to protest in the case of the smallest republic in Italy.

Some Members of the Eighteenth Congress expressed fear that Mr. Webster's resolution might bring us into embroilment with Turkey or with the powerful Holy Alliance. To this, among other things, he says:

Shall we be withheld from an honest expression of liberal feeling in the cause of freedom for fear of giving umbrage to some member of the Holy Alliance? Surely we are not yet prepared to purchase their smiles by a sacrifice of every manly principle.

Emphasizing the need of giving aid to Greece, Mr. Webster says:

They look to us as the great Republic of the earth * * * and they ask us by our common faith whether we can forget that they are struggling, as we once struggled, for what we now so happily enjoy? I cannot say, sir, that they will succeed: that rests with Heaven. But for myself, sir, if I should hear tomorrow that they have failed * * * I should still reflect, with the most heartfelt satisfaction that I have asked you, in the name of 7,000,000 of freemen, that you would give them at least the cheering of one friendly voice.

That was the Eighteenth Congress in 1823-24. But could any words be more adapted to the Eightieth Congress in 1947 than Mr. Webster's:

There has occurred no age that may be compared with the present?

If there is any difference, it is only in degree. In the 1820's only segments of the world were involved. Today there is no nook or cranny to which a man may

go to escape the responsibility to the great future that is his.

The men and women who faced our Revolution and our Civil War felt themselves in the toils of events beyond all others. Certainly we who have experienced two cataclysmic world wars feel events have pyramided upon us—that now it is our turn. Yes; there are those among us who in fear would dissent, but our people are a strong and virile people, who will face responsibility with as great a courage and as sound a method as those of any age, once they understand clearly what that responsibility is. They cannot be expected to choose wisely if the issues are beclouded and confused. But if we give our people the picture as it really is fearlessly and with complete faith in their considered judgment, if we, as fearlessly and with unwavering faith, accept the responsibility that is America's for the continuance of freedom upon the earth, we need have no fear as to their courage, their vision, and their faith.

What is it that confronts us as a nation? What is the decision we must make? It is clearly this: Shall we accept a place of responsibility toward the continuance of freedom upon earth, or shall we let it go by default?

It was on March 12, 1947, that President Truman appeared before a joint session of this Eightieth Congress with a message which has been called by some the Truman doctrine. It differed most dramatically from President Monroe's in that while the earlier one was scarcely taken notice of at the time, President Truman electrified the world. Why? Because the most powerful nation on the earth had spoken to the whole wide world. What did that message say? It did not lay down the law. It did not preach. It did not threaten. It claimed nothing for itself. It attempted to take nothing from others. It simply reminded a sick, struggling, and fearful world that the belief held by the United States in the right of free choice is a vital, unselfish, and living belief. That to those whose desire for freedom is threatened, who wish to remain free, we, who believe in freedom, will give help as we are able and in such manner as may be decided upon.

Neither we, the Members of this Congress, nor the American people, can proceed intelligently without an understanding of the question that confronts us, the nature of our times, the vices and virtues not only of our principal opponent, but our own as well.

The immense complexity of today's world has been curiously reduced to the simple fact that unparalleled world wars and revolutions of a single generation have brought it about that there are left but two great powers: ourselves and the Soviet Union. Neither one of us is very well prepared to take responsibility for peace in the world, but whether we are ready or not, the responsibility is upon us.

Let us look at the situation objectively, fearlessly and above all hopefully. It is very apparent that we stand at the opposite poles of thought and we might as well face the fact so evident to anyone

who reads no more than the simple little books Stalin has written about Lenin and about communism. We might as well face up to it and recognize that the Soviet is a proselytizing group bent upon converting all the nations of the world to the Communist way of life. We might better remember that nothing is more dangerous than the true fanatic. He is that most to be feared of all men—the man who would cut your throat not to do you harm, but to do you good. Such is the practice of the zealous Communist.

We, on the other hand, think quite differently. It is true that we believe in the spiritual and the material wisdom of democracy as we define it. We have not forced others to attempt it knowing that it is not a form of government but a state of mind, a state of being, into which certain peoples are not ready to enter because their inheritance and environment are such that they do not yet understand it. Is it not true that we have always felt that this world of ours could be a little like Heaven—a place of “many mansions”—in which the inhabitants of each went about the business of living in their own way, worshiping their own gods and setting up such governments as they desire. We did not admire Czarist Russia, but we got along with her. Unfortunately, Communist Russia makes that tolerance difficult if not impossible.

In considering further the situation in which we find ourselves side by side with the Soviet Union, it would be wise to remember that this other titan is two and one-half times larger than the United States with these added satellite countries beyond her borders. “Satellite,” as it happens, is the precise word. Satellites, by a compulsion of physics which they cannot resist, move in the orbits of the greater stars. Her still undeveloped riches are fabulous though at the moment we are stronger than she is.

The United States' capacity for production is greater than the rest of the world, and this although we have only 6 percent of the world population. Nor are we alone in the struggle—for others are with us. If the worst should come and the world be split asunder into two groups we would have an enormous advantage over Russia if our resources were combined with those of Britain. The United States News of May 2 just past gives this very interesting comparison of present resources on that basis:

Cropland: 67 percent of the world's cropland against Russia's 33 percent.

Coal: 84 percent against Russia's 16 percent.

Industrial production: 85 percent against Russia's 15 percent.

Steel: 85 percent against Russia's 15 percent.

Railroad mileage: 85 percent against Russia's 15 percent.

Electric power: 89 percent against Russia's 11 percent.

Petroleum: 90 percent against Russia's 10 percent.

Shipping: 97 percent against Russia's 3 percent.

It is my firm conviction that we can remain stronger if we invoke the use of our full strength. Whether the world stands with us or kneels to the Soviet is more a matter of our character than of

our resources. It is a matter of our vision, our will, our understanding, our obstinacy—and, above all, our willingness less to die for our beliefs than to live for them. Without question, we are the most powerful people that inhabit the earth.

The Russian military and industrial potential is probably greater than our own, but not realizable for sometime to come. The key to Communist action is their passionately fanatic belief that the world must become wholly Communist. They do not propose to rest until that moment. No revolution, no infiltration is considered successful until it has set up a Communist state and started a revolution in another country. Whether we like it or not, that is the cold fact stated many times by their leaders.

At this moment all the world is not under the Russian heel, and there is ample evidence that all the world does not want to be under it and that it looks to us for leadership. With us they may survive; without us they are lost. The only real weapon Russia has is communism. This weapon is effective only in the presence of hopelessness, despair, disease, and anarchy. True that the wars have conditioned the world in such wise as to make it ready for the virus of totalitarian controls. When a man is starving, and his wife and child with him, he will turn to anyone who promises him food. In a way one might say that communism is a system of receivership in bankruptcy, that it takes over when a state no longer serves its people's needs or when its rulers are so blind that they do not attempt to serve them. It is a negative system, largely made possible by default. It is the last alternative left the despairing. But this weapon of communism, this promise of bread, loses effectiveness if means are found so to strengthen the sick body so that it becomes resistant to infection.

What have we to give? Indeed, what is it that the President in his message asked us to make possible? A few of our soldiers especially qualified for assignment to training duty, technicians, specialists, trained men and trained women to go over to this strategically important area and prove that we so truly believe that freedom is an essential part of living, that we are willing and ready to give of our knowledge and our skills that the people of Greece and of Turkey may not only return to productivity of their own but that they may eat their bread in freedom and in peace.

Stalin does not believe that we have the will, the tenacity, the purposefulness, and the concrete faith in our own way of life to give ourselves to the spread of freedom in opposition to communism. He does not think that we are willing to make the necessary sacrifices to use such of our wealth as the task calls for. He believes that he can win by our default. He believes that because most of the people of the world are poor, sick, and hopeless he can win by doing little, while we can win only by doing a great deal. The Russians have an awesome respect for our military and industrial abilities, but they regard us as childish, a spoiled people unhardened by privation who, when not directly attacked militarily, will not

shoulder the burdens of world leadership. They believe that we will not face up to the facts and that we will not act. If they are right we shall ultimately come into catastrophic conflict with them. If they are wrong we can perhaps prevent the conflict and play the part I believe we, as a Nation, were destined to play, leading the world out of despair toward a new era of happiness and prosperity. The task is almost superhuman—the costs will be high—but I would ask you, is any cost short of the loss of honor too high to prevent war?

Let me put it this way: What price would not the families of our war dead and of our brave wounded pay to have their men back alive and well? In our hearts we know that we must pay for everything we want and that in the bazaars of life ambition, fame, success, achievement, riches, war, peace—all have their price. Therefore, if we want a peaceful, orderly world we know we can have it only if we pay for it; otherwise we shall lose not only all possibility of peace but also our freedom and the freedom of the world.

I say to you with a deep sincerity that if we turn our faces away from the road that lies ahead so clearly outlined by the frantic determination of the greatest of all totalitarian states, we and all those who reach out to us in hope of freedom will have to see the world we have dreamed of tortured and destroyed by inches before our eyes. And the last that will succumb will be ourselves.

It is quite true what men have said from this well that only a strong America can lead the world. I am too practically minded not to agree wholeheartedly with this self-evident premise that unless we pull ourselves together and stop this utterly unworthy internal strife so that our farms and factories can produce to capacity and the results be transported wherever there is need in accordance with such policies as we may decide upon, we are of little use to ourselves or to the world. And it takes strength to do this, not just a visible, tangible strength, but also strength of spirit, strength of determination, strength of integrity and honor, strength above all things in the matter of our faith and in the destiny we must hold inviolate. It takes strength to be willing to sacrifice comfort, ease, luxury. Have we lost confidence in ourselves? Have we become devitalized? Are we so confused that we can no longer see clearly the implications of these grave problems with which we are faced?

Granted that the world of Daniel Webster, when men traveled by slow stages, was extremely a different world from ours. Why—now with a bit of a tailwind I can come back from my Ohio district to Washington in a little over an hour, and all else in proportion—but the same momentous questions face us.

I have said before that this is a complicated world but, in some respects, a simple one. This is certainly true of it in its strategical aspects. There are a few lands and islands that are the strategic keys to much of the world. Among them are Greece and Turkey. It is rather terrifying, even in retrospect, to real-

ize that during the last war our national salvation depended, perhaps, upon two tiny bits of land whose combined area is less than that of a Texas county. If Malta and Gibraltar had fallen into the hands of Germany and Italy before we entered the war, it is unlikely that a war would have continued into which we might enter.

Definitely aware of the risks involved, but unafraid of them, I see this bill as one designed to accomplish a number of objects: First. To keep two of the most strategically important countries of the world in the free nations column rather than giving them over to totalitarian domination by default.

Second. To give Greece and Turkey a breathing spell in which to reorganize their economies and begin to move toward putting themselves on their own feet.

Third. To keep open the markets of the Mediterranean and the Near East for ourselves and all others who trade there and who trade with us directly and indirectly.

On all these counts, therefore, I am for aid and assistance to Greece and Turkey. Looking back over the last 30 years it is clear that twice within a generation we have been saved not by any wisdom or foresight of our own, but simply by the grace of God, in that others held the enemy until we could come upon the battlefield and turn the tide. Now there are no others.

The time has come when we must depend less upon good fortune, more upon our brains; when we must be forehanded instead of empty-headed; when we must lead and not follow. I am well aware that the task before us is of staggering dimensions and this bill but a beginning. But I am certain we can do nothing for ourselves or for the world by deceiving ourselves into believing we can be saved by incantations or by libations to the gods. But since when have Americans faltered because a task was hard?

The world we share with other men who look to us challenges us with every new dawn to take hold of reality with all the old thrill of adventure, the certainty of attainment and the unshakable faith that the men and women who built the America we live in knew. Yes, these men fought when they had to with their women loading their muskets, but they won through with their farms, their schools, their churches, and their village stores. These same simple methods freemen use are the best and most effective weapons with which the expansion of totalitarian domination can be stopped. Yes, it will cost to take them over there and show the people what freemen do with such weapons, with such tools. But the question is not just how can we avoid war, or only how can we stop totalitarian expansion. The question is, in addition, How truly do we believe that freedom is worth whatever price life demands for it save only honor? How passionately do we want freedom and peace for ourselves and for the world? How ready are we to sacrifice our superficial comforts, our ease, our selfish greeds to the great future? How vividly aware are we that in very truth he who loveth his life overmuch shall lose it?

Have we considered the results if we live up to Stalin's expectations and do nothing? Are we going to let freedom go by default or are we going to gird our souls for a battle with weapons that are an unshakable faith, mixed with bread, a few machines, a few military and other technicians and specialists, all bound together with integrity and the shining force of character and an unwavering belief that men can and will choose freedom if and when they have a choice?

Lincoln, with deep and simple wisdom, one day announced that this country could not exist half slave and half free. If we lift the veils of selfishness and fear from our eyes and look out across the present world we shall see without the shadow of a doubt that the world cannot exist half slave and half free. What sort of a people are we who prate of peace and whisper of more war—for the future of the whole wide world is in our hands?

Let us not minimize the greatness of this moment for us and for all mankind.

Above all, let us not turn away from the clearly defined road that lies before us, a stormy road, perhaps, but filled with the glory of struggle and of attainment. The moment of our choosing is upon us. Shall we turn off into the by-path to which so many beckon us, or shall we once again lift our eyes to the stars, and, putting our hand into the hand of God, set out upon the road of destiny?

Mr. Chairman, it is my earnest hope that this House may pass H. R. 2616 overwhelmingly.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentlewoman's time has expired.

In accordance with the gentlewoman's request, without objection, she may revise and extend her remarks.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RICHARDS].

(Mr. RICHARDS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, may I congratulate the gentlewoman from Ohio on the very able and sincere address she has just made.

Mr. Chairman, the President, in his address before the Congress on March 12, called to our attention the grave situation confronting the world today, asserting that "the foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved."

The proposal before the House is the answer of the Foreign Affairs Committee to the President's appeal, and in the words of our report is "aimed at the establishment and maintenance of political and economic security" in the Mediterranean area.

This is not just another bill to provide relief for some foreign country. The sentimental attachment and admiration of our people for the Greek people and their legitimate aspirations, alone, would not, to my way of thinking, warrant the very serious step proposed here today.

There are some who have criticized the lack of firmness and forthrightness

in our foreign policy in the past. Such a charge cannot be sustained against this bill, or against President Truman who proposed it, or against Secretary Marshall who has wholeheartedly endorsed it.

This country has stumbled into two world wars because foreign dictators and would-be dictators did not have a clear picture of where we stood. To say the least, they will not misunderstand us if we pass this legislation. It is supremely necessary that they do not misunderstand.

No man knows whether this aid program will prevent another world war. But it is my confident belief that it will help in that direction. The last war cost the United States, in addition to untold blood and suffering, \$400,000,000,000. My support of this bill, which provides for one-tenth of 1 percent of that outlay of the taxpayers' money, is predicated on my belief that the outlay will prove to be a good investment, a reasonable insurance premium against another war.

The United States is the most powerful Nation on earth, but we will never escape another war unless we show a willingness to go to war if challenged. War will not come to us if we accept the idea of possible war and prepare for it.

War is certain to come if the United States fails to challenge Russia in her policy of expansion and aggression. If we appease and back away as Russia expands, communism will finally become so strong that we must fight for our way of life and our national existence. The issue here is whether or not we are going to fold our tents and silently slip away to our own hemisphere and let the slow, deadly cancer of dictatorship and the superstate eat the vitals out of weak nations on the other side of the world and finally spread to our own shores when it is too late.

No Congress could be faced with a greater challenge. The fate of our own people and free people everywhere may rest upon our decision.

It is a time-honored axiom that every national foreign policy is selfish and I would be less than frank if I did not admit that I support this bill mainly because I believe it is calculated to further the best interests of our country.

There is no obligation on our part to underwrite the British Empire. We are not obligated to step into Greece as Britain steps out. The fact remains, however, that if Britain is to continue her historic role in Greece, the United States must lend her the money to do the job, and we have already loaned her more than she can ever pay. It is better for us to spend the money, do this job, take the credit and the blame, and let the world know that from henceforth we are moving on our own power and not on the tail of the British kite.

The history of nations will not reveal more national unselfishness than has been exhibited by the United States during and since the last world war. We have generously carried on our shoulders three-fourths of the relief burden of the world.

There has been exhibited, too, clear realization by the President, by the Con-

gress, and by all of the people of the United States that if the world is to have a just and lasting peace, it must come through international understanding and cooperation. This Nation laid the first stone in the formation of the United Nations. We have cooperated 100 percent to make that cooperative movement a success.

We had hoped all along that Russia would cooperate to bring world understanding through UN, but it is clear now that Russia never intended to cooperate. She has refused our invitations to join even one of the following movements for better understanding: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization; World Bank and Monetary Fund; Food and Agricultural Organization; International Civil Aeronautical Organization; International Labor Organization; International Refugee Organization; World Health Organization.

Secretary of State Marshall has just returned empty-handed from the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Moscow. He has been unable to secure Russian agreement to a peace treaty with Austria, without which the foundation for economic recovery in Europe cannot be built. At every point he has been balked by Russia. His patience has been sorely taxed and the patience of the American people has worn thin. One can come to no other conclusion but that the Soviets prefer economic chaos in Europe in order that communism may spread by means of political chaos which is sure to follow.

Charges have been preferred against the President that, through his proposal for aid for Greece and Turkey, he bypassed the United Nations. It may have been better for form's sake to submit the proposition first to the United Nations, but, in any event, such action would have only been an empty gesture. Whether we had first gone to UN or not, the need for our doing the thing proposed here would have remained.

The important question is not whether the United States should consult the United Nations before dealing with the Mediterranean emergency in its own way. The important query is: What is wrong within the world organization which makes it necessary to do so?

The pretense that Communist Russia and capitalist United States can be good friends is now ended. That's what Lenin and Stalin have taught all along but we've just begun to realize it.

The sooner we realize that Russia did not join the United Nations in good faith, the better.

Suppose we had put this proposal for a halt to Soviet aggression before the Security Council. Does any Member of this Congress for 1 minute think that Russia would have agreed to any remedial action by the Council? The rotten pillar in the UN edifice is that any one of the five great powers can prevent, by the veto, whatever the majority wants to do. The single nation veto power was the price the world had to pay for Russian participation in UN.

The testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee shows further that the United Nations set-up is not equipped to handle the situation in Greece and Tur-

key. First, thanks to Russia, UN has no police force yet which could be used for bringing order in Greece. Neither is the World Bank able to handle the situation through loans at the present time. Even if funds were available through the Bank, Greece could not meet its collateral requirements for a loan.

It is plain as day that the United States is going to have to meet this challenge alone and provide this aid for Greece and Turkey or nothing is going to be done. Russia hopes that nothing will be done. The result would be to force Greece and Turkey into the arms of communism. Russia would then be free to push across the Dardanelles for the second phase of her drive for world revolution.

It is not necessary to call to the attention of this Congress again the consistent policy of territorial aggression on the part of Russia since World War II. Figures speak for themselves. First Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland were swallowed up. Finland was reduced in size and then dominated. Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria are tools in her hands. Hungary is prostrate. Germany, Austria, and Italy would have been overrun had it not been for American troops there.

The Soviet Government since the recent war has extended its boundaries or sphere of influence continuously. The following figures showing countries and populations either annexed or controlled since World War II by the action of the Soviet Government are provided by Mr. Bullitt in his book, *The Great Globe Itself*:

Europe:			
Poland.....	35,000,000		
Eastern Germany.....	25,000,000		
Rumania.....	20,000,000		
Yugoslavia.....	15,700,000		
Hungary.....	10,000,000		
Bulgaria.....	6,300,000		
Lithuania.....	2,000,000		
Latvia.....	2,000,000		
Estonia.....	1,000,000		
Albania.....	1,000,000		
Total.....	118,000,000		
Asia:			
North China (area held by Chinese Soviet Red Army).....	75,000,000		
Manchuria.....	45,000,000		
North Korea.....	10,000,000		
Total.....	130,000,000		

In addition, the following European countries are today under partial control by the Soviet Government, and threatened with complete control by the Soviet Government:

Czechoslovakia.....	15,000,000
Austria.....	7,000,000
Finland.....	3,800,000
Total.....	25,800,000

If the Soviet Government should be permitted to consolidate its control over these 118,000,000 Europeans and 130,000,000 Asiatics—leaving aside the other 25,000,000 Europeans it now controls partially—the manpower in the hands of the Soviet dictator would be far more than doubled. He would rule 418,000,000 people.

Mr. Chairman, we fought and won a great war with Russia as an ally. We

had hoped that our common bond of suffering and sacrifice might make it possible for us to live in the same world with Russia in a spirit of understanding of each other's problems. The world should know, though, that if the United Nations is dead, it is Stalin and communism that delivered the fatal stroke, and not the United States.

We recognize the right of Russians to choose their own form of government, but we do not recognize the right of Russia to undermine our own. Neither do we recognize Russia's right to defeat the principle of self-determination for all nations, large or small, in matters of self-government.

President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill fully understood the probability that the communistic ideology would conflict with free democratic institutions during the postwar period so they sought to evade trouble by seeking to get Stalin's adherence to certain principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter. The first three points of this charter read:

First. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.

Second. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Third. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

In 1933, when the United States first recognized the present Russian Government, Litvinov, the Soviet Ambassador, signed the following pledge in the White House:

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories, or possessions.

2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquility, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States.

We have been disillusioned. This House has had evidence on numerous occasions, brought out by the Committee on Un-American Activities, that the Communist party of Russia has an agency and disciples here in the United States trying to overthrow our Government by subversive means.

We might just as well recognize the purposes of the dictator in the Kremlin now. We have read of the philosophy of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. We know of their avowed purpose to bring world revolution regardless of the means used. We had hoped, however, that the revolution in Russia having attained its purpose, would not seek to force its doctrine on other nations.

It all adds up to this: We have got to stop Russia now or fight her later on. I do not say that war with Russia is inevitable but I do say that war is sure to come with Russia later on unless we show a firm hand and a stout heart now. To understand communism and its ultimate goal, we may well study the writings and teachings of Lenin and Stalin themselves. We will then know why it is so vital not only to our own security, but to the people of the world as well, that this bill be passed and aid be sent to Greece and Turkey now.

Here are some direct quotations from the pens of the master architects of the world communistic state:

A morality taken from outside of human society does not exist for us; it is a fraud. For us, morality is subordinated to the interests of the workers' class struggle. * * * It is necessary * * * to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of the truth. (Lenin, Religion, New York edition, 195; In The Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism.)

No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be though of without terror and violence. (Lenin.)

Religion is the opium of the people. (Lenin.)

We are living not merely in a state, but in a system of states; and it is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue for a long period side by side with imperialist states. Ultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable. (Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 24, p. 122.)

From the time a Socialist government is established in any one country, questions must be determined * * * solely from the point of view of what is best for the development and the consolidation of the Socialist Revolution which has already begun. The question whether it is possible to undertake at once a revolutionary war must be answered solely from the point of view of actual conditions and the interest of the Socialist Revolution which has already begun. (Lenin, Twenty-one Theses, January 20, 1918.)

It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of Socialism or of communism in general. What is needed is the ability to find at any moment that particular link in the chain which must be grasped with all one's might to gain control of the whole chain and pass without a hitch to the next link. (Collected Works of Lenin, first Russian edition, vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 379.)

Dictatorship means nothing more or less than the power which directly rests on violence, which is not limited by any laws or restricted by any absolute rules. (Stalin, Problems of Leninism.)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, a domination that is untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoys the sympathy of the toiling and exploited masses. (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 50.)

The revolutionist will accept a reform in order to use it as a means wherewith to link legal work with illegal work, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified. (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 101.)

To me, it is set forth clearly in the writings of Lenin and Stalin that they believe that war is inevitable between the Soviet Union and the non-Communist states.

Mr. Chairman, the march of communism must be checked now. Strategically the Mediterranean area is well suited to the establishment of our new defense line.

From a political and sentimental standpoint, the Greek people are well worth our aid. The history of the Greek people is a glorious one. This little nation is the cradle of freedom.

For 2,500 years Greece has been the focal point of clashing international interests. As far back as the fifth century B. C., she repulsed the Persians under Xerxes and ushered in the great age of Greek culture.

Phillip and Alexander conquered her and spread hellenic culture into Africa and Asia.

From time to time she was overrun by Vandals, Ostrogoths, Huns, Avars, Slavic tribes, Sicilians, Franks, and Turks. She was raided, sacked, and burned.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Turks had dispossessed their remaining rivals and held all Greece for over two centuries.

Thereafter for a century, in her exhaustion, she was exploited in turn by the Russians, French, British, and Germans.

In the recent World War she fought and was winning against Italian invasion when the Germans came in and overwhelmed her.

Through the travail of centuries, the evidence is overwhelming that the Greek people clung to their love of liberty and from time to time recaptured their birthright of democracy.

Greece has again become the focal point of world interest. Recent Russian foreign policy in this area appears to seek dominance over both Turkey and Greece. The United States now proposes to counteract the Russian advance by taking over British responsibilities in the area. As the British step out, either Russia or the United States will step in.

The issue is much greater than a mere border dispute among the Balkan states, or the type of government Greece shall have. The issue in the last analysis is whether Russia and communism are to control the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

As to Turkey, the same sentimental considerations do not obtain, it is true, as in the case of Greece. The plain unvarnished fact is that considerations of our own national self-interest should induce us to bolster Turkey's military establishment.

On account of Turkey's hesitancy about entering the late war on our side, American sympathy is not so pronounced in her case. Neither is her serious plight fully understood. As a matter of fact, both Greece and Turkey face the same danger and from the standpoint of military strategy are part of the same picture. The Russians seek bases on Turkish territory. They have demanded an agreement which would in effect place the Dardanelles under Russia control. It would be folly to bolster Greece with a weak and vulnerable Turkey on her flank, or visa versa.

Mr. Chairman, the United States wants peace. The question now uppermost in

the minds of our people is whether this bill is the road to peace or the road to war. Only God can read the future and only God can answer that question. In our circumscribed finite minds, the future can only be judged by the past.

I clearly remember the year 1914 when it was not dreamed that the United States could be drawn into the First World War, then raging. But in 1917 when it appeared that Germany would win and liberty die, we went in with flags flying, though unprepared. We won that conflict after terrible cost of blood and money. When I returned home from France, confused and disgusted, I was resolved to do what I could to see that this Nation be never again involved in the quarrels, jealousies, and hates of nations on the other side of the world. My thoughts growing out of disillusionment then were the thoughts of the vast majority of our people.

The United States drew into her shell again and sought to insulate herself from future world conflicts. I myself supported that policy. Nevertheless, when Hitler threatened to dominate the world and wreck our way of life once again this Nation rose up in arms, and we were victorious again at a cost far greater than in the first instance.

By now we should have learned our lesson. The only way to prevent our involvement in another world war, with communism on one side and democracy as we know it on the other, is to prevent that war from coming about. And we will never prevent that war from coming about by a cowardly shrinking policy now.

Many, many years ago, in the infancy of our Republic, it was in this same Mediterranean area that a great American leader challenged the Barbary pirates with these words, "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." Today, when we are strong, it is our bounden duty to repeat that slogan to the masters of the Kremlin. We have appeased and we have sought to please Russia, only to find that each new concession called for another. Today calls for more courageous action. We must either go into the Mediterranean or get out of Europe. And if we get out of Europe now, we will not be able to stay out. We will have to go back as we have done before and pay the cost of our folly.

Mr. Chairman, the courageous step proposed here to implement our foreign policy may not prevent war. God grant that it may. Another world war in this atomic age would be the supreme tragedy for America and all mankind.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I know the gentleman feels as I do about the United Nations. I am wondering, however, if the gentleman does not agree that even though we concede that it cannot function in this instance there is still in this country a considerable bloc of public opinion that feels that notwithstanding that chance we should at least make the effort.

Mr. RICHARDS. I would not dispute the gentleman's statement. I think we

have by the Vandenberg amendment provided for that. We say in this bill that we are willing to step out of this thing if the United Nations will take hold and handle the problem. There is no doubt about that.

This is a serious matter, and I can readily understand how Members could be troubled about this legislation. I am not one who would doubt the honesty, integrity, and patriotism of the gentleman who has just questioned me, just because we disagree.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I use as my text the text that I heard the gentleman from New Jersey use on occasion, although perhaps not exactly in these words: "Destroy not the ancient landmarks thy fathers have set."

You know, we have quoted the Bible here on the one hand and carried machine guns in the other so much during this debate that I am sure you will pardon me for quoting a verse of Scripture.

The gentleman who preceded me referred to stabbing the United Nations in the back. The Cleveland Plain Dealer in a paragraph the other day said:

As we understand it, after we get our passport visa, travelers' checks, and pistol permit for Greece, we are to stop by and tell the United Nations we are on our way.

The gentleman who preceded me also referred to the Vandenberg proposal. The Vandenberg proposal merely emphasizes our disdain for the United Nations, which we will permit to function only if it does what we want when we want it done for us. It is not so much a foreign policy as indulgence in a highly expensive prejudice.

Mr. Chairman, the apologists for the Truman doctrine, which the Truman administration wants the House of Representatives to rubber-stamp, try to make it appear that it does not bypass the United Nations. Everybody who has bothered to read the bill which the Truman administration is trying to steamroller through Congress with cries of "crisis" knows that of course the bill bypasses the United Nations. It is obvious on the face of it. It is obvious to everybody in the United States, and it is obvious to the United Nations. What the United Nations membership thinks about it was made clear in a poll conducted by the United Nations World magazine. The magazine questioned 83 diplomats from 38 countries. Eighty-two percent of the diplomats replied that the Truman policy hurt the prestige of the United Nations. The magazine reported:

Sixty-eight regretted, as a matter of principle, that the United States did not come before the United Nations with the Greek and Turkish problems. They considered the prestige of the United Nations seriously threatened, and expressed hope that the United States would make more than a token gesture in the very near future to bring the whole Greek and Turkish matter before the United Nations.

Of course, the prestige of the United Nations is seriously threatened by the Truman doctrine. If the Congress approves the Truman doctrine it will be dealing a blow to the United Nations

which may well be fatal. The United Nations is our best chance for peace. It is my considered opinion that the Truman doctrine points straight down the road to war.

Mr. Chairman, the House has been forced by President Truman to come to a decision on the basic foundation principles of our Nation's foreign policy. In the proposed Greek-Turkish military alliance bill, we have presented to us a radical departure in our foreign policy because that bill calls for a system of military alliances throughout the world. For this reason the bill before the House is in direct contradiction to the entire history of American foreign policy.

Some people have suggested that President Truman is using the so-called Truman doctrine as a 1948 Presidential platform. While this may be one of the motives, Mr. Chairman, which prompted President Truman, it by no means comprehends the vast implications of the Truman doctrine itself. Not only does this doctrine propose a system of military alliances throughout the world, but it proposes that our financial and economic strength shall be mobilized to back up that system of military alliances. We are being asked, Mr. Chairman, to pour the taxpayers' money at the rate of \$20,000,000,000 a year down every international rat hole from London to Manila on the completely false premise that by so doing we will be stopping communism. Actually, the results of such a system of military alliances sustained by American wealth means higher prices and higher taxes and financial bankruptcy and an unlimited inflation in America itself. The Truman policy is not only an undeclared declaration of war, but it is also the death knell of American capitalism if it is carried out, because it means the bankruptcy of America itself.

The Members of the House might well read the article by Stewart Alsop, entitled "Matter of Fact," in the Washington Post of May 5, in which he points out that Great Britain will shortly be demanding another loan from the United States. Alsop demonstrates that the British cannot export sufficiently to meet their import needs. He states that they will need another loan. Permit me to quote:

The other way of filling the gap is almost equally unpleasant for it depends on the United States. It does not necessarily presuppose another Government loan, with the bitter feelings such a loan would surely arouse. The British reaction to the loan is interesting. What was considered in the United States a gesture of rather fatheaded generosity is regarded here as the closest and most merciless Yankee horse trading.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I ask that Mr. Alsop's column appear in my remarks:

MATTER OF FACT
(By Stewart Alsop)
THE GAP

LONDON, May 4.—Any one of the hundreds of thousands of American soldiers who came to know London well during the war years would probably be surprised by the aspect of the London of 1947. He would be surprised, not because London is different, but because it is so much the same. Here are the same bombed-out buildings; the same

drably dressed people, who seem, in their monotone clothes, to fade into the background of the monotone buildings; the same inedible bread sausages and the same muddy thick soup (always the same, although called by an infinite variety of French names); the same unwashed windows and unheated houses and curious people, so many of whom seem to have stepped right out of a bad Hollywood comedy about English types. There are no more sirens, no more hordes of GI's in Eisenhower Plaatz, but for the rest the London of 1947 is in all outward aspect the London of 1943 or 1944.

Yet there is a difference. The bombed buildings during the war had a slightly sinister air of courage and defiance. Now, with weeds sprouting in the mud, they are just messy. The dull clothes of the people then seemed a badge of their dogged endurance. Now they are just dreary. The spirit of durable gaiety which made London, despite the bombings and whisky at \$16 a bottle, the best leave town in the world, is gone. London is dull, dull and infinitely sad.

All this has its political significance, of real importance to the United States. The first instinct of any American who makes for the first time the dreary bus ride from the airport at Heathrow to the center of London, is to ask himself how long these people are going to be able to carry on like this. How long are they going to be able to live this miserably monotonous existence, and still bear the heavy weight of remaining a great world power? The answer to that question may spell the difference between success and failure in the new determined American effort to contain Soviet expansion.

The economic situation which lies behind the drabness of postwar England is in its essence simple enough. After the war, with heavy debts replacing foreign investments, the only way the British people could survive was to export finished goods for food. But they could not instantly convert their industries and begin exporting. Therefore, the United States—essentially because the United States could not afford to see England cease to become a great power; not at all because Shakespeare was born here—lent England close to \$4,000,000,000 to bridge the gap between the end of the war and the time when the export program would begin to take up the slack.

The sad fact which is now staring England in the face (and will soon confront America) is simply that the loan is not going to bridge the gap. Aside from a small fringe of fervent optimists, that is the opinion of the vast majority of economists and other observers with whom this reporter has talked.

Some alarmists doubt that the loan will last much more than a year. Optimists hope for two more years. The best estimate seems to be that the end of sterling exchange restrictions, plus the fact that there is now more to buy with the dollars, will increase the rate of expenditure so that the last dollar will have been spent some time in the autumn of 1948. Barring a miracle, very few observers believe that by that time England will be exporting enough to pay for what she needs.

The reason is not far to seek. This country's economy simply could not survive another crisis like that of this winter, when the coal ran out and industry came to a standstill. Therefore, to save coal for next winter, industries are being limited to 65 percent of their coal needs for this summer. In other words, there will be a partial stoppage this summer to guard against a total stoppage next winter. This stoppage will further slow down the lagging export drive. Estimates vary, but there seems to be good reason to believe that by the time the last dollar is spent, there will be a gap between exports and imports of more than a billion dollars.

This gap can be filled in either of two ways. The British can tighten their belts to the backbone, and proceed to lead a sort of cave-

man life, which will make their present drab existence seem like lush times. An inevitable corollary is an almost total withdrawal from British world commitments, with disastrous implications for the whole American foreign policy.

The other way of filling the gap is almost equally unpleasant, for it depends on the United States. It does not necessarily presuppose another Government loan, with the bitter feelings such a loan would surely arouse. (The British reaction to the loan is interesting. What was considered in the United States a gesture of rather fat-headed generosity is regarded here as the closest and most merciless Yankee horse-trading.) But it does presuppose the untying of some of the strings attached to the loan, probably American backing for credit to England through the international bank, and above all a firm partnership agreement on foreign policy, in which the United States would agree to support some of the heavy economic commitments which Great Britain cannot afford until her economy is again on its feet.

Such measures will be attacked in the United States as the bolstering of the decadent British Empire. They will be attacked here as the hiring out of Britain as a paid mercenary to America. It is possible that either American or British opposition will make such a partnership impossible. If that happens, the future of the western effort to contain Russian expansion looks very dark indeed.

Mr. Chairman, let the Members of the House note that on Monday, the 5th, Sir Stafford Cripps, president of the British Board of Trade, warned the British people that the American and Canadian loans were running out in a much shorter period than was originally expected. Mr. Chairman, the naked, brutal fact is that the British Empire is falling apart, and before this year is out the Congress of the United States will have before it another proposal to lend the British Empire another four or five billions of dollars. That is what the Truman Policy means in regard to the British Empire.

Mr. Chairman, France today is caught in the middle of a great political crisis, and what do we find our newspapers reporting? The Washington Post of yesterday, May 6, on page 14, has a headline: "United States may boost aid to France if Ramadier keeps Reds out":

UNITED STATES MAY BOOST AID TO FRANCE IF
RAMADIER KEEPS REDS OUT

PARIS, May 5.—A high American official source said tonight the United States was preparing for possible increased aid to the tattered French economy, provided Premier Paul Ramadier can hold together his new non-Communist coalition government.

This statement was made after a French cabinet minister asserted President Truman's program for aiding democracies under threat of Communist domination prompted Ramadier to oust the five Communists in the cabinet yesterday.

The American source said the embassy was drawing up a detailed report on what sort of assistance the French regime will need and how much could be expected. He said the information would be relayed to Washington in anticipation of fresh requests from the French to solve their food, fuel, and industrial problems.

The source added that a decisive factor may be whether the French Socialists, Ramadier's party, want to become a vehicle for a new implementation of the so-called Truman doctrine.

The informant said that if the Socialists consent to head an anti-Communist coalition,

then Washington may be expected to lend a sympathetic ear to requests for help in maintaining Ramadier's economic policy of freezing wages, holding down prices, and increasing production.

French officials said their immediate need was for wheat to maintain the current daily bread ration of 250 grams. America has promised some wheat in June, but the French say larger shipments will be needed.

The cabinet minister, who refused to be quoted by name, said the United States held the answer to whether Ramadier's government could survive since the Communists dominate French organized labor and hold the largest number of seats in the Assembly.

He said the Communists might call out 6,000,000 workers in a general strike unless the United States rushes badly needed food and financial aid to France.

Mr. Chairman, permit me to quote this Associated Press dispatch from Paris. It reads:

High American official sources said tonight that the United States was preparing for possible increased aid to the tattered French economy provided Premier Paul Ramadier can hold together his non-Communist coalition government. This statement was made after a French Cabinet Minister asserted Truman's program for aiding democracies under threat of Communist domination prompted Ramadier to oust the five Communists in the Cabinet yesterday.

Mr. Chairman, in God's holy name, what is happening in France today? We have a French Cabinet Minister stating that President Truman's policy prompted a change in the French Cabinet, and that the present French Government can only remain in power if the United States rushes badly needed food and financial aid to France.

What will the Truman doctrine cost us in France? Perhaps another five billion?

Mr. Chairman, I wish to call attention to the fact that William C. Bullitt, the Ambassador to France at the time of Nazi invasion, who advised the French Government to cease resistance to the Nazi troops and not to make a fight for Paris—this same William C. Bullitt reviewed the May Day parade in Paris from the balcony of the American Embassy standing side by side with Jefferson Caffery, our present Ambassador to France. What, Mr. Speaker, is William C. Bullitt doing in France? Is he attempting to assist De Gaulle in the organization of a civil war in France, with promises that in the event of such a civil war the United States Army will furnish the equipment, men, and materials, and the United States Congress will vote the financial aid and assistance needed to conduct civil war in France? Is that what the Truman policy means for France?

Mr. Chairman, Italy today is caught in a great political crisis. Permit me to quote the headline from Monday's Washington Post, page 3: "Italy Cabinet raises wages as millions threaten strike." The Italian Government is in the middle of a political crisis—and what do we find to be the answer to that crisis? The Government of Italy is demanding more and more financial and economic assistance from the United States. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the article appearing in the Washington Post be included in my remarks at this point:

ITALIAN CABINET RAISES WAGES AS MILLIONS
THREATEN STRIKE

ROME, ITALY, May 4.—Left-wing denunciation of American aid to Italy, new hints of the possibility of civil war, and criticism of Government policy by right-wing elements combined today to head Premier Alcide de Gasperi and his cabinet toward a crisis.

In a desperate attempt to head off unrest, the cabinet, at a meeting which ended at 1:30 a. m., decided to give a 15-percent wage increase to 1,000,000 government employees and to raise the sugar tax by 50 percent to pay it.

This action was taken in hope of averting a nation-wide half-day strike called for tomorrow by state employees.

Under heavy attack by the left wing, Gasperi was further embarrassed by new criticism within the executive committee of his own middle-of-the-road Christian Democrat Party.

De Gasperi was criticized for failing to see that Communists and Socialists shared the blame for the present economic crisis. Members demanded the party withdraw from its coalition with the leftists and join the right wing.

The powerful Catholic Action Committee, a keystone of Gasperi's party, sent the meeting a virtual ultimatum to "defend religion," against the leftists—a criticism of the compromises Gasperi had made with Communists to get a recognition of religion in the constitution.

There is bitter discouragement among Italians over delay in promised American aid, which some regard as the sole hope of preventing eventual collapse of democratic government.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to quote the last paragraph of this article:

There is bitter discouragement among Italians over delay in promised American aid, which some regard as the sole hope of preventing eventual collapse of democratic government.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday the New York Times carried a story that there is a very real possibility of open civil war in Italy in the near future, and who, Mr. Speaker, is going to pay for that civil war?

Mr. Chairman, we confront critical economic conditions in France and Italy, and the Truman doctrine is being employed as a guarantee that the United States Government will back up with its economic, political, financial, and military strength the most reactionary forces in these nations. As Walter Lippmann pointed out in his column several weeks ago, the Truman doctrine gives encouragement to every group everywhere in the world who want to organize civil war against existing governments.

But, Mr. Chairman, when we consider the financial and military demands that the British Empire, the French and Italian Governments are making today upon us, we have just begun to draw up the lists of financial commitments and military commitments to which our President would bind America.

Mr. Chairman, the New York Times yesterday in its leading editorial had this to say:

We can't pursue one policy in Greece and Turkey and another in China or Latin America.

The prime intent of the Truman doctrine and this vicious Greek-Turkish military alliance bill is to encompass the whole world, the seven seas, and the five

continents in a new international system of military alliances and economic dependencies.

Ever since President Truman made his fateful speech to the Congress, intense pressure has been placed upon our State Department by Chinese diplomats in this country demanding that the \$500,000,000 export-import loan be released for use by the present Chinese Government. I charge here on the floor of the House that the Chinese Embassy has had the arrogance to invade our State Department and attempt to tell our State Department that the Truman doctrine has committed our Government and this Congress to all-out support of the present Fascist Chinese government.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I insert in my remarks an article appearing in the New York Times of yesterday in which it is reported from Nanking that China is asking for additional financial assistance from the United States:

CHINA TO ASK LOAN FOR BUILDING ONLY—UNITED STATES AID HELD ESSENTIAL FOR RECONVERSION—"SELF-HELP" ADVOCATED FOR BUDGET

(By Tillman Durdin)

NANKING, May 4.—An American loan is essential for the economic rehabilitation and reconstruction of China, Gen. Chang Chun, the new premier, declared in a statement today. He simultaneously proclaimed a policy of "self-help" in dealing with the budget deficit.

Premier Chang's statement was made to the press and was released as a clarification of his remarks on Friday before the legislature delivered on Friday before the legislative Yuan. This statement is the first formal declaration made by the new premier specifically defining his new government's attitude toward American financial assistance.

The statement said:

"The problem of how to meet the budget deficit of the Chinese Government is certainly a difficult one, but the government should not depend on foreign assistance to meet that deficit. We must endeavor to meet it by a gradual increase of revenues, by stringency in nonproductive expenditures, and by domestic loans. In other words, we must adopt and carry out a policy of self-help.

"On the other hand, there are vast areas where immediately economic rehabilitation and reconstruction are urgently needed and feasible.

"Expenditures for such constructive productive projects, when they are to be undertaken, will be beyond the present capacity of our National Treasury. In this connection an American loan will be essential.

"There is no need for me to emphasize that the Government will strictly follow the principle laid down in the common political program of all the parties now participating in the Government, namely, that foreign loans will be 'used only for productive and constructive purposes and for stabilization and improvement of the people's livelihood.'"

This pronouncement says in effect that China intends to try to deal with her budgetary problem alone, but must have outside financial aid to undertake any major projects for reconstruction. In part the statement is an answer to some arguments now being put forward that China should seek a currency stabilization loan from the United States. It is believed that the Government does not plan to make a formal request for a loan just now, although tentative approaches are possible. The government has noted Washington reports indicating that the United States' view at the moment is that the present time is premature for formally negotiating a loan since United

States financial aid now would look like an endorsement of the new government before it has demonstrated its capabilities.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, when we begin to look around the world and see what is happening to us today, we discover that President Truman has already deeply involved us financially and in a military way in many trouble spots throughout the world. He has made these decisions and he is asking us to rubber stamp them. His decisions are in direct violation of every commitment that the United States has made to the UN. And those acts of President Truman have no authority in law—no appropriations have been voted for such a policy, and the American people have never had an opportunity to cast their ballots for such a policy.

Mr. Chairman, when we add up the costs of these mad, insane adventures in the organization and support of civil wars throughout the world, we discover that it will come to at least \$20,000,000,000 a year and perhaps much more.

Mr. Chairman, I charge that a sinister conspiracy exists in America today. A sinister conspiracy exists to draw us into open warfare on the side of every reactionary and Fascist element and in every civil war everywhere in the world.

What is the fountainhead of that conspiracy? Who is there in America that wants another war—World War III? Who is it that formulated this Truman policy? Who is it that is throwing the force of our State Department into these interminable financially exhausting conflicts?

Mr. Chairman, what is going on in the State Department? The House of Representatives has a right to know. I charge, Mr. Speaker, that a conspiracy exists in our State Department to organize World War III, and to establish a system of military alliances in direct contradiction to the entire American foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to make certain suggestions to the House. I would like for the Members of the House to consider certain things—first, that Admiral Leahy for a year and a half fought to force Jimmy Byrnes' resignation as Secretary of State. I wish to point out that William C. Bullitt is in Paris today—for what purpose? I wish to point out that Admiral Hillenkoetter has just been made Chief of Central Intelligence of the United States Government. Admiral Hillenkoetter was the naval attaché in Paris and in Vichy, and has been associated with Leahy and Bullitt. I wish to point out, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. George Kennan, who went with Bullitt to Moscow in 1933, has been made the head of the policy committee of the Department of State.

What did Admiral Leahy have to do with the formulating of the Truman Doctrine? Mr. Chairman, is the State Department being taken over by the French gang, by the associates of Bullitt and Leahy, who did business with the Vichy-Nazi collaboration government? Is our State Department being taken over by people who advised the French Government not to resist the Nazis? Why did Admiral Leahy fight the foreign

policy developed by Jimmy Byrnes for 1½ years?

Mr. Chairman, these questions need answers. They cry out for answers.

We want to know what commitments are being made in our names in China, in England, in France, in Italy, in Turkey—all over the Middle East.

Mr. Chairman, the American people are, in my opinion, absolutely and completely opposed to the foreign policy proposed in the Truman doctrine. They know now that this doctrine means bankruptcy, that it means higher prices, that it means higher taxes, that it means military alliance with corrupt, venal dictatorships and monarchies, that its costs are unlimited.

The American people want peace—they want the UN to grow—to prosper. They demand that our commitments to the UN—given and received in good faith, be kept. The American people, Mr. Chairman, are determined that collective security against aggression shall be maintained. In their determination, I join. I shall cast my vote against this iniquitous, monstrous, hypocritical, and diabolical departure from traditional American foreign policy.

The isles of Greece! The isles of Greece!
Where burning Sappho loved and sung—
Where we may break uneasy peace,
And once more immolate our young.
Fill high the bowl with U. S. dough
And fill another with our blood—
The propagandists seem to know
Just how to fill your eyes with mud.

Mr. GRANGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield to the gentleman from Utah.

Mr. GRANGER. Mr. Chairman, I have 10 minutes allotted to me. I should like to yield my 10 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BENDER. I thank the gentleman from Utah very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The time is under the control of the gentleman from New York. If the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] cares to yield the 10 minutes, then, of course, the gentleman from Ohio would be further recognized.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BREHM. May not the gentleman from Utah ask unanimous consent to yield his time to the gentleman from Ohio?

The CHAIRMAN. No; the time has been fixed by the rule adopted by the House of Representatives. The committee may not change that rule.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Under the rules of parliamentary procedure, the gentleman from Utah in using his time may take the floor and then yield to the gentleman from Ohio to say what he pleases. Is not that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown] is, of course, stating a hypothetical situation. The gentleman from Utah has not been recognized. Should the gentleman from Utah

be recognized he then may yield to anyone asking him to yield if he so desires.

The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I am in hearty accord with the wise and eloquent statement made by the gentlewoman from Ohio and I think it well to repeat the quotation she gave us from that giant of his day, Webster, who said that we must not "purchase their smiles by the sacrifice of manly principles." It is with a great deal of satisfaction that I embrace the viewpoint enunciated on the floor yesterday by one of the giants of our time, the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] when he said that he believed this bill would be a deterrent to war.

All of us are aware of the gravity of the decision this Nation is now called upon, through its Congress, to make. We live in a dangerous age. The question for decision is how we are to meet danger. We must face it with our heads up and with no fear in our hearts. We must meet this issue in accordance with our great traditions. Courage is better than fear, faith is better than doubt. We will be false to our traditions, false to the American people, and false to ourselves if we falter because of fear—fear of either cost or consequences.

We all want to avoid war. If we could clearly foresee the future and know with certainty that defeat of this measure would, in the words of one great appeaser, mean "peace in our time," or that its passage would mean war in this generation, our votes would be unanimous. No one wants war. The tongues of our dead still enforce our attention. We all want peace. The issue, then, is one of calculated risks.

PEACE IN THIS DAY IS NOT CHEAP

That issue cannot be resolved by an appeal to fear, to sentiment, or to any other prejudice. Each must determine for himself and within his own conscience the path he thinks this country, in dignity and responsibility, must follow to lead the world in the ways of peace. The passage of this bill and the policy it embraces is costly. Once we so act, we are committed to a course we must see through. And none should indulge in the self-deception that it will not be expensive. Peace in this day is not cheap.

Neither should we be oblivious to the possibility that whenever this Nation engages in a program of halting totalitarian aggression, be it Communist or Fascist, some risk of war may be involved.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we have an issue of alternatives. Does this policy lead to war or does it promote peace? If our action is to be governed by fear or the cost in dollars, there are many arguments for voting against the bill. But is that the issue? When did the citizens of this country ever modify their resistance to aggressive tyranny because we were fearful of the outcome or lacked faith in our ability to meet the cost?

Pioneer Americans were not timid when, as 13 struggling Colonies, they agreed with Patrick Henry that no price was too high to pay for liberty. The signers of the Declaration of Independence knew the calculated risks when they wrote in our charter of liberty the immortal sentence:

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

MONROE AND JACKSON DID NOT FLINCH

President Monroe proclaimed our famous American doctrine when this Nation was a first-rate power only because of its unflagging courage. We were then less able to resist aggression on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico from one of the weaker of the major powers of that day, than we are to resist aggression today anywhere on the face of this globe. The people knew then what the Monroe Doctrine might cost, and they were not afraid of its risks. Then a courageous stand on principle by a people unafraid frustrated the designs of any aggressor who might have considered a challenge.

History discredits France's strategy of attempting an early war of nerves. Her challenge was met by Andrew Jackson. A solvent France contemptuously refused payment of the debt she owed the United States. But when Jackson announced that he would seize and impound French shipping, she understood democratic power properly applied. Her wounded honor was satisfied, and the treaty she had made with us was carried out.

Mr. Chairman, whether Communist or Fascist, or simply a pistol-packing racketeer, the one thing a bully understands is force, and the one thing he fears is courage. In making this assertion, I disavow the demagogery of a jingo. I repudiate the tactics of a warmonger. I want peace. But human experience teaches me that if I let a bully of my community make me travel back streets to avoid a fight, I merely postpone the evil day. Soon he will try to chase me out of my house.

THEY DID NOT BELIEVE WE WOULD FIGHT

We have fought two world wars because of our failure to take a position in time. When the first war began Germany did not believe we would fight. Well-meaning pacifists sincerely desired peace. The Great Commoner resigned from the highest position in the Cabinet because he thought President Wilson's foreign policy too aggressive. Thus the Kaiser was led to believe that we were complacent and lacked courage. Unrestricted submarine warfare began, and so we went to war.

During the earlier stages of World War II, President Roosevelt at Chicago enunciated the doctrine of quarantining aggressors. Then, as in the past, there were protests. The American Firsters, led by Colonel Lindbergh, a hero of earlier days, exploited the hesitancy of many of our citizens to prepare for adequate national defense. The tactics of

these ostriches and their fellow travelers encouraged, indeed if they did not induce, Hitler to ignore us and the Japs to attack us.

France could have stopped Hitler when he started into the Saar. France and England combined could have stopped the Nazis at Czechoslovakia, or even later prevented the occupation of Austria. The United States, England, and France could have prevented the rape of Poland if only there had been a common determination to call a halt to aggression. Japan could have been checked before she got into Manchuria; and certainly she would have been stopped when she declared war on defenseless China. But the siren songs of appeasers convinced us it was none of our business what happened in Europe or the world, and thus France was sacrificed to Fascist ambitions, and England's destiny was fought out in the skies over London. We refused to listen to Secretary Stimson and others with vision who saw the path on which Japan had embarked so we suffered the humiliation of Pearl Harbor and sacrificed lives which could have been spared if we had acted in time.

CARE NOT WHETHER AGGRESSOR IS COMMUNIST OR FASCIST

In view of this history, it is amazing that we are tolerant toward those who counsel fear and count the cost of human liberty and internal security in dollars. A former Vice President is crying out against the course charted by President Truman in his message to Congress in louder language than Colonel Lindbergh protested the policy proclaimed by President Roosevelt in his historic Chicago speech. Can it be that this former Vice President believes it right to quarantine the aggressors if they are Fascists, but wrong if they are Communists; and does Colonel Lindbergh reason conversely? As for myself, I care not whether an aggressor be Communist or Fascist. Whenever security of this country is involved, we are willing to draw the quarantine line—and we would rather have it on the shores of the Mediterranean than on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay or the Gulf of Mexico.

Perhaps I should seek pardon for mentioning a man who has sought and attained such notoriety by going abroad and denouncing his own country as being on the road to ruthless imperialism. I defend the right of Mr. Wallace to speak, just as I defend my right to criticize what he says, and in this case the privilege to criticize this individual for campaigning against the foreign policy of his own country among the Socialists of England and the Communists of France. I particularly denounce his suggestion that we solve the whole problem with a \$15,000,000,000 bribe to Russia. But his error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

FARMER PLANTING STRANGE SEEDS

The Honorable Mr. Wallace has announced a speaking date in my State and district and my home town on the 17th day of May. If he expects to play politics with an issue affecting the security of our people, his choice of Texas

as a forum is no tribute to his knowledge of people and geography. The forum for Wallace and his appeasement doctrine is not before the clear-eyed, stout-hearted Texans. Rather, it is before the fallow, deluded fringe that bores and scavenges like termites eating away the foundations of a strong building. I challenge his false and dangerous counsel. I say he is a farmer planting strange seeds in our soil, seeds of fear, seeds of false hope, dragon seeds of ultimate destruction. I know Texans and I know the people of my district. Although we have our faults like other people—and we like to believe that they are fewer than the failings of others—I warn this false apostle that Texans have characteristics which prevent us from responding to the wiles of an appeaser. Texans may disagree and fight a little among themselves, but we present a united front on any issue that may involve our national security. If we disagree with policies of our Government, we settle these differences within the framework of our democratic processes.

The argument that Russia does not want war and that we might force a war by going into Greece and Turkey simply seems absurd to me. If Russia does not want war; if she is not an aggressor nation; if she wants to live in peace and cooperate in bringing peace to a war-torn world, then our aid to Greece and Turkey will be understood and can provoke no hostilities. Who among us or among the Russians believes that Greece and Turkey plan an invasion of Russia? If, on the other hand, Russia is not willing to stop with the land she has taken away from Poland, Finland, and Czechoslovakia; if not willing to get out of Austria, but insists on a foothold in the Mediterranean now, then now is the time for us to decide whether we will meet her there and meet her now. This penetration system by which the Communists are taking over one European government after another to me smacks very much of the Hitler method. It was by that method that Hitler was able to take over Austria—but I will not further review the past. If Russia has peaceful intentions now, she will have them after this measure shall have been passed. If her intentions are otherwise, if she proposes a program of conquest, then no bribe, disguised as a loan of \$15,000,000,000 or any other sum, will stop her. It will only bolster up her strength and weaken us.

ADMINISTRATION MUST NOT TOLERATE CORRUPTION—MUST NOT PERMIT PROGRAM TO BECOME A JOY RIDE FOR PROFITEERS

Yes; I am for the Truman doctrine. But it will not be enough to appropriate money to be poured into Greece and Turkey. No program, however well conceived, can rise above the level of the people who must carry it into execution. I am one who believes that competent men are available to serve their country on this job. I believe that the best brains and the stoutest hearts in this country are needed for this great work. I believe that they must and can be found if failure is to be avoided. The heights are not for the mediocre, but for the strong, the true, and the wise. I believe and trust President Truman will keep faith with the Congress and the

people by staffing our mission with men who will not tolerate corruption in administering of these funds and will see that it does not become a joy ride for profiteers.

WE WILL STAND UP TO RUSSIA

In voting for this bill, I do so with the hope that Russia has peaceful intentions; that she desires to live at peace with other nations; that she will cooperate in the restoration of a war-torn world; but, if it be otherwise, then I am certain as I stand here that the passage of this measure is the only course that this country can in decency take, and the only course which may avoid war.

This is one world; yes. It is one world in terms of distances and in terms of my actions affecting my neighbor whether he be on the banks of the Potomac or on the banks of the Ganges. But it is not one united world. Nor is it one world in public enlightenment.

I am persuaded that the people of the world have no grievances, one against the other. The hopes and desires of a man who tills the soil are about the same whether he lives on the banks of the Colorado or on the banks of the Danube. But there is this difference. My words today, for whatever meaning they may have, will be accessible to every man, woman, and child on this continent. But as we progress from west to east, the mists form; and the light of freedom shines through them with more and more difficulty.

To say that we will stand up to Russia, to say that we will pit the ideals of democracy against the ideals of communism does not mean that we are unmindful of our debt to her. As one American, I am humbly grateful for Stalingrad, and I revere the memory of the men who fought there and died there, for me and for you. For my part, I ask no more of them than they ask of me. To Soviet Russia and to every other nation, I would see the golden rule applied. I think we have tried to apply it. And a defense of democracy is not necessarily ipso facto an attack against Russia. I shall be the last to say that; but I shall be the first to say that when democracy lays down before any other ideology, there is no more democracy. Freedom walks upright, her head back, chin high.

Decisions must be made in times of danger, and I hope your decision will be mine. In terms of dollars the Truman doctrine will be costly. But I pray that we are still a young and courageous Nation; that we have not grown so old and fat and prosperous that all we can think about is to sit back with our arms around our money bags. If we choose to do that, I have no doubt that the smoldering fires will burst into flame and consume us—dollars and all.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield? If the gentleman is bullied by another person, do you not think it would be more courageous to strike right out and hit him than to go into his neighbor's window and thumb his nose at him until he might strike at you?

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. The gentleman is not one who accepts the unqualified statement that we are being bullied,

but the gentleman does say if that statement is true the time to meet that situation is right now and the way to meet it is head on.

Mr. OWENS. But we are not doing that.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. EATON. If I make a statement as to the disposition of time, will that come out of the time allotted to this side?

The CHAIRMAN. Any time that the gentleman consumes will be charged to his time.

Mr. EATON. I will have to do it. First of all, let me say that I have been wrestling with the multiplication table. In common with every human being who has ever done that, I have been thrown.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that it is apparent the gag is in order so far as the opposition is concerned. I was instructed to submit a list of those in opposition to the bill to both the majority and minority leaders. The minority leader informs me that I have no time. Those members who have been allocated time by me please take notice.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, is this coming out of my time?

The CHAIRMAN. It is coming out of the time of the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New Jersey yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. EATON. I would rather that the gentleman from New York use his own time to speak.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey has the floor. Does the gentleman desire to consume any additional time?

Mr. EATON. It will only take me a minute to break the sad news. I have 207 minutes of time asked for by 18 Members, and I have 95 minutes to divide among them. I have turned the matter over to my associates here, the senior members of my committee, and they have worked out a plan by cutting down, I am very sorry to say, to very small limits the time allowed to the various Members. That is, of course, in addition to the 51 minutes reserved for the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. With pleasure.

Mr. GAVIN. Yesterday you had no hesitancy in giving the proponents of the bill an additional 5 minutes, an additional 5 minutes, and an additional 5 minutes. But when I came, representing a great State with 28 delegates and 10,000,000 of people, all I could get was 5 minutes because I am an opponent of the bill.

Mr. EATON. May I have the privilege of saying, before everybody gets mad, that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GAVIN] was granted time under

Mr. SMITH's schedule. I did not fix the time for him.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. No; I will not yield. You ask too many questions.

Mr. Chairman, I reserve the balance of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has consumed 2 minutes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW].

(Mr. MERROW asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support this measure and have been ready to vote "yes" on the proposition for several weeks. In fact, before the President of the United States delivered his message to the Congress, in several statements on the floor I advocated firm, resolute action in the Mediterranean area. I hope that this measure will be adopted without crippling amendments and that the House will go on record in favor of this firm and realistic action in connection with Greece and Turkey.

We must keep in mind that the world has grown exceedingly small within the last few years, and whether or not we like it, we are in international affairs to stay. As has been stated again and again during this debate, we have participated in two great wars during the past 30 years. After the First World War we followed the policy of isolationism. In fact, we followed that policy into the 1930's. It seems as though we ought to learn something from history, particularly recent history, and not pursue the same course after the Second World War as we followed after the first.

As I have listened to some of the arguments against this measure, I am fearful that many would have us embark upon the disastrous course of isolationism which will lead us to untold trouble in the future. Mr. John Foster Dullis, reporting on the Moscow Conference, for instance, pointed out that the Soviet leaders would heave a great sigh of relief if we were to move out of Europe. Certainly we must not do this. If we had passed this resolution immediately after it had been presented to us, perhaps the Moscow Conference would not have ended in a deadlock.

During this debate we have been considering the foreign policy of the United States. I want to point out that when I was in the Old World in 1945 the question that was most often discussed was the foreign policy of the United States, and the comment that was most frequently made was that the United States does not have a foreign policy. After returning, I said on the floor of this House several times that if there was one thing we ought to do in this country, it is to develop a firm, realistic, resolute foreign policy in this postwar period. I take this opportunity to congratulate the State Department and the President of the United States upon this fine show of realism. It is, indeed, refreshing to see this realistic approach to foreign affairs in the Mediterranean area.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. Yes; I yield.

Mr. DORN. I have been trying for 2 days to get some member of the Foreign Affairs Committee to tell me why we did not give the Spanish Government, which has always fought communism, at least an ambassador here in Washington. They were neutral during the war the same as Turkey, and prevented the Germans from rolling into north Africa when we were making landings. I have not had anybody answer that yet.

Mr. MERROW. That is another question outside of this Greek-Turkish situation; but I will say to the gentleman this, that if action is necessary in connection with Spain to stop communism in the Mediterranean basin, I would favor it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The gentleman has made some reference to isolationism. Does the gentleman apply that term to those who support the United Nations who last week voted for the relief bill?

Mr. MERROW. The gentleman has coupled two questions. He asked if I would apply that term to those who support the United Nations?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes.

Mr. MERROW. No; I think those who support the United Nations have the international point of view. Personally I would say that the vote to cut the relief bill indicates a movement toward an isolationist program.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. The gentleman is a distinguished member of the Foreign Affairs Committee and may be able to clear up a quandary which has been bothering me during the debate. One of the objections raised by certain Members to this bill is that this problem should be turned over to the United Nations for settlement, this whole question. In the gentleman's opinion, is it not true that in such event it would be possible for any one of the five great powers to exercise the veto on the consideration of the question?

Mr. MERROW. That is true. I believe the question of the United Nations has been adequately and ably discussed during the course of this debate. The United Nations has neither the resources nor the ability to handle this problem. Furthermore, to be absolutely realistic about it, we are playing power politics outside the United Nations. The security of the United States is at stake. The United States is the only country that has the power, the prestige, and the ability to stop the Soviet march toward world domination, and to refer this matter to the United Nations would simply weaken the United Nations, and finally imperil our own security.

General Marshall should be congratulated on the realism that he showed at the Moscow Conference. He did not give in to the Russians, he stood firm on reparations, the western boundary of Poland, and other matters. Because of that firm stand we are at last beginning to be realistic; and although Mr. Stalin hopes that by exhaustion he will be able to reach compromises I feel at least we

have a Secretary of State who will stay as long as Mr. Stalin can stay, and will refuse to become exhausted. We will at last by holding our ground be able to resolve our differences.

We should keep in mind that there are two basic principles in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. They have been discussed here. One is expansion and the other is the spread of communism wherever and whenever possible. The Soviet Union has annexed much territory and has extended her domination over no less than 12 countries by puppet governments. These countries have a population of 165,000,000. She has done all this since 1939, and is trying by the practice of infiltration to spread communism all over the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Hampshire has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER].

[Mr. MILLER of California addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. MILLER of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 14 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. KEE].

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, in explanation of the action proposed to be taken by the United States Government under the measure now being considered, the following questions are pertinent and should be answered:

First. What are the situations in Greece and Turkey, respectively, which call for the relief proposed by the pending measure?

Second. Why should the United States alone supply the aid required?

Third. What do we hope to accomplish by acting, and what will be the probable result if we fail to act?

Mr. Chairman, during the hearings on the pending bill held by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, extending over a period of several weeks, the above questions were, in my opinion, fully, clearly, and repeatedly answered by competent and well-informed authorities. As frequently happens, however, when we hold extended hearings on a measure and explore all of its possibilities and implications, we often find the answers to our most important queries buried under a mass of verbiage more or less non-germaine or inconsequential. Within the 387-page report of the hearings it will be found that the above questions are answered not only by competent and qualified witnesses, speaking from an intimate knowledge of the subject, but also by documentary proof. Unless, however, the hearings are given more than a hasty perusal there is every chance that important evidence will be overlooked. May I, within the time at my disposal, give to this body not only my personal reply to the three queries, but also some of the answers appearing in the record.

First, there is a difference in the situations in Greece and Turkey, and quite a difference in the problems confronting

the respective countries. And yet, each situation requires the same corrective measures and the same character of aid and assistance, which, if not received from some quarter, will be followed by the same result in both countries, to-wit, economic disaster, collapse of each government and an imposition upon their peoples of a totalitarian regime.

May I first discuss conditions in Greece? The evidence taken before our committee shows that Greece's trouble started even before World War II, and became starkly tragic during and following the years of conflict. First invaded and despoiled by the Italians, the country not only suffered a second invasion by the German armies, with resultant devastation and ruin, but also groaned under 4 years of enemy occupation, followed by the cruel and deliberate destruction by the Nazis of everything in or near the pathway of their retreating armies. It is probable that no other country in the world suffered a devastation so complete. From all this the country has never recovered; indeed, it has not even had a chance to recover.

It is further shown that during the war there went on within the Greek boundaries a continuous fight for Greek liberation. This warfare against the invaders was carried on by bands of Greek guerrillas whose arms and equipment were supplied by the Allied armies. After liberation, however, many of these guerrillas failed or refused to surrender their weapons, and coming under influences inimical to the present regime in Greece, the guerrillas are now using the same arms to defy the authority of the Government. It is also charged that these armed bands not only have the backing and encouragement of certain adjoining governments but that their numbers are augmented from time to time by bands of men from beyond the Greek border who join in raids, burnings, pillage, and killings, and then retire across the border when pursued by the Greek Army.

The nature of the influences to which these armed bands are subject and under which they operate is well known. To be absolutely plain and direct, it is the influence of the Communist and the communistic doctrine. It is known that continuous pressure is being exerted against the Greek Government and that this pressure is growing heavier day by day; that the sphere of operations of the various communistic bands is widening; and that without aid and assistance in equipping and advising the Greek Army it will not be able to long control the situation. If these bands continue to gain strength—and all evidence is to the effect that they are doing just that—they will take over the Greek Government and substitute a Soviet-controlled Communist totalitarian regime. If this is accomplished, a great hope of the world will have perished and once again the dream of the poet Byron that the isles of Greece would again be free will have been shattered.

It must be understood that this problem is not one of merely supporting the Greek Government as against a few bands of malcontents. On the contrary, it is one of keeping Greece in the ranks of the world's democracy, of keeping

open and free the great seaways to the East, and of insuring freedom and the democratic way of life to the peoples of the eastern world.

I have endeavored to explain briefly the situation in Greece because of which our aid has been earnestly entreated. Let me now turn to Turkey, the other country whose calls for assistance we are asking you to heed. Here, as I have stated, we have a situation substantially different from that obtaining in Greece, and yet, should we turn a deaf ear to the appeal of Turkey, the results to that country would be exactly the same as would similar lack of action be to Greece.

While Greece is in dire need of food and clothing, as well as the training and equipment of her army for the protection of her border and use against internal disorder, Turkey is not confronted by such a problem. Turkey has no internal disorders and so far has not been troubled by ravages of armed bands, either within or from outside her boundaries. To this date also the country has remained free from any invasion of communism or Communistic doctrine. It is not, however, free from other dangers. On the contrary, never before—not even throughout the war when it had a long and desperate struggle to preserve its neutrality—has Turkey faced a graver danger than it does at this moment. Regardless of all differences between the internal condition in Greece and Turkey, the dangers to each country from external sources are identical. As Acting Secretary of State Acheson stated to our committee, and I quote:

The inexorable facts of geography link the future of Greece and Turkey. Should the integrity and independence of Greece be lost or compromised, the effect upon Turkey is inevitable.

Is it not significant that this call for help comes to us from Greece and Turkey at the same instant; that both nations, one untroubled by internal conditions or by lack of food or other necessities of life, and the other facing all these problems, as well as actual rebellion, should both suddenly call for aid to meet the same threat from external sources. It is not only significant, but it points directly to the fact that both of these countries so linked together by and in their strategic importance have awakened to the fact that they are both facing a problem which threatens their individual liberty, their way of life and their free government; and each of the governments has determined that it cannot solve the problem alone. They feel that unless aid comes to them in this crisis, they will be in imminent danger of a complete collapse with a consequent assumption of power by a totalitarian government under the domination of the Russian Soviet. It was said by Mr. Acheson, and I quote:

I need not emphasize to you what would more than likely be the effect on the nations in the Middle East of a collapse in Greece and Turkey, and the installation of totalitarian regimes there. Both from the point of view of economics and morals, the effects upon countries to the east would be enormous, especially if the failure in Greece and Turkey should come about as the result of the failure of this great democracy to come to their aid. On the other

hand, I ask you to consider the effects on their morals and their internal development should Greece and Turkey receive a helping hand from the United States, the country with which they closely associate the principles of freedom. It is not too much to say that the outcome in Greece and Turkey will be watched with deep concern throughout the vast area from the Dardanelles to the China Sea.

Mr. Chairman, I find that it will be necessary for me to put in the RECORD the further answers to the question I propounded. And this will be done.

The question is often asked, How and why was the United States drawn into a situation apparently affecting only the nations of Greece and Turkey?

As a matter of fact, this problem came to us suddenly and with but little warning. On or about March 20, 1947, the British Government notified the United States Government that as of March 31 it would be obliged to discontinue the financial, economic, and advisory assistance which it had heretofore been giving to Greece and Turkey. This meant, of course, that the British government intended to withdraw from Greece the military force which it had been maintaining in that country since the close of hostilities and likewise intended to withdraw from both Greece and Turkey all further economic aid and advisory assistance.

A few days after the notice from the British Government, our Government received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial, economic, and expert advisory assistance. This was not the first time such a request had been made to us by the Greek Government, similar requests having been previously made. The same is true in respect to Turkey. The number of the various requests made by both Governments to the United States and the dates of such requests are fully set out in the report of the hearings. Also, in covering this matter broadly, Acting Secretary of State Acheson, in answer to a question by Representative Jarman, shown on page 13 of the hearings, stated that everything proposed to be done under the bill now being considered was requested by the Governments of Turkey and Greece. Therefore, the charge that we are, without authority, interfering in the affairs of the two countries, is baseless.

May I now discuss for a few moments the second question I posed in my opening statement, to-wit, "Why should the United States alone supply the aid required by Greece and Turkey?"

In this connection, the question may be and, in fact, has been frequently asked, "Why did not the two countries make their request for aid to the United Nations, and why should not this entire problem of Greece and Turkey not be handled by the United Nations?"

This question has been repeatedly answered, and particularly by officials of the State Department as will appear on pages 341 to 344 of the record of the hearings. It also appears that as to one part of its problem, Greece did present its case to the United Nations. Charging that armed bands, operating within her territory along her northern border, were being partly supplied, trained, and

given refuge in neighboring countries and were constantly shifting back and forth across the border in their hostile and pillaging expeditions, the Greek Government asked the United Nations for assistance in dealing with the situation.

This was a problem with which the United Nations had authority to deal, and supported by the United States, the Security Council proceeded to deal with the problem effectively. But as to the other, and perhaps more serious problems, namely the need of Greece for food and other supplies and funds to restore order throughout the country, to meet internal difficulties and to avert economic collapse, and the need of both Greece and Turkey for funds and expert advice in reforming and equipping their military forces for the protection of their borders, the United Nations is not only lacking in jurisdiction, but is also without funds necessary to extend the required help.

So far as Greece is concerned, its request to the United States for assistance was urged by a Commission sent to that country last fall by the Food and Agricultural Organization. This Commission, reporting in November 1946, recommended that the Greek Government request the Economic and Social Council and the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom to aid it in securing funds for essential food and other imports until, I quote, "Expanding exports, international development loans, and expanding production enable Greece to balance its international account without special aid."

As stated by Secretary Acheson, this is exactly the course Greece has followed. The country has repeatedly asked Great Britain for assistance, but this assistance Great Britain is no longer able or willing to supply. The aid cannot be supplied by the Economic and Social Council, therefore the Government of the United States is the only source to which the Greek Government can turn.

While, as I have stated, the situation in Turkey, especially with reference to internal economic affairs, is different from that of Greece, the need is just as great, the danger of collapse is just as imminent and the result certain to follow such a collapse is just as inevitable. This result would be the installation of totalitarian regimes in both countries. In fact, we are at this moment facing the danger of being particeps criminis to the denial of free democratic governments to the entire eastern world.

The consequences following collapse of the Greek and Turkish Governments and the moving in of a Soviet-dominated communistic regime in both countries would be far reaching and tragic. We in America have heretofore not worried about the control of the Mediterranean, the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal, and the other sea lanes of the Near East which for centuries have been followed by ships of the world. Only once, and that in the early days of our Republic, did we act to insure the freedom of these lanes. Our action then against the piratical states of the Barbary Coast was prompt, drastic, and effective. Since that time in the distant past we have

more or less trusted to Great Britain's interest and power to keep the seaways open. If Britain is no longer able to perform her task, are we going to try to resolve the impending issue now and by peaceful means, or shall we wait until a grimmer duty is forced upon us? Think it over.

Again, the issues before us at this moment are not only the preservation of the freedom of the Greek and Turkish peoples, and the sovereignty of their respective Governments, and not only the maintenance of the historic freedom of the seas, but there is yet another issue, one of more vital importance to this and to every other democratic government in the world of today. This bill poses to us the question, Is this Republic of ours—the greatest of all in recorded history and the pattern upon which all others have been erected—going to adopt and follow a do-nothing policy with reference to the inoculation by intimidation and force of the peoples of other countries with germs of an ideology diametrically opposed to every principle of human freedom and justice? On the other hand, are we going to show to the world that we have the courage of our conviction and intend to demonstrate our faith in the democratic way of life by standing shoulder to shoulder with all peoples who are willing to combat the spread of a poisonous doctrine?

We can do the right thing and do it now by the passage of this measure. If, however, we fail Greece and Turkey in this hour of their need, and the two nations come under the domination of another power, as they undoubtedly will, we will have lost not only all of our prestige in the eastern world, but that world itself will have been lost to democracy. With Greece and Turkey under communistic control, there will be nothing to stop the spread of the insidious disease throughout all lands from the Straits of Gibraltar to the China Sea. This is not mere dicta, it is not just a statement of my personal opinion, but it is a statement based upon views expressed before our committee by men who speak out of a wealth of knowledge, wisdom, and experience.

Mr. Chairman, I want to announce, without reservation or equivocation, that I am in favor of the pending measure as it has been reported out of committee, without any change in text and without amendment. And, at this point, may I express the earnest hope that the pending measure will not meet with the same treatment and the same fate accorded to the Greek relief bill recently passed by this House. That bill, as is the one now before us, was not a measure for the mere expenditure of money; on the contrary, it was a measure involving questions of the gravest import to our country, questions calling for the exercise of fine diplomacy, questions of foreign policy to be answered only after intensive study and critical consideration.

This was the character of the study given to that measure by your Foreign Affairs Committee; for many weeks and through many hearings, each provision of the measure was analyzed and all its implications considered. Changes were made only after the most critical study

and discussion and in light of the evidence we had before us. It was not hours only that we gave to our consideration of the measure, but we devoted days and weeks to the difficult task. And yet, when our work was accomplished and the bill reported to this floor—a finished product of a committee, many members of which have had from 15 to 25 years of experience in foreign affairs—what was its fate?

Here is what happened. Under the 5-minute rule there was made a concerted attack upon every section of the measure. In a wild scramble to be in at the death, amendment after amendment, many of which had been denied after hours of consideration by the committee, were offered and adopted on the House floor after but a few moments of extemporaneous discussion. Bitter attacks on the measure were made by at least some men who evidently were wholly unfamiliar with its intent and purpose and uninformed with respect to the critical situation it was designed to meet. The regrettable part of the entire matter was the fact that some members of the Foreign Affairs Committee took an active part in this confused attempt to write a new bill on the floor. It was a spectacle to cause one to stand in awe and to exclaim in wonder as was once said of liberty, "Oh, economy, how many crimes have been committed in thy name?"

Mr. Chairman, may I remind the Members of the Congress that the passage of the pending measure is not only recommended, but requested by your Government. Your President, your Secretary of State and his assistants, your Secretary of War, your Secretary of the Navy, as well as other officials in whom you should have faith and confidence, have all joined in appealing to you for the passage of this legislation. Your ambassadors to Greece and Turkey, both of whom have an intimate knowledge of the situation in the countries to which they are respectively accredited, came across the seas to advise us to take this action. The head of this Government's nine-man commission sent to Greece for the express purpose of making a survey of conditions in that unhappy country, and who, with his associates, spent two full months in making a complete study of the situation there, returned to his homeland to endorse this action with his approval.

Have you no confidence in the men at the head of your Government? Have you no faith in the ambassadors who represent you in foreign lands? Have you no trust in the men who head your Army and your Navy? Against these men will you accept the dicta of others who may be actuated by either unknown motives or political expediency, or will you at this fateful moment set aside all political or other prejudices and give your support to this measure and to your President, to your Government, and to your country—and mine?

Mr. ROBSION. Mr. Chairman, I arise to speak in opposition to the bill 2616 which proposes to provide \$400,000,000 in aid to Turkey and Greece and also to provide military and naval aid and instruction to these countries and author-

ity to train and supervise their military and naval establishments.

This bill arose out of the message of the President delivered to the House and Senate on March 12, 1947. The President stated, in his message urging immediate granting of this money and military and naval aid to Turkey and Greece, that the future foreign policy of this Nation should be changed so as to commit this Nation to go to the relief of any nation or a party or group in any nation that was threatened by Communists or other totalitarian groups in any country, and he stated that he would call upon the Congress from time to time for any additional financial aid and powers to carry out this world-wide foreign policy. Our colleague, Dr. EATON, in charge of this bill, in his speech to the House yesterday, stated that this was the most far-reaching and carried with it the most fateful decision perhaps of any measure that had been presented and considered by the Congress in the last 100 years. That is a strong statement from the author of the bill. There have been many bills of tremendous import and many fateful decisions made by Congress within the last 100 years. The Congress has been called upon to carry on the Mexican War, Spanish-American War, World War I, and World II. Our distinguished Democrat colleague from Georgia [Mr. Cox] was fair enough to say in his speech that this was not a relief bill for the hungry people of Greece or Turkey, but it is a military bill, a war measure. About all of those who have spoken in favor of the bill have been fair enough to say in so many words or by implication that this is a military measure and that it may lead us into another war. Of the score or more who have spoken in favor of this bill, not one has assured us that it would keep our country out of war.

The rule provides for 9 hours of general debate but under parliamentary maneuvering, those who favor the bill will have six or more hours while those who are opposing it will be limited to 3 hours or less. If this bill involves issues fraught with such tremendous potentialities for war and other dangers to our country as admitted by its sponsors, it seems to me that those who are opposed to it should have at least the same amount of time as its sponsors. The sponsors do not pretend to assure us that this new foreign policy of the President and the provisions of this bill will keep us out of war. They admit we are embarking upon a most fateful program. They do not give us any information from which we might have assurance of benefit to our own country. There is no clear chart of direction as to where it may lead us, the amount of blood it might cause to be shed, or the billions that may be required to follow this program through. They propose for us to sail an uncharted ship anywhere and everywhere in the world where there may be a war, a rebellion or an uprising. It is a lead in the dark; no one tells us how long or where it may lead.

I am unwilling to take such a fateful step as those who chart the ship and know not the destination or what may happen to our country. Everything is

veiled in doubt and uncertainty. Through my years of service in the House and Senate, in case of doubt, I have always resolved that doubt in favor of the United States of America which I am sworn to protect and defend and not in favor of some other country or some group in some other country, and that is the course I am taking now. I am speaking against this proposal as presented and unless it is very materially amended I shall vote against it.

The gentleman from West Virginia who preceded me in favor of this bill, said: "Will our country sit here and rattle our money bags"? May I point out to our colleague from West Virginia that we no longer have money bags to rattle. We owe in admitted debts amounting to approximately \$260,000,000,000. These are I O U's but not money bags. We can rattle our I O U's but not our money bags. We must be careful not to add any more I O U's. In the last war we greatly depleted the iron, coal, timber, the soil and other natural resources in this country. We have gone through an era of squandering, spending, and wasting for the last 15 years. We already have the largest per capita indebtedness and the largest per capita tax burden of any country in the world. The American people are demanding that we reduce and not increase the debts and taxes and other burdens of this Nation. As we continue to strip this country of its resources and use them in wars and in sending them to foreign countries, we intensify scarcity in our country and this increases the cost of living and millions of our people are denied many of the necessities of life. They have demanded economy in government; they voted to put out the spenders and the wasters, and this Congress is trying to economize. In doing so we have reduced and cut out many of the desirable services to the American people.

We are having very little trouble with our enemies in the late war, Germany, Japan, and Italy. Those for whom we sacrificed so much in blood and treasure and to whom we have poured out billions of dollars in relief since the war have stirred up more wars, rebellions, and insurrections. I have urged before, and I again urge, that the President and his administration call upon these people to cease fighting, go to work and provide something for themselves, but they refuse to be pacified, they refuse to again take up peaceful and lawful pursuits. We have coddled them so much and so long that they believe as some of our statesmen seem to think, that there is no end to Uncle Sam's resources and bounty. Why should they not go to work?

The millions of workers on the farms, in the shops, mills, and factories must have a large part of their earnings taken from them and their products taken from them in order to take care of the people in these countries who refuse to again enter peaceful pursuits and produce for themselves.

LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN PRESIDENT TRUMAN

This bill also provides that an army of civilian employees will go to Turkey and Greece. Under the demand of the American people, a great army of use-

less officeholders are being released. Hon. Paul Porter, who saw the demise of the OPA and his army of officeholders, was sent to Greece some time ago to set up an organization to operate in Turkey and Greece. If this bill is passed, it will find these New Deal officeholders, at higher salaries and with high expense accounts, transferred to Turkey and Greece.

Mr. Truman and his administration have fought every step taken by the Republicans in the House and Senate to reduce the cost of government for the coming fiscal year, beginning July 1, 1947, below thirty-seven billion five hundred million asked for in his budget. I wonder how much confidence the proponents of this bill have in the President, although they give him a blank check for \$400,000,000 and tremendous authority to spend that money as he may direct, and of course under Paul Porter, of the OPA. This bill provides that no civilian personnel should be assigned to Turkey and Greece to administer this four hundred million until such person or persons have been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the FBI. It seems to me that if the proponents of this bill are willing to adopt the new and fateful foreign policy of the President, which likely will involve us within a year in the wars, revolutions, and insurrections in any part of the world, they would have had enough faith in the President to permit him to pass upon the loyalty of the persons he might name to carry out his policies, but, no, this bill provides that he can only appoint persons that have been approved by the FBI. I do not recall any such provision in any bill that has been considered by Congress during my service.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBSION. I cannot. I only have a brief time and cannot yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Does the gentleman object to that?

Mr. ROBSION. I do not yield. You are one of the gentleman supporting this measure with others who insisted upon taking up more than 6 hours of the debating time, with the opposition receiving less than 3 hours. Then you ask me, with only a short time to speak, to yield.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE OPPOSED TO THIS BILL

During the recent Easter recess I visited nearly all the counties of my district and met hundreds of my constituents, Republicans and Democrats, and without exception all who expressed themselves were against this bill. I received a great many letters expressing opposition, and today, for the first time, I received a letter from a constituent of mine favoring the bill. He is a fine citizen, and I am sure that if he understood the dangers involved in this new foreign policy of the President that he would not, in my opinion, favor it. In my opinion, an overwhelming majority of those who are really informed believe as I do, that it will lead us into war and we will be called upon to make great sacrifices in blood and treasure.

Opinionaire, a forum of public opinion carried April 9, 1947, by the full network of the Mutual Broadcasting System,

brought in 8,144 votes which opposed the idea of the bill. One thousand seven hundred and seventy-two favored it. This question was before America's Town Meeting of the Air April 24. The returns showed that 3½ to 1 were against this Truman doctrine. This, as you know, is a network program of the American Broadcasting Co. The Forum, a single broadcast of WINX here in the Nation's Capital March 24, brought a 4-to-1 response against the armed-assistance program. The Gallup poll of April 24 showed that 7 out of every 10 voters polled think that this will bring the United States to war.

I have talked with many of my colleagues, and they claim that their mail, like mine, is running strong against this measure. I am definitely of the opinion that if the American people understood fully and clearly the far-reaching implications of this new doctrine an overwhelming majority would oppose it.

OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM

It is needless for me to say that I now and have always vigorously opposed not only communism but fascism and any other totalitarian form of government. No word or vote of mine could be construed as favoring in the slightest degree any one of these groups, their ideals or ideologies. I have never hesitated to speak and vote in favor of any measure that would protect our country from these. I thank God that there is not a Communist living within the borders of the 17 counties of my congressional district. No; not one. There are no Red flags or sympathizers of the Red flag in the Ninth Kentucky District. We know but one flag and that is the Stars and Stripes. We know just one loyalty and that is the loyalty to the United States of America.

Quite a lot of folks have changed their views and opinions here in the National Capital. The Bolsheviks, or Communists, took charge of Russia about the time I came to Congress, March 4, 1919. President Wilson would not recognize their Government. Neither would Presidents Harding, Coolidge, or Hoover. These American Presidents regarded communism as dangerous to the welfare of this country. Then came another President, Mr. Roosevelt. He insisted on recognizing the communistic Government of Russia. He insisted that our country take these Communists to our bosoms.

Before we got into World War II, the Russians put on a great ball at the Russian Embassy. Many of those, and some of them in our Government, attended that great function of the Russian Ambassador. Champagne flowed freely. Caviar was served in abundance, and when it was over there was laid on a silver platter a billion-dollar credit from our Government to Russia and the Communists. Yes; a billion-dollar present. Now, what were the Russian, communistic officials celebrating at this great ball and feast? They were celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the birth of communism in Russia, and some of those who are denouncing communism today, and were in high public

office, attended that party. Was not President Truman there, as well as practically all of our high public officials who were in harmony with the policy of recognizing communistic Russia, when we have all known for years that the fundamental purpose of communism is to overthrow this Government, as well as other governments, by force and violence?

When did President Truman get stirred up about communism? It was only a brief period of time before President Truman delivered his message to Congress on Turkey and Greece that former Gov. George H. Earle, of Pennsylvania, a Democrat, and who had held important positions under our Government in Europe, wrote a letter to President Truman, pointing out the dangers of communism in this country. President Truman, in replying to Governor Earle's letter, said:

People are very much wrought up about the Communist "bugaboo," but I am of the opinion that this country is perfectly safe so far as communism is concerned. We have too many sane people.

It is needless to say that many of us were greatly surprised when a few days thereafter President Truman delivered this world-rocking message that we must embark on a policy to interfere in the quarrels, revolutions, and insurrections anywhere in the world if there was any threat from the Communists, and he put upon the ground that it was necessary for the safety and protection of the United States. We have wondered what brought about such a profound change in such a brief period of time.

There is no claim that there is any appreciable number of Communists in Turkey, and I wish also to venture to say that there are more Communists in the United States than there are in Greece, and several times more. The President in his message fixes the number of Communists in Greece at "only a few thousand." We have had several thousand Communists holding important jobs in our Government and receiving their pay out of the tax and bond money of the American people.

The President and his advisers no doubt took note of the results of the last November election. It might help to restore them in the confidence of the American people if they start a campaign against the Communists. The President has asked Congress for \$50,000,000 to fight communism in this country and \$400,000,000 to fight it over in Greece and Turkey. These Communists in this country were built up and encouraged by administrations of which Mr. Truman was a part, and those administrations blocked many efforts on the part of Congress to rid this country of Communists and communism. Is this so-called emergency a build-up for the Presidential and congressional elections of 1948? If we embark upon this policy, in my opinion, there will be many emergencies under this new world foreign policy. Let us direct our efforts first and effectively in eliminating and driving Communists and other subversive persons from public office in this country.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Many persons have claimed that the Republican Party kept our Nation out of the League of Nations and that this brought on World War II. We did not go into the League of Nations. President Wilson called upon his Democratic friends in the Senate to vote against the Covenant. It had to receive two-thirds of the Senate vote. It never received more than 49 votes and that was on a reservation put in the Covenant by Republicans and some Democrats. Before the close of this war, there was a great deal of talk about having some sort of United Nations organization so that all nations who were opposed to aggression could unite and stop aggression. The first movement in this respect is what is known as the Fulbright resolution. I voted for that resolution looking to the creation of the association of nations. The San Francisco Conference was called. It met in the summer of 1945. All of the nations of the earth except our recent enemies were invited to attend. Fifty nations responded. Out of that came the so-called United Nations Organization. Its chief purpose was in case of any threatened aggression for these United Nations to take immediate steps to stop such aggression and to refer disputes between nations to the UNO and settle these disputes by peaceful means. If that could not be done, then for these nations to unite together and stop the aggression. That has been organized for nearly 2 years.

The President says that there is threat of aggression on the part of Russia or some other country. If this be the case the matter should be referred to the UNO and either by force or public opinion stop the aggression, but neither Greece, Turkey, United States, Great Britain, nor any other country has called upon the United Nations to handle this matter. Some people say it is too weak. It was strong enough to stop any aggression of Russia into Iran or Iraq. The United States has really ignored and bypassed the UNO. We propose to play a lone hand. An amendment is to be offered to refer this Turkey-Greece matter to the UNO. I shall vote for that amendment. The United States cannot provide the men or the money to take care of all of these problems in all parts of the world as requested by the President's message. It cost us a lot of money to help develop the UNO. We have given billions, we have altered our financial and commercial policies to encourage that organization. We have paid about 72 percent for its upkeep and maintenance and that runs into millions and now we bypass the whole thing and start out to play a lone hand. This will likely mean the death of the United Nations Organization.

The President says that we must intervene wherever there is any communist threat. There is such a threat in France. The Communist Party was the largest party in France about a year ago when we turned over to France about a billion and three hundred million dollars in cash and in goods and supplies. Korea says there is a threat of communism in that country. This is also true in China,

India, Iran, Iraq, and demands will likely come thick and fast within the next year. These are some of the burdens and dangers that will confront our country if we adopt the Truman policy of interfering in all the wars, quarrels and insurrections throughout the world. I just cannot see it that way. We must not play alone; let us cooperate with other nations and insist on these matters being settled by the UNO and let each nation share its responsibility. The lone-hand will end up in us incurring the ill will and envy of nations throughout the world.

TROUBLE IN GREECE

There are some who say, Will we vote against this bill and deny relief to needy people in Greece? Greece has a population of about 7,500,000 people. Since the war, other countries and the United States have poured into Greece in the way of relief of many kinds amounting to over a billion dollars. Last week the House passed a bill providing \$200,000,000 more of aid for needy people in Greece and some other countries in Europe. The President asked for only 100,000,000 in his budget for aid, but some folks, very generous of the American taxpayers' money, wanted to make it \$350,000,000. I voted for the \$200,000,000 bill. It was strictly a relief measure. The bill before us is not for the relief of needy people in Greece.

It has been admitted that this is a military measure. We have an American fleet now off of the coast of Greece and Turkey of destroyers, cruisers, battleships, and aircraft carrier. The Balkans have always been regarded as the "powder keg" of Europe. I wonder how long it may be until one of these ships is blown up and we have another *Maine* disaster which event projected us into the Spanish-American War. It is admitted that Turkey is not in need of any relief. Turkey looked alone to the welfare of Turkey during World War II. She played both ends against the middle. She whispered meaningless words to the British and American diplomats. Britain and the United States poured into Turkey about \$1,000,000,000 of relief. She did not fire a gun to aid us; she milked us and Britain and at the same time she was furnishing supplies and consorting with Hitler and his gang. Turkey grew rich and fat. She has an army of 1,000,000 men. She wants us to support that army and no Russian, Communist, or other person has entered her territory. Of course, Turkey is not a democracy. It is a totalitarian government, and her country is ruled by dictators. It has been a nation of deceit and intrigue and cruelty for more than a century. As a boy and a young man I remember how the American people from time to time were stirred to the very depths because of the massacre of the Armenian Christians and the abduction of Christian missionaries with demands for heavy ransom. Turkey has drawn the iron curtain around Armenia. In World War I she joined with our enemies and did her best to help destroy this country. She used more discretion in World War II and worked both sides. They claim we must go over there and meddle in the domestic affairs of Turkey

to keep Russia from swallowing up Turkey. No one yet has been smart enough to swallow Turkey and whatever we might do, if she got in a tight place, she would swap us out. Of course, many Turks are opposed to our country meddling in the affairs of their country.

The big trouble in Greece is that they have had imposed upon them kings and dictators to which they are opposed. Millions of Greek people love liberty, freedom, and democracy. Many years ago Great Britain and other countries insisted upon putting King Constantine on the Greek throne. Neither he nor his wife had a drop of Greek blood in them and they were not natives of Greece. He was forced to abdicate. His son, George, a young man, was forced upon the Greek people. He was not a Greek or native of Greece. He was forced to abdicate twice. During World War II he was able to leave Greece and locate in a more safe and congenial place. After World War II Great Britain urged our country to help place King George back on the throne of Greece. During King George's reign Greece had one of the most arbitrary dictators that ever ruled any people. His ascension to the throne created at once great discord in Greece. No doubt some Communists took a hand in that opposition. The things to which the common people of Greece had been subjected, no doubt, caused some Greeks to become Communists. Perhaps 100,000 people were killed in the clashes that followed. American tanks were used. I am not defending a Communist in Greece or anywhere. King George died the other day and his brother Paul, by virtue of birth, not because he was a Greek or entitled to it, became King of Greece. We now propose to send aid to keep him on the moth-eaten throne of Greece and to support and maintain the expensive group that he has around him. I am advised that King George did and this King Paul receives a salary equivalent to \$200,000 in American money per year while our President only receives \$75,000 per year. The big ship owners in Greece and many of the wealthy people in Greece by foul means escape paying their taxes to support the Greek Government. The President was not able to apologize for the Greek Government or for the right or left groups.

I was willing to vote for some relief for Greece but I am not willing to help keep on the throne a Greek King who is opposed by many of the Greek people that are not Communists. I wonder what we would think if some other nation should try to impose upon our Nation an expensive king and his followers. We would not submit to it tamely. It is urged that the people of the hills and mountains of Greece are the most numerous objectors. The hill and mountain people of no country, as I recall, are Communists because they do believe in God and in freedom. Why did not Britain and the United States insist on giving to Greece a democratic form of government? I do not propose to vote for a measure that helps to uphold and keep in office kings and dictators in any country of the world and I shall vote against this bill.

I am not overlooking the fact that this policy will likely involve us in another World War. World War I started in a little country right in the Balkans—the powder keg of Europe. If we are to have a war, let it be to help establish and maintain a democratic form of government, honestly elected and not to maintain kings and queens, dukes and lords.

(Mr. ROBSION asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. SMATHERS].

(Mr. SMATHERS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. Chairman, several hundreds of years ago in a far-off province of China, word came in that a strange malady and disease had begun to strike down the people who lived in its remote regions. Just what this disease was nobody knew or was able to find out. Reports continued to come into the capital of the province that this dread ailment was spreading into other areas. Upon receipt of this information several members of the ruling group went before what could be compared to our United States Congress, and asked that the governing body appropriate money from the central treasury which would be used to find out what this dread disease was, whether it was contagious, and how it could be stopped. There were other representatives, however, who, because the disease was far away and had not yet particularly affected them, opposed this suggestion that any money be spent. They cried out, "Why should we spend this money when already our people can hardly pay the tax load, and when we are not certain just what the money will be used for? Some more pressing emergency may arise, and so we should keep the money on hand. Furthermore, if we give money on occasions like this, we will soon bankrupt this government."

On the strength of these negative arguments, the rulers did not appropriate the money, and within 2 years thereafter the disease of cholera swept over that province, killing over 60 percent of the people and practically all of the rulers. Today, many hundreds of years later, that province still lies prostrate and bankrupt.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that we Members of Congress are in much the same situation as were those rulers in the province of China about which I have just spoken. Today we know that there is an infectious and dangerous mental disease which is attacking the people of Asia and Europe, and that many people in many countries are succumbing to this mental disease. We also know that it amounts to a plague which is the antithesis of democracy, of liberty, of freedom as we know it. We also know that if it continues its march unchecked, it will in time threaten our very existence.

We have been asked by the farsighted and courageous President of the United States to appropriate \$400,000,000, the real purpose of which is to check the spread of this mental infection, which

we call communism, and thereby to determine at this point in our history just how serious that mental disease is. We should learn now how far its proponents will go, what is in store for us who believe in democracy as opposed to those who believe in communism. If we turn down President Truman's proposal, the chances are that our history will be similar to that of the far-off province of China and that in a few years this mental malady will spread all over the rest of the world and eventually overrun us.

We have heard men say on the floor of this House that this money should not be given to Greece and Turkey because if we give it in this instance we will have to give it in other instances and to other countries that may be jeopardized by communism. That is true, but who in this House would not give all of his money or, in fact, sacrifice his life in order that our country and our system of government might survive? It has been said that no one knows with certainty just where this program of aid to Greece and Turkey will lead, and I must admit that we all have to agree to that assertion. When General Eisenhower took the armies of the United States across the English Channel, he did not know for a certainty what the outcome was going to be. He could not have given you a schedule of where those armies would be stopped or even state with finality that they would win. The only thing that he and the men who went across that Channel knew was that over on the other side there was an evil which threatened the future of the United States and freedom and liberty everywhere. Eisenhower did not know how many lives it would cost. No one knew how much of the treasure of the United States would be expended in order to overcome that evil, but we were committed to a policy of preserving democracy and freedom, and those evil forces had to be eliminated in order to do that. Thousands of good American soldiers died in that battle. They died for the ideals of freedom and democracy, and I submit, Mr. Chairman, that we all know that even though the war has been ended, the battle between democracy and freedom as opposed to tyranny and totalitarianism still goes on. If we do not continue to support those ideals for which our soldiers died by opposing totalitarianism and tyranny wherever we find it, we will be making a mockery of the lives of those young men.

Four hundred million dollars in such an instance as this, Mr. Chairman, is inconsequential, when we understand that with that \$400,000,000 we might be able to stop the march of this Red disease, or discover just what is in the minds of the leaders of those forces. The right kind of information now might help us work out a practical basis of peace and avert a future war.

It has been charged by Members of Congress today, that if we adopt the program as proposed by President Truman, we will be embarking upon an imperialistic policy from which there is no retreat. I disagree with those assertions and state that they are not supported by

the facts. How can anyone logically maintain that the United States is imperialistic in action or intent, when we recall that at the end of World War II we were the most powerful Nation on earth and could have crushed any nation, taken any desired possession, but by our own volition we decreased our military forces to a point where they are less than those of the Russian nation today. We have the atomic bomb, but instead of using that for imperialistic purposes we have gone so far as to offer its secret to the other nations of the world if they will merely cooperate in peaceful pursuits and make full disclosures of the development of fissionable material in their own countries. We spent over \$150,000,000,000 in order to win World War II, but unlike the other countries we have not asked for any reparations. We have not asked for any money back. Since World War II we have given freedom to the Philippine Islands, one of the richest island groups in the world. We have asked the other countries to do the same thing to their possessions. We have given up our rights in China and by every act and deed we have indicated that we are not imperialistically inclined but that the only thing we seek is the chance for people who want to live under a system of freedom and democracy to have the opportunity to do so.

It has been charged that we are bypassing the United Nations, yet I would like to point out that it was a commission of the United Nations, the FAO, which recommended that Greece seek assistance from a member nation, which is just what Greece has done by asking us for assistance. Everyone knows that if this matter were today taken to the United Nations Organization, Russia would veto the proposed action. What, then, would be our course? If we went ahead with our assistance to Greece and Turkey we would with finality and with certainty scuttle the United Nations, because we would then be placed in a position of going contrary to its rulings. If we recognized Russia's veto and did nothing, we would be playing into the hands of the Communists, because they want, as Secretary of State Marshall said, "the doctors to deliberate while the patient dies."

To those who shout that we are bypassing the United Nations—where were their voices when Russia recently made a pact with Poland and agreed to send Poland economic assistance and implements of war? Does anyone doubt that Russia has been giving such aid to Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, and others? Yet where is the cry that Russia is bypassing the United Nations? Two rights do not make a wrong, but does an act committed by a democracy constitute a bypass of the United Nations when the same act on the part of a Communist-controlled government is not considered a bypass?

The United Nations is unable to cope with this problem today. It has no resources, no enforcing weapons, and one of the reasons it is in such a weak condition is because of the delaying and dila-

tory tactics of the Communist controlled governments. Finally, this bill, H. R. 2616 has in it a provision calling for the United States to cease this program in Greece and Turkey whenever the Security Council of the United Nations or the General Assembly finds that the program is unnecessary and undesirable.

We would be appeasing once again if we permit these negative delaying arguments to prevail, and it is a known fact that nothing is gained from appeasement. Daladier tried to appease Hitler, and France was overrun. Chamberlain tried to appease Hitler, and England was devastated. Even Stalin tried to appease Hitler, and Russia was overrun. We tried to appease the Japanese, and we were attacked. Appeasement has proven a futile, worthless tactic in the fight against totalitarianism and aggression.

We must meet the problems which might lead to future wars directly and as quickly as is possible. We must meet the responsibility of leadership for world peace and freedom for individuals.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS].

(Mr. MORRIS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I call your attention to this significant fact, that the Committee on Foreign Affairs itself is badly confused about the purpose of this bill. I know the members of this committee are honorable men, are patriotic and able men, but it only goes to show that when we become so steeped in prejudice we are at the point where we cannot think straight.

On page 10 of the report the committee states that it asked the State Department to set out the purpose of this bill and whether or not we intend to interfere with the government of Greece. According to this report the State Department replied as follows:

Whatever we may do to assist Greece and Turkey, we propose scrupulously to respect the sovereignty of those countries with respect to the conduct of their internal as well as their external affairs.

That is what the Department of State told the committee. The committee follows that expression with its own statement and said:

The Greek and Turkish Governments have themselves requested the assistance proposed in this bill. Government witnesses testified that the greatest care will be exercised to avoid any action which could be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of either country.

Earlier in the report, however, on page 8, the statement of the committee is as follows:

The committee has been given assurance that our Government will insist that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in such matters as fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These are all essential to the establishment of stability in Greece.

The military programs in Greece and Turkey will be administered through small groups of United States military and naval personnel sent to those countries for that purpose. They would screen requirements and advise in the best application and use of the materials and equipment made available to Greece and Turkey.

In other words, what we will do is take over Greece and run its government. We will tell them what kind of taxes to levy, we will control their exports, and tell them what kind of imports they can have. You say that is not imperialism? It is imperialism and you cannot escape it.

We say in one instance that we will scrupulously avoid interfering with their autonomy and their integrity as a nation, and in the next breath we say we will take it over. The committee is confused and you who advocate this kind of a program are confused, in my judgment. It is going to lead our great Nation, I am afraid, into destruction. From deep down in my heart I beg you to consider this matter. It is a most serious step.

Mr. Chairman, I want you to know that I have confidence in the integrity, ability, and patriotism of the Members of this House generally, and God knows from the bottom of my heart I respect their views. I have been taught all of my life to respect the views of any honest sincere person, even though he might disagree with me, and I believe that you are just as honest, just as sincere, and just as patriotic as I am. So I do not impugn your motives, but I do believe your judgment is very, very bad.

It is said that communism is on the march. I say to you that communism is on the retreat. The world is gradually recovering from the most devastating war in the annals of history. Communism is gradually retreating, and it will continue to retreat if that recovery continues. We will definitely defeat communism if we will just make democracy work in this grand old country of ours.

Russia is not as large today as it was a hundred years ago, it is not as large as it was 30 years ago. It used to contain all of Poland and all of Finland, as well as most of what it contains now. Russia defeated little Finland, but it did not take Finland over. Why? It is hard for any nation to take over another nation even though it is small. I say to you that communism and Russia cannot accomplish what you say they can.

I have never in my life been in a group of people who are as easily scared as you gentlemen are—never in my life. I fought in a number of actual battles, some of the bloodiest that were fought in the First World War; I fought a number of legal battles in the court room, and I have fought a number of political battles, but never have I seen anybody scared as badly as you are. You are a whole lot more scared of Russia than the people of this country are.

The distinguished gentleman from Illinois, and he is eloquent, spoke of Mother's Day. He said that pretty soon Mother's Day would be here and he had something beautiful to say about mothers. All of our hearts responded to that.

I am wondering what the mothers of our Nation will say. We have taken their lads twice, and even some of their lassies, into bloody wars. For God's sake, let us not do that again. I know your purpose will not be that. God knows I know your purpose is good; but let us think, my friends.

If I were hanged on highest hill,
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine
I know whose love would follow still;
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine
If I were drowned in deepest sea,
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine
I know whose tears would come down to me;
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine.
If I were cursed of body and soul,
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine
I know whose prayers would make me whole,
Mother o' mine, O Mother o' mine.

I think it would be a pretty good idea for those of us whose mothers are still living to ask them what they are thinking. They are away from the turmoil and the confusion here and maybe their thoughts would be a little clearer than ours; and to those who are not fortunate enough to have a mother living, I respectfully suggest that you ask yourselves this question: What would your mother have done under these circumstances? Or what would your father have done?

The remarks I have just made were extemporaneous and since my time has expired I wish to extend in the RECORD just this one other thought at this time. Tomorrow I hope to be given some more time to speak on the floor on this bill H. R. 2616. The other thought is this:

So much needs to be done in our own country to make it strong so that neither communism nor any other ism except good Americanism will ever thrive here. For instance, I am reliably informed that the approximately 2,200,000 old-age pensioners receive an average of \$35.39 per month. Does it not seem logical and reasonable to you that it would be far better to use these millions of dollars we will spend in giving military aid to Greece and Turkey in furtherance of a better old-age pension program? It does to me. And, of course, there are many other worthy programs, here at home, crying out for just as much needed help. If we impoverish ourselves by spending lavishly abroad, do we not endanger our own way of life here at home?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, probably nobody will dispute the statement that whether or not a world war develops usually depends not on what happens in the last few frantic months before it actually breaks out, but on what happens in the 1, 2, or, at most, 3 years after the preceding war. Whether, the United States of America, God forbid, is to have another world war will in my judgment depend very largely on how the United States has handled its affairs since VJ-day and on how well or how badly it handles its affairs now and in the next year, perhaps 1 year after that.

Doubtless we will also agree that only the shooting part of the World War II is

over. Throughout the world today a fierce political and ideological war is being waged, a war to determine who really won the shooting war. We know who defeated the Germans and the Japanese, but nobody can really know who won World War II until it is clear what ideas, whose ideas are going to dominate in the reconstruction of the world.

This fierce ideological and political warfare is particularly crucial, it seems to me, in four main areas, because the outcome in those areas will determine our own future and that of mankind.

The first is Germany. Almost everybody agrees that as Germany goes, so will go Europe. First, because the Germans occupy a strategically advantageous position in the center of Europe; second, because they have enormous resources of the key minerals, especially coal and iron, necessary for great industrial development and production; and third, because they have more than 65,000,000 strong people, people with a real genius for organization, people who have proved they have an extraordinary capacity for scientific invention and mechanical skills, people who have proved twice within our lifetime that they have the ability to commit themselves to an idea, and whether it is good or bad, pursue it with singleness of purpose, efficiency, and unbelievable devotion.

We know who defeated the Germans. The crucial question is: Who is going to win the Germans—win their minds and hearts? That is why Mr. Molotov has made so many speeches on his side, trying to persuade the Germans to take over the new totalitarianism from the East as a substitute for Hitler's which was overthrown from the outside, but apparently not generally repudiated from the inside.

That is why Secretary Byrnes, General Marshall, Senator Vandenberg, Mr. Bevin and the others have made their speeches on the other side, trying to get the German people to see that there is more for them to gain in the long run by abandoning all totalitarianisms and coming along with the western democracies. I do not think anybody can predict confidently today just what the outcome is to be. Which way will Germany go?

Much of the answer will depend on what happens in the second of the crucial areas, the Middle East, the one we are discussing in this bill, to provide assistance for Greece and Turkey. To reduce it to a few sentences as one has to in only 10 minutes, if we do not pass this bill, every bit of the testimony indicates that Greece as a free nation will go down tomorrow. The people will have to give in to the pressures from organized Communist-directed minorities, subservient to Russia through her satellites, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania to the north. There is no use resisting what is inevitable, if Greece stands alone. All she can do is try to make the best terms she can.

And if Greece goes down, Turkey is hopelessly outflanked. Turkey could and probably would hold on alone for a while because the Turks are tough. But they could not resist for long. There would be little point in trying. They might just as well get the best terms possible

and avoid the useless murder and destruction. I do not think anyone can escape the conclusion that within a very few weeks or months Turkey would have to succumb to the inexorable, irresistible pressure from her north.

Then what happens? Italy goes down almost next the next week. They are just hanging on by their fingernails now, hoping that there are still people in the world who believe in freedom enough to stand by those who are fighting for it. But if there are not enough people who are willing to hold up their hands, they might just as well first as last, capitulate to their strong, disciplined, Communist fifth column within and Tito's divisions on the border.

Then France goes down within the next few months. What else can she do, I ask you? A lot of you were over there fighting. You know what condition she is in. And her largest party and most of her organized workers are controlled from Moscow, waiting for the signal. Millions of Frenchmen love freedom, but what can they do without help, moral or material? They, too, must come to terms with the Soviet.

Then Germany is effectively encircled by Soviet-dominated countries, and Germany, too, is in the Russian bag. Under such circumstances, why should Russia be expected to agree with us at this recent Moscow Conference? Why should she enter into agreements with the United States, Britain, and France with respect to Germany, agreements which would limit her in any way, if within a few months Germany is to be wholly hers, in her lap, given to her by default?

Then England would be neutralized by rocket bombs alone. She could not move herself or be even a base again as in the last two wars. Then there would be a so-called revolution in Spain, supported and supplied from France, not because the Communists are interested in the people of Spain but because they are interested in getting Gibraltar, which controls the inlet and outlet of the Mediterranean.

If Russia controls the Mediterranean and north Africa—read yesterday's papers regarding the Communist-inspired revolts there—then a look at the map shows that they are only half as far away from the bulge of South America as we in the United States are.

So in this bill we are not dealing with just a few little peninsulas off the southern border of the Balkans, we are dealing with the fate of Germany, which means of Europe. We are dealing with the fate of north Africa, the fate of South America, the security of the United States.

Our action here may well determine whether the 250,000 Americans who died in the last war died in vain, their sacrifice thrown away within 2 years of their death, or whether, please God, we are going to give the freedom for which they fought a chance to live and grow in the western world.

That brings me to the third of the areas where the political struggle is so crucial—China. I wish I had a long time to discuss that. Maybe I can get some time for it someday. Because as China goes so will go Asia. China, like Ger-

many, occupies a strategically advantageous central position in Asia. China has great natural resources. China has 450,000,000 extraordinarily tough people—a weak, exhausted Government, but a strong people.

I am willing to venture the prediction that historians will eventually agree that World War II all along was a war more than anything else to determine who is going to control the development of the manpower, the materials, and the markets of Asia.

Hitler understood that. He said one time that if Germany conquered all of Europe that would not solve her problem. Of course it would not. There are no undeveloped areas in Europe. He had to get Europe as the springboard from which to seize control of the undeveloped areas of the world which are in South America, Africa, and Asia. South America and Africa have great natural resources, but only Asia has great natural resources and great manpower, a billion and a quarter people, more than half the population of the world. Who is going to control the development of those resources and that manpower? What ideas are going to dominate in Asia? That is the crucial question of the next century.

The Japanese have understood that fact. That was why they fought so long and so hard to try to conquer China and then Asia.

The Russians have understood it. They poured more money and effort into the Communist movement in China beginning in 1922 than into all the other countries in the world except the United States, because they rightly perceived that, second only to the United States of America, the strategically most important country in the world to win for communism, if possible, is China. As China goes so will go Asia.

Let me approach it this way: Why did we get into World War II, or how? We got into World War II because when it came to a show-down we finally realized down in our bones what we never should have forgotten in our brains, that we did not dare let Japan, a great, expanding, militaristic nation, get control of the manpower, materials, and potential markets of Asia. Our own security would be too seriously jeopardized. So after having spent 10 years building Japan up until she was strong enough to attack us, we then belatedly said, "We will resist your further expansion. We will not sell you any more supplies." And, of course, she did attack us.

Now, when the United States of America has fought for almost 4 years at such terrible cost in men and wealth to keep one expanding, totalitarian, militaristic nation, Japan, from getting control of the gigantic manpower, materials, and markets of Asia, is it not almost incredible to witness, as we have in the last 2 years or so, a group of Americans insisting on our presenting control of the manpower, materials, and markets of Asia to another expanding, totalitarian, militaristic power, Russia? If we are to do that, I ask you why did we fight World War II?

To abandon China now can mean only that we defeated Japan, and Russia won

the war. I can see why Russia and her devotees should urge it. But why should Americans urge it. How could it possibly serve our interests. It would mean that our fighting Japan was not only in vain—it was criminal—because, to be brutally frank, if Russia is to have control of Europe and some militaristic power is to have control of Asia, then it would be less dangerous to us to have Japan in control of Asia than to have Russia in control of both Europe and Asia.

How can anyone look our dead in the face and then turn around and say, "It is none of our business whether our allies in Asia are enslaved or free."

Some people advocate abandoning Asia as they advocate abandoning Greece and Turkey, because they assume the only way we can avoid war with Russia is by always yielding to her. But surely we have learned something about this business of getting peace by yielding. We tried hard for 10 years to get peace with Japan by yielding. Did it lead to peace? No. It led straight to war.

Daladier and Chamberlain tried to get peace with Hitler by yielding, by appeasement. Did it lead to peace? No. It led straight to war.

Stalin tried to get peace with Hitler by appeasement. Did it lead to peace? No. It led straight to war.

I have three little children who sometimes wear me out by their pressure for this or that. I think, "Oh, it does not make much difference. This is only a minor matter. After all, they are nice little youngsters—why not give in this once?" Does it lead to peace? No. It leads straight to war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield two additional minutes to the gentleman.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, look for a moment at what we have done in our desire to get good relations with Russia. A year and a half ago we had incomparably the greatest military machine that the world has ever seen—in the air, on the land, on the sea and under the sea. If we had had a single grain of imperialism in our souls, a single design on Russia, we could have imposed our will on her, or on anyone else. What did we do with that superiority? We threw it away in 6 months. How can anybody so misrepresent our actions as to say that we are "getting tough with Russia: Look not at anyone's words. Look at the deed. There was never anything like it in history.

But someone will argue that we could afford to disarm on land and sea because we have the atomic bomb, the super-weapon. Well, what did we do with that? We told Russia we would give that to her too, subject only to the condition that any use she makes of atomic energy be under the full inspection and control of a real international commission, without any vetoes, the same as any use that we make of atomic energy, our own invention, our own Oak Ridge, be under the full inspection and control of that same international commission, without any vetoes by us either. Actually that was the most radical—in the true sense of the word—the most far-reaching proposal any strong, sovereign, victorious

nation ever made in all history. And it was made by so-called reactionary, capitalistic Uncle Sam.

If Russia is afraid of our atomic bomb as some claim, then she knows exactly how she can get it and have it under exactly the same conditions as we ourselves have it.

We went further to try to get good relations. We looked in the other direction while Russia destroyed the independence of a half dozen countries in eastern Europe.

We accepted her thesis that in order to be secure she must impose her will on about 70 or 80 million non-Russians in eastern Europe.

We offered to work for modification of the Montreux Convention so she could have free access to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, in war as in peace.

We promised her effective control of the ports and key railroads of Manchuria—which means control of Manchuria, even though we had just solemnly promised the Chinese at Cairo that Manchuria would be returned to China.

Yes; we went still further. In order to reassure Russia that we would not interfere with what she was doing in flagrant violation of her pledges in the Atlantic Charter, one of its two authors publicly repudiated the Charter.

Pray tell, what more could we do to try to show our friendship for and good will toward Russia? But did it lead to better relations? No, they got steadily worse.

It is not because I want war with Russia; it is precisely because I don't want war with Russia that I beg us not to pursue further the fallacious notion that we can get peace with her by sacrificing our principles and other people's territory. The outcome in Asia depends in no small degree on what happens in Greece and Turkey. If they go down, then of course, Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Afghanistan go down like ninepins, and Russia's agents stand at the door of India, which is so divided she cannot offer either ideological or material resistance. She falls into the Russian lap like a ripe plum. The powerful Communist movement in Indochina takes over. No one in Malaysia can long resist. The long 20-year struggle of the Chinese Government against Communist imperialism will be lost. Let us not naively imagine that the tip of Korea, or Japan, or even the Philippines can long remain free and democratic with Russia dominant on the mainland of Asia.

I can only mention the last of the four areas where the struggle between the forces of freedom and of slavery is most crucial—the United States. Which way are we to go?

As Germany goes, so goes Europe.

As China goes, so goes Asia.

As Greece and Turkey and the Middle East go, so are likely to go both Europe and Asia.

Mr. Chairman, we are determining here and now in this historic Chamber whether the people of Greece and Turkey are to have a chance to go the way of freedom, as they have proved they want to. That will have the greatest

influence, I think probably be decisive, in determining whether the people of Europe and of Asia are to have a chance to go the way of freedom. It will ultimately determine whether we ourselves are to be a safe and solvent and free people.

We, not Russia, are the question mark to millions and millions of men and women who love freedom and will fight and die for it, if they have hope. They look not to the Kremlin but to Washington, because they know that the decisions in the Kremlin still depend, thank God, on the decisions in Washington, the decisions in this House of the Representatives of the free men and women of the one strong citadel of liberty remaining on the earth.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK].

(Mr. BLATNIK asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great interest to what is undoubtedly the most crucial and far-reaching debate that has been heard in this session of Congress. I shall not attempt to repeat, or try to summarize the very able arguments presented so far, in opposition to this measure.

In the limited time which I have I would like to concern myself with the human angle that I do not believe has been covered in this debate.

Charges of outside interference which have been brought here in connection with this problem have been very vague. I would like to show what will be the actual effect should this measure be passed by the Congress. We hear talk of outside aggression, of outside interference. Unquestionably there is some. I should like very much to know the nature and source of that aggression, and I would be the first of those to have the spotlight placed on that, and have it brought before the United Nations and have it stopped as it was in Iran. But if we send military aid to the present Greek Government, against whom is it going to be used? Against some foreign or alien people in Greece? No. It is going to be used against the Greek people themselves—to kill Greek people. I should like to say a word about those people. I know from personal experience what the life of the guerrilla is like. These men and women are in the hills of Greece today, ragged, hungry, tired, and beaten in body but not in spirit. Men and women who have seen 4, 5, or 6 years of a type of hell on earth that is beyond the wildest imagination of man unless you have seen it and experienced it yourself. For every man and woman surviving in the hills today there are 20 or 30 of their friends, relatives, or family people who have died in these last 6 years. I think the line which should be drawn is this: In time of war, when the whole world was in peril and we were opposed to the Nazi and Fascist forces, the might and courage of those people were on our side. There are American boys living back home today, and I include myself

as one of them, because of the help of those people. Their rifles were pointed in the same direction as ours. Their attacks and their energies were directed against our common enemy.

We had also at that time in that country certain Greek people who walked as free men in Athens and other villages under the domination of the Germans; men who walked free then, under German control, who are free today, and who are in responsible positions in the Greek Government; men whom we propose today to back up against the rest of the good people of Greece. If we had lost this war, and those of us who had been overseas would have remained there as slave labor in the hands of the Germans, and God knows what would have happened to you at home—yet these men would be walking free under the Germans in Greece. Now we propose to uphold their hands, in exterminating and killing the real patriots. I am not talking in favor of any leftist or Communist elements. I am talking about the rank and file, the middle of the road, the democratic, the good people in Greece. For instance, we had at that time a man named Napoleon Zervas, a hated and despised man, who collaborated with the Germans. He is today Minister of Public Security. He is the man who today can go around and say, "I don't like what you are saying or what you are writing," and in 24 hours send you to one of their deportation camps and have you thrown into prison.

The chief of police in Athens today, named Evert, is the same man who was the chief of police in Athens when the Germans were in there.

So I caution you now, let us not go there in the name of democracy and commit the fatal error of aiding men such as Napoleon Zervas, Minister of Public Security, and Evert, the chief of police, in their ruthless, rightist terrorism and brutality and hold that up to the people of the world as a sample of what we mean by democracy.

Let us support the real democratic groups, the people of Greece; let us give them economic help and relief. Let us aid them in a program of relief and economic reconstruction. Let us extend to these people, who are battered, beaten, and down on their knees, a helping hand. Let us help them rise to their feet, and let us give them strength so they can carry on on their own.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLATNIK. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. Is the gentleman taking the position that the present government of Greece is not approved by the people of Greece but that the people of Greece really believe in the guerrillas who are now in the hills and about whom the gentleman has just spoken?

Mr. BLATNIK. My opinion is there is serious question as to the present so-called representative government in Greece.

Mr. COOLEY. I was a member of a committee of Congress which within the

last 2 weeks was in Greece. While we were there we did not permit ourselves to be interviewed, we interviewed the press and the people of Greece; and I for one came away convinced that King Paul and his government today represent generally the people of Greece. I am surprised to hear the gentleman plead that we give aid to the guerrillas who apparently are unwilling to cooperate with the government now in power.

Mr. BLATNIK. May I ask the gentleman if he asked King Paul to explain his role as being head of the Fascist youth organization run by the Germans in Greece, and what he did that drove people to the hills of Greece, as far as the fight for democracy was concerned?

Mr. COOLEY. None of our party asked him any such question as that. Our own representatives make the statement that at least 85 percent of the people of Greece are back of the government now in power.

Mr. BLATNIK. It is strange that after 2 years of economic and military assistance by the British that there should be as much chaos and disruption in Greece if the present government has the majority support of the people today.

Let us not approach this problem in a negative way, and go in there and support the cause of the reactionary element who are no more democratic than the Communist element. Let us approach this problem in a positive way and help the freedom-loving, the good people, the majority of the people of Greece who want to have a true democracy and a real representative government.

I take a stand in opposition to the proposal before us as the wrong way, the negative way to go about the matter. I feel it should be brought before the United Nations where this can be thrashed out before the whole world, where it can be shown who is interfering, who is the aggressor threatening the peace of the world. Let those who want peace and freedom stand up and join in putting an end to any such threat, and let those who will not cooperate, sit down and be condemned.

I say that by acting unilaterally in this case we are weakening ourselves in the eyes of the world. By the other course we could rally behind us the moral support not only of our own people but the freedom-loving peoples of the whole world. We can do that only by bringing this matter before and through the United Nations.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE

Many Americans have have been most disturbed regarding the direction that American foreign policy was taking ever since the President delivered his unprecedented speech to the Congress, in which he proposed military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. Public doubt and misgivings are indicated by the Gallup and other public polls, and by the large amount of mail received by many Congressmen with respect to this issue.

One may ask: What are the sources of the doubts and misgivings on the part of the public? Surely it is not the \$400,000,000 loan in itself that has the people worried. There is nothing unusual about

the United States making a loan or a gift to another country.

I am sure that the American people do not object to aiding the starving people of Greece. There can be no doubt that the Greek people are hungry and that they need food, clothing, and aid to rehabilitate their war-torn economy. No one can read the report of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization without becoming aware of the tragic plight of the Greek people. They must be given help, and I am prepared to grant \$100,000,000, \$200,000,000, or even \$300,000,000 to Greece for relief purposes. We are the richest country in the world, and I am certain that the majority of the American people will agree with my claim that the giving of food, clothing, and aid to Greece is a Christian duty. If only Greek relief was involved in this proposal, there would be hardly a dissenting voice heard in the Congress.

PRINCIPAL OBJECTIONS

What are the objections to this proposal on the part of the people of the United States? Such objections are twofold. One is the effect of this action upon the prestige and future of the United Nations. No amount of double talk can conceal the fact that this action does in effect bypass the United Nations—that it is a unilateral act taken without consultation with other powers, and in disregard to our obligations under the United Nations Charter. Many people recall that it was similar actions by great powers which reduced the League of Nations to a debating society and destroyed it, and they fear that we now are doing the same to the UN before it even has a chance to prove itself.

A second source of misgivings about this proposal is the present extremist Royalist Government of Greece. The American people have no objections to giving aid to a free government, or to a people who are attempting to maintain their freedom. I, for one, am prepared to place the resources of the United States at the service of liberty and democracy anywhere at anytime. But before I support a measure to help a foreign government, I would like to know whether it is a free government that we are aiding—one which respects the dignity of the individual and the rights of minorities; and protects and promotes the interests of the people. For it is one thing to support a free people and another thing to bolster reactionary and semi-Fascist governments which hold their people in bondage. Aid to democracy is logical to one who believes in democracy, but aid to prop up tottering governments which oppress their people is contrary to American ideals.

Before we take this step, therefore, we should determine beforehand whether such action will mean aid to a democratic Greece or a Fascist one. Before funds are granted, we should carefully consider the reliability of the present Greek Government, and ask ourselves whether we want to take the responsibility for its past and future actions—whether said Government will be an asset or a liability to world democracy, and whether it will be effective in checking political extremism.

To assert that we aid the cause of democracy by bolstering the present Government of Greece is misleading double-talk. Let me remind you that the Greeks are not a free people today. Their Government is semi-Fascist in nature—a monarchy which is based upon the dictatorial control of armed security battalions recruited from the Fascist collaborators, and headed up by the most notorious collaborator of all—one Napoleon Zervas. The record of this Government has been one of inefficiency, corruption, suppression of individual liberty, and a callous disregard for the well-being of the people.

Let us examine the record of the present Greek Government, and let the record speak. We can begin by determining the nature and record of the Greek monarch.

THE GREEK MONARCHY

The claim is often made that the Greek monarchy is a democratic institution—that it is a limited monarchy, possessing few powers, such as does the British monarchy, and hence is compatible with democratic government. Such a claim has no foundation in fact and cannot be supported on the basis of recent Greek political history.

The British monarchy has for the last 100 years remained out of British politics and has become nothing but a figurehead as a result of this long period of nonparticipation. This is not so of the Greek monarchy, which has been deeply involved in politics, and has always functioned in the antidemocratic camp.

Let me point out that in 1917 the Allies forced the abdication of King Constantine, of Greece, because of his pro-German sympathies—his wife was a sister of Kaiser Wilhelm. The late King George, who was then Prince George, was also considered pro-German, and he went with his father into exile. In 1920 George returned to Greece when his father, Constantine, was recalled, and succeeded him in 1922. But King George lasted only 1 year—he was exiled for certain pro-German intrigues which came to light, and because he was connected with an attempted rightist military coup in Greece aimed at overthrowing the constitutional Government.

In 1935 King George was recalled after a monarchist victory at the polls. In 1936, however, the elections went against the monarchists and in favor of the liberals. George's answer to this last free election in Greece was the appointment of John Metaxas as Premier, who in turn abolished Parliament, suspended the constitution, and ruled by decree until George fled the country at the time of the Nazi invasion. It is generally agreed that the Metaxas dictatorship was as brutal and as despotic as the Hitler government.

KING PAUL SUCCEEDS

The present King of Greece, King Paul, is of the same political type as the late King George. Their family name was Schleswig-Holstein Sonderburg Glucksburg, and there is not a drop of Greek blood in Paul's veins. He belongs to one of those professional royal families of Europe who follow the parasitic trade of governing unwilling people.

During the Metaxas dictatorship, Prince Paul was head of the EOM, which was the Greek Fascist youth organization. This organization was the Greek counterpart of the Hitler Youth, complete with uniforms, salutes, and creeds. The creed of the EOM, to which Greek children had to subscribe, read as follows:

We believe in one divinely inspired and God-sent leader and savior and guide of the nation, creator of its present and future history, father of the Greek youth and outstanding fighter, John Metaxas.

Now the leader of the EOM is the head of the Greek state, and the man whom the United States is going to appoint to be the champion of democracy in Greece.

Thus we see that the Greek monarchy is something entirely different from the politically impotent British monarchy. The Greek kings have a tradition for, first, being active in politics; and, second, being antidemocratic and profascistic. Maybe our State Department considers the late King George a "great democrat," but the facts show that he was kicked out of Greece once for being pro-German; that he was exiled a second time for plotting to overthrow the constitutional government; and that he was directly responsible for the establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship.

THE GREEK ELECTIONS

It has been claimed that the present Greek Government was chosen in a free and democratic election, and that it rests upon the will of 85 percent of the Greek people. The claim that this Government has the right to speak for the Greek people is based on the report of the Allied mission which held that the election of March 31, 1946, was an orderly one and apparently represented the fair expression of the public will. This report was rendered by a mission of which few of the members could speak Greek or knew much about Greek affairs. Furthermore, it was such a small group—about 600 members—that they could do nothing more than sample a few voting precincts in the cities, and were in no position to make a fair survey of the Greek elections.

Of course, the elections were orderly. They were well prepared in advance by a royalist reign of terror which equaled anything that the Nazis had to offer. There is plenty of evidence to support this charge. On December 29, 1945, Saturday Evening Post Correspondent Ernest O. Hauser reported:

Today, as a result of their victory, the right-wing forces are making hay while the sun shines. Conditions reminiscent of early Nazi Germany. * * * Armed vigilantes maintain order in the villages, and a private army of storm troopers, called Organization X, terrorize the city folk. * * * Neither the Greek Army nor the police object to right-wing excesses.

American Correspondent Leland Stowe reported prior to the March 31, 1946, elections:

If the Allies want free elections in Greece, they would have sent the present Greek Army and police forces to Egypt for a vacation * * * and perhaps send 70,000 or more British troops along with them. * * * Under present conditions elections in Greece cannot fail to be anything but a

farce and a mockery of self-determination. The monarchists and reactionaries—all of those who never fought the Germans or who collaborated with them—are sure to win.

Prof. Jerzy Neyman, of the University of California, who was a member of the Allied mission observing Greek elections, made the following statement just recently:

The proposal of a loan to the Greek Government is based on the premise that the Greeks have a democratic government and that it was put in power by a majority of the Greek people in reasonably free elections. I am convinced that this premise is wrong. * * * While in Greece I witnessed fraud and terrorism on the part of the Royalist group surpassing anything I could imagine. To whoever chose not to close his eyes, it was clear that both the terrorism and the fraud were highly organized.

OSS TESTIMONY

Mr. Costa G. Couvaras, a former officer in the United States Army who headed an OSS mission in Greece for some 8 months behind the enemy lines during the occupation and for 9 months after liberation, has the following to say:

In my capacity as a secret agent, I made numerous reports to our military authorities and the United States Government citing the terror which started in January 1945 and was growing in strength when I left Greece in July of that year. * * * In June of 1945, I investigated the situation in northern Peloponesus, the Ionian Islands, the district of Epiras, and central Greece, and I saw government-condoned terror in its rawest form. The people who had taken part in the guerilla movement were being systematically exterminated by Royalist bands and former collaborators, and I would like to state in the most categorical way, that most of the people were far from being Communists.

The Prime Minister of the Greek Government prior to March 31, 1946, M. Sophoulis, stated on March 18, 1946, that "the necessary prerequisites for fair election—law and order—do not exist in Greece today." He charged that "the extreme right is an organized violence and terrorism, supported by the tolerance as well as the active backing of the state organs."

Former Greek Foreign Minister John Sofianopoulos, Liberal Party, stated just prior to the election:

Without a radical change in the present political situation, the elections which are being hastened by the Government and the right, cannot mean anything but a falsification and suppression of the people's will.

Another Greek Moderate political leader, and former deputy premier, the late George Kafandaris, stated in March 1946 that it was a "mockery" to send Anglo-American observers to the elections, since their outcome had been determined in advance by the beatings and murders carried out by the Royalists.

MINISTERS PROTEST

I might also point out that 11 of 35 ministers in the Sofoulis government resigned just prior to the March 1946 elections in protest against holding the elections on March 31, asserting that elections at that time would be a farce and a mockery. These 11 ministers were: Kafandaris, Deputy Premier; Mercouris, Minister of Public Works; Novas, Minister of Education; Mylonas, Minister of Finance; Evripais, Minister of Air; Bour-

daras, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; Kartalis, Minister of Supply; Pappas, Under-Secretary of Supply; Georgakis, Governor of the Ionian Islands; Petmezas, Minister of Information; Sofianopoulos, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In addition three other ministers as well as the premier protested the holding of elections, but Winston Churchill and General Scobie insisted that the elections should be held, and so they were held.

The statistics found in the report of the allied mission to observe the Greek election are most interesting. The Greek Government announced that there were 2,211,000 Greeks who registered and eligible to vote; the allied mission stated that there were only 1,950,000 Greeks eligible to register and that only 1,850,000 were validly registered. In other words, the statistics of the allied mission reveal that the election lists were padded by 361,000 names. The allied mission admitted that only 71 percent of those registered were validly registered.

Prof. Jerzy Neyman, University of California, who was with the allied observers, states:

In one village I personally found that 30 voters out of a sample of 38 were fake. * * * On the upper level it was established that the number of registered voters—only males—exceeded the number of living Greek males by 50 percent.

The allied observers estimated that the number who voted equaled 60 percent of the validly registered, and that 40 percent abstained. But this estimate is based on the premise that only the validly-registered voted, that the padded names were not voted, and that no plural voting took place. We must remember, however, that voting booths were controlled by the rightist elements, and that no precautions were taken to prevent plural voting. The allied mission recommended that voters' hands be stained with indelible ink to prevent plural voting. It is logical, therefore, to assume that the padded names were voted, that plural voting did take place, and that these fraudulent votes were cast for the Royalist candidates. If this was true, then the number of validly registered votes cast was less than 50 percent of the total, and the number of abstentions was over 50 percent.

THOUSANDS IN PRISON

Let me remind you also that when this election took place the Greek Government admitted that some 16,000 people were in prison, and approximately 150,000 people were hiding in the mountains. Furthermore, only the Monarchist-Fascist Parties and the Sophoulis Liberals voted—the leftist and center parties boycotted the election. It has been claimed that only the leftists boycotted the election. But the record reveals the significant fact that besides the EAM, the election was boycotted by the left Liberals, the left Democratic Party led by Ex-Foreign Minister John Sofianopoulos, the Progressive Party led by former Deputy Premier Kafandaris, and the Republican Associations led by Gen. Alexander Othonaios.

Thus we see that this so-called 85-percent plurality upon which the present Greek Government rests was obtained

in an election which was preceded by a Royalist reign of terror lasting over a period of many months, where the registration lists were padded by 29 percent, where only the rightist parties, and one moderate party participated, and in which the total vote cast represented less than 50 percent of the validly registered voters. On the basis of such an election, I fail to see how anyone can claim that this was a free election, and that the present Greek Government rests on the will of the Greek people.

SECURITY BATTALIONS

No discussion of the present Greek Government is complete without mentioning the Security Battalions which are the most important props to Royalist authority in Greece. Just what are the origins of the Security Battalions? They were originally established under the old Metaxis dictatorship for maintaining the Government and for hounding and exiling democratic citizens and statesmen. This instrument of oppression was continued during the occupation by the Nazis and the Greek Quislings. After the liberation the Greek Government found that the British Army and the Royal Mountain Brigade, organized in Egypt from ardent Royalist sympathizers, were unable to put down the people and restore royal authority. So the members of the Security Battalions, who were then in prison awaiting trial as collaborators, were incorporated into the army. In May 5, 1946, the Security Battalions were formally reconstituted.

Prior to the election of March 1946, Premier Sophoulis admitted that former collaborators and Greek Fascists had control of four-fifths of the police apparatus of the Greek Government.

It is interesting to note just who is the leader of the security battalions in Greece today. As I mentioned earlier, it is the present Greek Minister of Public Security, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, a notorious Greek quisling who collaborated with the Germans throughout a greater part of the occupation. I have in my possession a translation of a German military report from the German Twenty-second Mountain Army Corps, which had its headquarters in northwestern Greece, which proves that Napoleon Zervas was a collaborator with the Nazis and a traitor to the Greek Nation. This copy was submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Costa G. Couvaras, who is a former officer in the United States Army and chief of an OSS secret mission to Greece. Yet, this Zervas is the head of the entire police system in Greece today. I might mention also that the present head of the Athens police force is a Mr. Evert, who held the same job during the Nazi occupation.

Thus the make-up of the present Greek Government is a Fascist King, a parliament chosen in an undemocratic election, and a security police force recruited from the ranks of the collaborators and Fascists and headed up by the arch-collaborator, Napoleon Zervas.

RECORD OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT

One can hardly expect the present Government of Greece to adopt enlightened policies. John Stuart Mill, the great English political philosopher of the

nineteenth century, once set forth the proposition that the degree to which a government will promote the general welfare is in direct proportion to the percentage of the people who have had a voice in choosing the officials of said government. If the Mill hypothesis is valid, then one would expect the present Greek Government, resting not on the consent of the people but based upon a small clique of reactionaries and vested interests, to adopt policies which favor only the royalist minority and the vested interests.

Since the liberation of Greece, over \$850,000,000 in money and goods have been poured into Greece, furnished by UNRRA, Great Britain, and the United States. Yet the economic situation in Greece is getting steadily worse. The chief reason why this condition exists is the inefficiency and corruption of the present Greek Government which has shown an unwillingness and inability to adopt sound economic policies.

For example, the Government refused to make any effort to control inflation. According to the report of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, the general price level in Greece has increased by 145 times between 1939 and 1946. In 1939 cotton sold for 24 drachmas per unit—the 1946 price was 1,500 drachmas. The 1939 price for wheat was 10 drachmas per unit—in 1946 wheat sold for 1,300 drachmas. The exchange value of the drachma has fallen to, but a fraction of its prewar level. In 1939 the exchange rate of the drachma to the dollar was 120; in 1946 it was 5,000, or 41.7 times greater.

One result of this inflation has been the steady impoverishment of the people, especially the peasants who make up about two-thirds of the Greek population. Another result has been the enrichment of the speculators and black marketeers who took advantage of this inflation to amass fortunes.

LUXURIES IMPORTED

The Greek Government has refused to control the export and import of goods, with the result being that funds made available through British and American credits have been used for the purchase of luxury goods and not for necessities. Big cars, silks, perfumes, and other luxury items have been imported at the very time that food and clothing were needed by the population. Between February and December 1946 some \$38,000,000 in luxury items were brought into Greece, yet during the same period only \$4,000,000 worth of industrial machinery were imported.

The Royalist Government has been unwilling to make any effort to control the flow of gold and currency out of the country. American bankers estimate that over \$50,000,000 in private Greek assets are deposited in American banks today, and that an additional \$150,000,000 of Greek private assets are deposited in British banks. Furthermore, another \$150,000,000 is owed by British insurance companies to Greek shipowners, and these credits are also deposited in British banks. In other words, there are some \$350,000,000 in private Greek assets in British and American banks at

the very time that the Greek Government is asking for \$250,000,000 from the United States. Much of these funds have been shipped from Greece since the liberation—this could never have happened had the government made some effort to control the exportation of currency and gold.

TAX STRUCTURE INEQUITABLE

The Royalist Government has maintained a most unjust and inequitable tax structure. In the recent report of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, the Greek tax structure was described as follows:

Present Greek taxes fall heavily on the poor people and far less heavily, in proportion to their income, on the well to do. Most local revenues come from commodity taxes. Over four-fifths of the total tax revenues thus come from taxes which either reduce incomes to producers (especially farmers), or raise costs to consumers (mostly farmers and city workers). Less than one-fifth of the taxes is of the type which bears primarily on well-to-do persons receiving large incomes. The tax structure is responsible, in part at least, for the present exceedingly unequal distribution of wealth and income in Greece, far less equal than that in more industrialized countries. In every part of the country the great majority of farmers are poverty stricken and destitute. City factory workers or public employees are not in much better shape. Yet it is on these two classes, farmers and low-income workers, that present taxes fall most heavily. At the same time that this widespread poverty exists the stores are full of all kinds of goods at high prices and the restaurants are thronged with well-dressed people, enjoying the good food and wine, who live very comfortably despite the poverty all around them. Yet the tax burden falls on them far less heavily in proportion to their incomes than it does on the low-income farmers and workers.

In other words, the Greek Government has refused to evolve a sound tax structure because it would embarrass the wealthy crowd of aristocrats and profiteers whose interests this Government is interested in promoting. Everything that this Government has done regarding policy has been designed to promote the interests and enrich the vested interests at the expense of the people. Inflation was allowed to take place to the enrichment of the black marketeers and war profiteers; no controls over imports were instituted to prevent these same profiteers and wealthy groups from importing luxury items while the people starved; no control over gold was established to prevent hoarding and the shipment of gold out of the country to be deposited in foreign banks in the name of wealthy Greeks; few taxes were levied against the great incomes, while the incomes of the people were taxed heavily. This is the record of the present Greek Government. This Government is one which places special privilege over human rights—the rights of the aristocracy over the rights of the people. It is a Government of special privilege which functions in the interests of special privilege.

IS THIS DEMOCRACY?

It is this fascistic, undemocratic, corrupt and venal government that the United States is selecting to carry the banner of democracy in the Balkans.

If it is so democratic, why are some 16,000 men and women in concentration camps? If it has the support of the Greek people, why is it that it is in danger of collapse before 13,000 guerrillas? After all, it has a trained army of 120,000 plus 10,000 British troops and still it must have the support of the United States to maintain itself. Either one or another of the following propositions must be true: Either this Government is in no danger of collapse before the attack of 13,000 guerrillas, or it is so inefficient and so lacking in popular support that it has no right to exist.

The unqualified support of the present Greek Government is a most serious mistake on the part of the United States. In the first place, it will not bring democracy to Greece. In fact, the Truman doctrine has already brought about an intensification of oppression and royalist terror. On March 31, of this year, Mr. Arthur Krock reports the following in the New York Times:

The announcement that the United States is going to bail out Greece * * * was * * * the signal for a new campaign of repression by the Ministry of the Interior. * * * Arrests of citizens were made between midnight and 5 o'clock a. m. and within 24 hours those seized were deported to a lonely island without a public trial.

In one 3-day period after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested 600 persons in Athens, mostly professional—doctors, lawyers, etc.—and sent them away, frankly declaring that there was no longer any need to exercise restraint * * * the rightists and extremists, encouraged by the President's speech, now trumpet that the center is almost as traitorous as the left because it doesn't make humble obeisance to the Government.

My position is similar to that taken by the scholarly Frederick Schuman, professor of political science at Williams College and America's leading authority on world politics. Recently the United States News asked Professor Schuman this question: "Should the United States help to rehabilitate weak nations in Europe as a means of stopping growth of communism?" Professor Schuman's answer was as follows:

Your query begs the question. Everybody, except Communists, wants to stop the growth of communism. Everybody, including Communists, wants relief and rehabilitation for war-stricken nations. But communism will be promoted, not stopped, by proposals to bolster the Fascist governments of Greece and Turkey with American money and arms.

Walter Lippmann takes the same position in his April 8 column in the Washington Post when he says:

The case of Greece illustrates concretely the basic fallacy of the Truman doctrine in its present uncorrected, unqualified, and unbalanced form. It is that the expansion of the Soviet Union and the spread of communism can be checked by subsidizing governments, parties, factions, which are most undeniably anti-Communist. A policy of this kind is bound to fail because it commits us to an alliance with the most reactionary forces in the world and alienates the moderate and democratic forces.

It assumes that mankind is divided into totalitarian Communists and Jeffersonian Democrats. It is not. There are also Nazis, Fascists, feudal lords, war lords. There are also Republicans, enlightened conservatives,

liberals, progressives, social Democrats, Socialists, Christian Socialists, cooperators, labor parties, democratic planners, and what not.

If we conduct the Truman policy on the principle that whoever is most vehemently against the Soviets is our friend and ally—and in his heart a Jeffersonian Democrat—we shall separate ourselves from the masses of the people everywhere. We shall embrace the extremists of the right as against the extremists of the left, when it is our interest and our duty to align ourselves with the middle and moderate parties.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 9 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. JACKSON].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. JACKSON].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California is recognized for 14 minutes.

(Mr. JACKSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, upon one thing the Members of the House of Representatives seem agreed. We are in accord that we stand at the crossroads of a great and momentous decision in our national history, a decision which will undoubtedly affect the future course of the world and of the welfare of mankind. Not since the days of Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, Attila the Hun, and Adolf Hitler has the world seen such an aggressive, conquering, ever-expanding force as now confronts mankind in the form of Soviet Russia. This force combines two elements, that of military might and that of political persuasion. Together these two elements have amassed a total of 275,000 square miles during and since the war, and in this connection I call your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the map I have here. If there is any doubt that this is an expansive aggressive force, only look at the map. The gentleman who said that Russia is today smaller than it ever was before in history can well look at this map also.

The red on the map indicates those areas of the earth's surface today under the complete domination of the Soviet Union. The areas in orange indicate the areas annexed by the Soviet Union. The red-checked portions of the map indicate Soviet occupation areas. The parts in dark blue indicate the areas of the earth today in which the Soviet Union has evidenced an aggressive interest.

The world is rapidly choosing up sides, Mr. Chairman, and it is rapidly being divided into two zones, one red and the other white. The tentacles of this aggression reach in all directions, into all stratas of society, and these tentacles ruthlessly sweep aside all opposition, military and political. With an attitude of appeasement that would have shamed Mr. Chamberlain at Munich, we have lent ourselves and our strength in aiding and abetting this imperialistic design. We have spoken softly in a world in which violence, unfortunately, seems to be the order of the day. We have urged moderation and legal processes, we have acceded to almost every conference de-

mand made by Soviet Russia. We have been parties to the partition of free lands and the subjugation of free people. We have done all of these things for one purpose, and for one purpose alone, and that purpose was to achieve the peace of the world.

We have supported and entered into the United Nations in almost all of its phases. We have entered into the United Nations realizing that while it is not the perfect instrumentality for peace it is the only hope the world has at the present time of achieving a lasting peace.

Now, in answer to an appeal which definitely falls outside of the capabilities and the Charter of the United Nations, we propose to offer aid and assistance to two nations very direly in need of it if they are to withstand the Red tide of conquest—the forces of armed political and military aggression—the same forces indicated in red on this map. We do not propose under this legislation to consign Greece and Turkey to that fate. Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania are names on a tragic roll call—a roll call that is a said epitaph for millions upon millions of men who died to insure the free determination of free peoples.

In the face of this evidence, in light of these aggressive facts, it is proposed that this Nation take immediate action to stem the sea of red and to grant economic and military assistance to these two countries. Certainly there is a calculated risk. There is a calculated risk in sitting in this Chamber under these temporary girders. They might fall at any time. There is a calculated risk in crossing the street. You may be hit by a truck. The result of our positive action is uncertain, but should we fail to take such action, I say there is nothing uncertain about the future of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The evidence of things to come is here before your eyes.

Mr. Wallace, the vociferous tourist; the Daily Worker; and the domestic Communists are all in perfect accord. "Let us not do this thing," they say. "Let us not offer an affront to one of our great allies." The affront offered free men is here on this map. The affront is to every one who holds liberty and freedom and human dignity to be a part of his birthright.

It has been said that this is an imperialistic program. What are the facts to indicate that this is imperialistic? If there is one nation in the world today that has no recent record of imperialism, it is the United States of America. We voted fifty and one half billion dollars toward the winning of the war. We received seven and one half billion of it back. Certainly, that is a strange pattern for imperialism. We have demanded no special trade or economic concessions as the result of our participation in that victorious war. That, too, is hardly in the imperialistic pattern. We voluntarily and without strings granted independence to one of the richest holdings ever possessed by a major power, the Philippine Islands. Not only that, but we are doing everything possible to stabilize the Philippine economy and help that nation back to a

sound condition. Further than that, we have asked other lands to dissolve their colonial systems and give independence to the subjects of such lands. We have given up our extraterritoriality rights in China and elsewhere. Imperialism! Oh, no, Mr. Chairman, our activity in world affairs does not bear out the contention that we have been imperialistic.

And, most of all, Mr. Chairman, if we were imperialistic, we would have no necessity for the use of soft phrases and diplomatic double talk. We hold in our hands an ace that we have been playing as a deuce for months. No nation in possession of the secret of atomic energy need tread lightly or speak softly in the pursuit of imperialism. We have, however, chosen to pursue our foreign relations in a legal constitutional and humanitarian manner. But, while we have temporized and while we have supported the United Nations in a seemingly impossible situation, the tide of armed aggression has rolled on engulfing everything that has stood in its way.

What of the United Nations? Much has been said of bypassing this great organization. I can only draw this parallel. If it is bypassing any one to dash into the surf to rescue a drowning man, while another prospective rescuer lies bound hand and foot on the beach. Then we have bypassed a bound and gagged United Nations. So long as the veto power is exercised in the Security Council the UN is bound hand and foot, and we can have no hope of success under these circumstances, in trying to rehabilitate these nations to useful membership in the family of nations through the United Nations as it is now constituted.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. BLATNIK] has said that we should put the spotlight on aggressors and on aggression through the United Nations. I agree with him. There is at the present time, and has been for several months, a mission in northern Greece investigating the incidents along the Grecian frontiers facing Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Checking on the circumstances, attempting to get at the facts in the best spirit of international cooperation. What has happened? Was the mission permitted access to information? Were they given the help and assistance that you would expect to be granted to a great international organization? No; they were not.

This morning's paper carried this item from Lake Success, N. Y.:

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y., May 6.—The United Nations Balkan Investigating Commission informed the Security Council tonight that Albania and Yugoslavia had refused to cooperate with the Commission's subsidiary group which has been ordered to watch over the troubled Greek border area.

The Commission telegraphed from Geneva, Switzerland, that it felt incompetent to deal with questions raised by the refusal of the two countries and, for that reason, was asking instructions.

Now, if that is the sort of greeting and cooperation that is to be accorded an investigating committee operating under the United Nations, how far do you think such a commission could get at the present time in either Greece or Turkey?

The committee which has had this legislation under study has heard almost everything that can be said on the subject. No amendments that will be offered from the floor will be anything new to the members of the committee. Each amendment has been discussed pro and con. We have heard hundreds of thousands of words of testimony. We have listened to scores of witnesses, representing both the extreme right and the extreme left and all way points in between.

I intend to support this legislation, and I intend to support it without amendments, because I think for the first time in many years this Nation is speaking with a voice of authority, with a voice of principle, and with a voice in defense of certain basic rights of man.

Turkey? Much has been said about oil, and it might be well to admit that oil is a dirty period at the end of a long and unsatisfactory sentence. But the unfortunate fact remains, Mr. Chairman, that no one has yet found a substitute for oil. Not only our wartime economy but our peacetime economy operates on oil. Until such time as a substitute has been developed it will continue to operate on oil.

There are in the portion of the world under discussion three great reserves of oil. Two of them are today under the bayonets of the Red Army—the great reserves at Ploesti and the reserves south of the Urals. There remains for world consumption from known reserves one other great pool—the pool in the Middle East.

A knife has been mentioned during this debate—a knife which at one time was oratorically and dramatically plunged into the heart of the United Nations by one of the speakers, who stated that if this proposal was passed we who support it would have accomplished its death. I say that if this legislation is defeated those who defeat it will have wielded the knife and will not only cut off the hope of these lands for rehabilitation but will also have severed the jugular vein upon which we must depend for our future welfare in war or peace.

National interest, Mr. Chairman, may not be a popular thing, but I contend that it is not imperialistic to think in terms of your own country once in a while.

A great American, Patrick Henry, once said, "Gentlemen may cry 'peace, peace,' but there is no peace." I might add that where a situation like this exists there is an ideological warfare going on. It is going on from day to day. Unless it is stopped, it will engulf the Middle East, Asia, the Mediterranean world, and Africa, and then heaven help the United Nations. When two powers glare across a conference table at each other, Russia on the one hand and the United States on the other, you will indeed have sounded the death knell of the United Nations. You will never sound that knell by saving free peoples to useful membership.

I think that passage of this legislation is essential if the United Nations Organization is going to become a great moral force in this world of ours, and I am

equally certain that the quickest way to write finis to our civilization as we know it is to fail to face up to the facts in this world of ours as they exist today.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BREHM. Evidently the gentleman feels that the \$400,000,000 will accomplish the purpose of stopping Russia. Assume that it does not, then is the gentleman prepared to go to war to stop communism, or are we just bluffing with the \$400,000,000?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I do not consider it a bluff at all. So far as I am concerned, I am very serious and very hopeful about our chances with this program. I cannot guarantee success of the undertaking, but I am most hopeful that a show of honest determination at this time, proving that we mean what we say, will do the job.

Mr. BREHM. I am also hopeful, but I have never believed in bluffing and I am also quite sure that Mr. Stalin does not bluff easily.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. MATHEWS].

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the easiest way for any Member of this House is to vote "yes" on H. R. 2616.

It is proposed by the President and supported by the Secretary of State. It is supposed to stop the spread of communism throughout the world and preserve democratic institutions everywhere. It pretends to demonstrate the determination of the United States to exercise wise and acceptable world leadership.

And it is opposed by Henry A. Wallace, Communists, and Communist-front organizations. Anyone who votes against it will be called an isolationist and a pro-Communist.

Politically and ideologically, H. R. 2616 looks like a natural.

Yet, in spite of all this, I am against it. But for exactly opposite reasons than Mr. Wallace and the Communist sympathizers.

The people of the United States want to extend reasonable help to the needy of the world. But, Mr. Chairman, the bill before us, H. R. 2616, is not just something to further assist in the rehabilitation of gallant Greece. It is designed to put in motion the purposes set forth in the President's speech of March 12, 1947, before a joint session of Congress.

Among other things, the President said in that speech:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress.

The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey. * * *

The United States must supply that assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid, but these are inadequate.

There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. * * *

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. * * *

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time. * * *

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. * * *

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. * * *

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it may be asked: Do we not have something called a bipartisan foreign policy and should not every Republican follow the President?

Follow him where?

When he says we must—cannot afford not to—spend untold billions of the American taxpayers' money for the benefit of named and unnamed foreign governments, or when he says we cannot afford to extend our program for our own veterans any further?

Mr. Chairman, I will not and cannot be a part of any such shameful sham as that.

Follow the President where?

When, on March 12, he said we must spend unlimited billions to stop the danger of communism all over Europe and Asia, or when he said it was a mere bugaboo in America?

When, on March 12, he announced this policy, or when, at the same time, the representatives of his State Department were urging us to provide in addition to \$16,000,000,000 already spent, still more vital materials to Russia?

When, on March 12, he branded the spread of communism throughout the world as a serious threat to us, or when, 2 weeks later, for the first time, he decided he ought to clean out the Communists from his own administrative departments?

When, on March 12, he announced this policy, or when, from the end of the war down to that time and since, we have appeased and given to Russia almost everything she wanted, and furnished her with \$11,000,000,000 of lend-lease during the war and almost half again as much since, to strengthen her for the advancement of the very things he now says we must give billions more to other nations to stop?

When, on March 12, he advocated unlimited spending in such amounts, in such places, and in such manner as he might determine, without the slightest regard to its effect upon our own economy, or when, on April 21, he said, "But we can provide the necessary assistance only if we ourselves remain prosperous?"

When he says we should not reduce taxes, but should pay off the public debt, or when he says we should add to that public debt a billion dollars for Greece, Turkey, and Korea and unknown billions

in the future for unnamed other foreign nations?

When he says that, to save our economy, we must reduce prices, or when he advocates more and more Federal expenditures, more pay raises, and more shortages of needed materials here by shipping greater and greater quantities abroad?

When he advocates our wholehearted support of the United Nations or when, on March 12, he regards the United Nations as not only incapable of acting in what he calls the present crisis but as not important enough even to be consulted about the matter?

When he says, on March 12, that no other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government, that the United Nations and its related organizations are not in a position to extend help of the kind required and that it is absolutely necessary for us to adopt and continue his plan as a long-term policy for our own national security, or when, a few weeks later, his appointed representative to the United Nations tells that organization that if it does not like what we are doing we will abandon this vitally necessary policy upon the mere request of that organization?

When his various Secretaries of State criticize Russia for not cooperating with the rest of the United Nations, or when he announces on March 12 that our own Nation declares its right to act independently of that organization whenever we deem the organization is incapable of taking the kind of action we want?

When he says that we must protect the right of all nations to choose the form of government the people desire, or when he says that we must spend our money to compel, induce, or bribe the government they have to reject communism and subject its policies to our domination for what we conceive to be our security and purposes?

Mr. Chairman, one might be able to follow the President if one could find out where he is going, and if one believed it to be the right direction; but I confess my absolute inability to follow him when he jumps upon his international horse and rides off in all directions.

Like a man with the oars in a rowboat, we are asked just to pull as hard as we can and never bother at any time to turn our heads to see in what direction we are going.

The United States of America emerged from World War II the strongest nation of the world and one in which individual liberty is still secure. We led in the organization of the United Nations. We are trying to help rehabilitate the world. We have the opportunity and the responsibility for world leadership, both of which are great and serious.

Because of this, never has there been a time when our foreign policy was of greater importance, and hence never a time when that policy should be formulated so practically, so wisely, and so carefully, or with such broad vision and foresight, or when it should be so clearly limited to our ability to carry out and to give at least reasonable promise of success. And is it necessary to say that it

should be founded upon the very principles in which we ourselves believe and through which we have attained such success and happiness?

So it is imperative, whatever that policy is to be, that it be not hastily concocted in an atmosphere of excitement, fear, haste, and the breathless psychological pressure of a crisis or emergency, real or fancied.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, on March 12, 1947, the President of the United States confronted us with exactly this problem, with exactly the same old plea: That here is something that must be done and done quickly; you do not have time to consider another or better method; never mind whether we can carry it out, what it may cost, or what it may do to us; if you do not take this step, all is lost.

And, worst of all, he candidly told us it was to be the long-term future foreign policy of the United States.

What is this new and revolutionary foreign policy?

I have carefully read the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on this bill—Report No. 314. Mr. Chairman, if I did not have such great respect for my distinguished colleagues who prepared that report, I would be inclined to call it a bit naive. As to the details and extent of this new policy, its reasonable chance of success, its effect upon our own economy, and whether there are other possible courses we could take, the report is crammed with conclusions but feeble from lack of facts. It assumes that, since we must combat communism, the policy proposed by the President is the only way to do it; hence anyone who opposes it will be responsible for the spread of communism in the future. No doubt it is the only policy the President, or rather his State Department, can conceive. But it is not the only policy which can be followed—should have been adopted long ago—and the failure to follow which has produced this present situation. I shall speak of that near the conclusion of these remarks.

The committee says we are not interfering in the affairs of foreign nations, because—report, page 10:

The Greek and Turkish Governments have themselves requested the assistance proposed in this bill.

The Governments have requested it. Of course. By why? And at what price to the freedom of the people of those countries?

Our State Department says—again page 10 of the report:

It is our primary purpose to assist the Greek people, so that they may retain the opportunity to choose the form and composition of their government in accordance with the wish of the majority. This also applies to Turkey. We do not conceive it to be our function to influence the judgment of these two peoples with regard to their governments. * * * whatever we may do to assist Greece and Turkey, we propose scrupulously to respect the sovereignty of those countries with respect to the conduct of their internal as well as their external affairs.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe I have ever read a statement that was either

more stupid or more hypocritical, even from the State Department.

Let us examine it.

To get the results we want, the United States of America must dominate and control the foreign and domestic policies of the governments which are the recipients of our gifts to every extent necessary for that purpose. The committee recognizes that.

On page 1 of the report this appears:

The principal purpose of this bill is to aid Greece and Turkey to survive as free and independent nations.

This statement is repeated on page 10. But on pages 8 and 9 appear the following statements:

The committee has been given assurance that our Government will insist that sound policies will be adopted and effectively administered in such matters as fiscal methods, a modern tax structure, strict husbanding and control of the foreign exchange earnings of the Greek people, conservation of remaining gold resources, a restriction on unessential imports, and the expansion of Greece's exports. These are all essential to the establishment of stability in Greece. * * * The committee was assured by the State Department that the Greek Government would be required to take adequate measures to assure the maximum use of its own resources in the program of rehabilitation and reconstruction, and the fullest support of this program by Greek nationals.

Who determines the propriety and adequacy of these measures? We do, of course. We must, to get the results we want.

Mr. Chairman, the present Greek Government, receiving our aid, is obligated to control the endorsement and support of our program by the Greek people, instead of the Greek people being free to select whatever domestic and foreign policies they choose to follow.

The report further says that the Department of State "recalled in this connection the assurance that had been given, that the purpose of this legislation is to enable Greece to help itself, and that in the administration of assistance given under the bill adequate guaranties would be required of the Greek Government to assure the carrying out of all steps necessary to the achievement of this purpose."

Now, I ask, Mr. Chairman, is the real object of this policy to assist the Greek people to rehabilitate themselves and preserve their own freedom of action? It certainly is not. It is to help a tottering Greek Government maintain itself in power so that the Greek people may be forced to follow policies and take actions which must be whatever we consider necessary for our own national security.

And on page 10 appears this statement:

Government witnesses testified that the greatest care will be exercised to avoid any action which could be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of either country. Greece or Turkey.

Yet the whole purpose of this new policy of ours, the expenditure of our money, the presence of our advisers in these two countries, the guaranties we have exacted, is to control the actions of these governments for what we deem to be our own interests and security, which, I submit, Mr. Chairman, is exactly the

opposite of maintaining the sovereignty of Greece and Turkey or the freedom of their peoples.

The bill provides for the rendering of financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries. But the report says—page 8:

The terms upon which such aid is furnished from time to time can best be determined by the President * * *. It is believed it would not be wise or practical to attempt, in advance, to specify such terms for all possible contingencies in the legislation.

Assistance provided under the bill for military purposes, being essential to our own security, and not in itself creating the where-withal to repay, should be made as a clear grant. Financial assistance for current civilian consumption should also be a grant. * * * However, financial repayment obligations should not be established if there appears to be no reasonable prospect of repayment.

Can there be any possible doubt that absolutely none of this money will ever come back to the United States?

The gentleman from Wisconsin, Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH, a member of the committee, in his minority report, points out that since 1823, historians say that Greece has been sustained by loans from other countries.

Up to the beginning of 1947, the United States has made available to the Greek Government approximately \$451,500,000, including UNRRA shipments of which we contributed 72 or 73 percent—see report, page 16. Within the past week or so, we passed House Joint Resolution 153 for \$200,000,000. The report says: "Under the provisions of this relief bill Greece would receive" about "60,000,000" of the original 350,000,000—now cut to \$200,000,000. And to Turkey \$130,979,811.

So we have made available to Greece and Turkey together \$617,479,811, taking the sum of \$35,000,000 as the share of Greece under the reduced foreign relief resolution. Although that bill made no express provision for any country involved, look at the committee report on the present bill, page 9:

Under provisions of the relief bill, Greece would receive from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 for minimum requirements.

But that is not all. Last year this Congress gave Great Britain \$3,750,000,000, one of the purposes being to support her empire policy so that we would not face the very situation we are facing now.

And with all of that, this bill provides for \$400,000,000 more—and just until June 30, 1948. After that, still more. And to other countries still more. In contemplation right now are these additional amounts.

From hearings, section 4, paragraph (b), of the bill says:

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this act.

So we are, as usual, merely saying that we can appropriate in the future, this sum of money, or are we?

Paragraph (a) of the same section says:

Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made

pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

If that is not an appropriation of \$100,000,000 I do not understand the meaning of the word.

Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to General Marshall in his own profession, I cannot consider him an outstanding expert on diplomacy, economics, or political prognostication. His training has been to wage war when war was necessary, and has never been in the field of diplomacy, the sensible object of which today should be to prevent war. Having had some slight military experience myself, I know that no good soldier is a good economist. His job is to win a war no matter what the economic or other cost. As a result, the economic waste that has accompanied wars, particularly our own, has been appalling. Nor am I a believer in the modern tradition that you can make anybody an expert overnight by either electing or appointing him to a governmental job with a title. Furthermore, I think I am justified in not placing too much reliance on the general, as the present administration, in presaging what will take place in the future if we do this thing or do not do that thing, when he, nor it, was able to predict Pearl Harbor 48 hours before it happened. Without attempting to place any blame for past performances, I think I am justified in having doubts about future ones.

Lastly, General Marshall, being new at this diplomatic game, is taking the advice of those in his Department whom he assumes know something about the business, although many of the rest of us question the soundness of this assumption from past experience. In any event, it is clear to anyone who has followed the course of events since the appointment of our latest Secretary of State, that he is not yet running the State Department. The State Department is running him.

Mr. Chairman, I do not ask anybody to rely on my mere statement that I am not really an isolationist. Not only have I advocated adequate national defense when the majority of our people were against it, but I went further. I did something about it. After serving in World War I, I spent several years in the Reserve of the Army, 14 years in the National Guard and was mustered into the Federal service for World War II. I have advocated the creation of a United States intelligence service throughout the world so that we would never leave the people of our Nation ignorant of what was going on and with no opportunity to prepare for it. I voted for the appropriations for UNRRA—with misgivings as to its administration which were subsequently justified. I not only voted for the foreign relief bill a few days ago, but I voted against the amendment to reduce it from \$350,000,000 to \$200,000,000.

Nor do I ask anybody to rely on my mere statement that I am opposed to communism. For over a quarter of a century I have fought communism, in the

face of ridicule and being called a Red baiter and a witch hunter. I certainly do not belong to the Johnny-come-late-lies who are suddenly and vociferously opponents of communism but who for years past have been its most devoted friends and protectors.

Mr. Chairman, I am merely amused at the fright of some people at being classed with Henry A. Wallace should they oppose the presently proposed policy of the President. I have never voted one way or another because somebody else, for reasons of his own, voted one way or another. I expect to go on voting the way I think is right no matter who, for entirely different reasons, may go the same way at that particular time. And, if it be any comfort to those who are stricken with this fear, reliable information has reached me that Eleanor Roosevelt is much in favor of the President's policy. This presents either a dilemma or an out for those who suffer from this kind of fear. Either they will not know which way to go, or they can be right or wrong whichever way they go.

Yet, Mr. Chairman, with all this, there still might be some little excuse for voting for this bill, if there were no other course to follow. But there is another course, a better course, a surer course, a safer course, a cheaper course, which is now and always has been open to us. Our refusal to follow it has brought about the very conditions we are now facing. It is, to my mind, a simple and effective course. It is to say in polite, diplomatic language to Russia that she is not playing our brand of ball, so she gets no more money and no more materials out of us, nor out of anyone else so far as we can legitimately prevent it until she comes across with a few concessions about letting Greece, Turkey, and other countries strictly alone, about treaties to end the present state of technical war and a few other things in which we and the rest of the world are interested. The one thing Russia needs and has needed to hold communism in Russia and spread it throughout the world is economic strength, and that strength has been constantly bolstered by the policy heretofore followed by the very administration which now proposes to weaken our own economic strength by the presently proposed policy. Russia needs steel, machinery, food, manufactured articles, and everything we are in a position to supply. It is very late, but perhaps still not too late to adopt my suggestion. Yet the administration has not adopted it, and shows no inclination to adopt it. According to reliable information, we have supplied Russia with \$16,000,000,000—\$16,000,000,000; think of it—to build up her economic strength to spread her vile communism throughout the world, and now frightened of the progress and the danger it holds, the only thing we can think of is to spend more billions to counteract the effect of the billions we have spent, and are still spending, to build up.

Mr. Chairman, if we are to start out on a policy of imperialism of our own variety, let us not be hypocritical about it. Let our people know what it is, how dangerous it is, how it may ruin our own economy, and make us a fertile field for

the propagation of the very evil germ we say we are going to exterminate elsewhere.

Mr. Chairman, the New Deal administration has proceeded upon the theory that it can buy anything. It has tried to buy friendship: It has tried to buy off communism on our own western continents. The success has been negligible and costly. How can we expect to do better in Europe and Asia?

And what will inevitably follow an American policy of bribery and control of other nations? Corruption and collapse, both at home and abroad.

If we pursue this policy to every corner of the earth to which we are lured by the machinations of the Communists it will ruin our own national economy, which is the one big object of communism, and will we not lose the confidence and good will of the people in every country in which we have bribed and bought control of the Government? If we do not follow the policy to its logical conclusion it seems nonsensical to inaugurate it, for when we abandon it will we not lose prestige, all the money we have sunk in it, and the good will of those who liked the hand-outs and expected a continuance of them?

We fed and fed the economy of Japan, only to build her up to try to strike us down, with the loss of thousands of good American lives and billions of dollars worth of our substance. Have we learned absolutely nothing from this experience? It seems not.

I have in mind at least 15 different reasons why I must vote against this bill. I will not take time to list them. If what I have said thus far does not justify my stand, no further reasons will do so, and I will have to remain in error. But it will be honest error.

The present proposed policy of the President and the State Department which H. R. 2616 is designed to initiate, is a policy to "save the rest of the world in order to save America."

Considering conditions existing in the rest of the world, those which now need attention at home and those which will be created at home as a result of this policy, and with the realization that we are the last hope of individual liberty, so that if we go, everything goes, such a policy is clearly in reverse.

What we should have done long ago, what we should do now, is to follow a policy to "save America in order to save the rest of the world."

Mr. Chairman, I am beginning to doubt the moral, if not constitutional, right of this body to continue the dissipation of the wealth of the American people for purposes which do not bring any direct benefit to them, but which are for the direct benefit of foreign peoples and foreign governments, upon a nebulous theory of some vague theoretical future, indirect benefit to the American people, or through a psychology of fear that by not doing so, they will suffer from some future calamity.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it to be my duty to vote against this bill, and I shall do so.

(Mr. MATHEWS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD].

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, no one has attempted to deny that the Truman doctrine as embodied in the legislation before us is a drastic departure from our previous foreign policy which had as one of its basic factors nonintervention in the affairs of foreign nations in time of peace. Although I realize that the record of the United States is not spotless on nonintervention in times of peace, yet in spite of our adventures into Nicaragua, Panama, Mexico, and a few other ill-advised experiments in imperialism and dollar diplomacy, we have at least given lip service to the policy of nonintervention. We have also had as part of our foreign policy, another doctrine known as the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine in brief, has been a two-edged sword. One edge was pointed toward "any attempt on their part—European nations—to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." The other edge of the sword theoretically pointed toward ourselves and it is embodied in these words from the doctrine, "In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part nor does it comport with our policy so to do." Any attempt on the part of the proponents of this bill to make the statement that we are extending the Monroe Doctrine to the borders of Russia and its satellites is fallacious and without foundation in historical record. The Greek-Turkish aid bill is not an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. It is a violation of the Monroe Doctrine. This point cannot be denied. Let us therefore not try to hide behind any distortion of the Monroe Doctrine.

Two years ago, at the conclusion of the most devastating war in history, the delegates of most of the important nations of the world gathered in San Francisco. For 3 months they dedicated themselves to the task of forming an international organization for the purpose of "saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind." They determined to "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security." They wanted to "insure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used save in the common interest." They pledged themselves to "employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples," and they pledged further "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace." It was upon these principles that the United Nations Charter was formed. It consisted of 19 chapters and contained 111 articles to implement and to facilitate the development and insurance of

these principles. The common people of the world lifted up their hearts in hope—hope that at long last, the dream of mankind for peace was to be realized. In the 2 years which have passed since then the United Nations has grown. Corollary and auxiliary international groups have been formed. In the main, the United States has taken the lead. In most instances the Russian representatives have failed to vote in harmony with the members of the General Assembly and the Security Council. I hold no brief for their lack of cooperation. In spite of this lack of cooperation, the United Nations has made progress. Various international problems have been settled, problems which are just as grave and fraught with just as much danger as the impending Greek-Turkish matter. Serious international situations in Iran, Lebanon, Spain, Syria, and Indonesia arose. These situations came up for consideration before the Security Council at the reference of one or more of the member nations. Until the present occasion the United States has persistently proclaimed that the jurisdiction of the Security Council and the United Nations be recognized as the prime instrumentality for the maintenance of international peace and security. Our delegates have criticized other members for what seemed to us a failure to recognize such jurisdiction and authority. In each of the above-named cases, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, and Indonesia, and Spain, a solution was found by multilateral action on the part of a majority of the Security Council delegates. We were proceeding within the spirit of collective security and within the framework provided in the United Nations Charter for the solution of international threats to the peace of the world.

The claim has been made by our President that the United Nations is too weak to take care of the present situation. In view of the previous collective security solutions in Iran, Lebanon, Syria, and Indonesia, many of us consider this statement in need of justification. On March 12 President Truman enunciated the Truman doctrine. In my opinion, this doctrine is in contradiction to many articles within the United Nations Charter. In my opinion, the Truman doctrine is a return to the unilateral relationship between nations. It is a betrayal of the principles enunciated in the United Nations Charter, which clearly indicates that collective security of the nations of the world depends upon a multilateral approach to the problems between nations.

The whole theory of the United Nations is based upon multilateral solutions preceded by full debate and discussion in the General Assembly and the Security Council. Such debate and discussion to be held openly and in the pitiless glare of publicity. The solutions arrived at must be openly arrived at, and must be sustained by a majority vote of the delegates of the respective judicial panels. The conclusions of the General Assembly and the Security Council must also be sustained by a higher force than armaments, be they as antique as the weapons of Greek guerrillas or as modern as the atomic bomb. This force is

the moral and spiritual force which is part of the conscience of the common people of the world. It is the force that framed the United Nations Charter. It is the force which alone can sustain international peace. The question before us today is not a question of isolationism; it is not a question of isolationism; it is basically a question of whether we shall throw the great moral, spiritual, and financial strength of the United States behind the United Nations, or whether we shall turn back again to the unilateral and bilateral methods of solving international difficulties which have twice within our generation engulfed the people of the world in war. Be not deceived by the sophistry and by the plausible arguments which have been presented. Do not be scared by the spectre of war which has been raised by those who seek to support their position. It has been said within the well of this House that this is a question which has to be decided between each Member and his God, and I agree with that statement. I will probably be in the minority when the vote is cast in the House. But unless this bill is amended to bring it within the framework of the United Nations I shall vote against it, and I will vote knowing that I voted in harmony with the principles of the United Nations Charter upon which rests the hopes of the common people of the world for international peace.

I consider the Truman doctrine as an undeclared declaration of war if our challenge of unilateral intervention on Russia's borders is accepted.

I do not believe that war with Russia is either justified or inevitable.

If war must come let it come through the decision of a majority of the United Nations. Let it come with open covenants openly arrived at in harmony with the conscience of the majority of the members of the United Nations.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. GRANGER].

(Mr. GRANGER asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GRANGER. Mr. Chairman, there is one thing upon which everyone here agrees, the sponsors of this legislation and the opponents. That is, they agree that no one knows what this will entail. No one knows where it will end. No one knows when it will end. No one knows what it will cost in either blood or money. We are asked under those conditions to give a blank check to somebody to carry out the objectives of this proposed legislation.

When our constituents ask us what this is all about, we might remember the old barber-shop quartet, we used to sing: "I don't know where I'm going but I'm on my way."

I hope your minds are more susceptible to change than mine is, because in every part of my being, I feel this is dangerous and the wrong step to take. I was a soldier in the First World War. I was at Versailles when Woodrow Wilson was pleading the cause of the League of Nations. I came back home, and you well remember the charge was made that a few willful men destroyed the League

of Nations. Are we to adopt another technique? Is another branch of the Government going to destroy an organization, such as the United Nations, that every man, woman, and child with a decent respect for humanity has been praying for for 2,000 years? Yes; you say we have got to be realistic. We have used that old gag over and over again. Are we willing to forget everything we have been taught at your mother's knee. Your preachers and priests and teachers are trying to tell you today that this is not the course to follow. No. I do not think that our Government would intentionally embark upon a policy of imperialism, but I say to you when you take this step there is no retreat. You have got to make good, and the "no imperialism" you are talking about today may be the rankest kind of imperialism tomorrow. Make no mistake about it. The announced purpose of this legislation is, in my opinion, although it is directed at an ideology, a declaration of war. If any other nation would direct toward us that same threat that we now make, I would be willing to declare war on them tomorrow.

Yes; there is an alternative, and that alternative is the United Nations Organization, which is intended to deal with problems of this kind. It will never be any stronger than the United States will make it. Let us give to the United Nations this difficult problem to solve. Let us give it our united support, for it can do everything we can do under the so-called new Truman doctrine.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Utah has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE].

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE] is recognized for 10 minutes.

(Mr. LODGE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, a great philosopher once remarked that "The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom." If we are really conscious of this blessing in our land, we must also be conscious of the lack of it elsewhere. We must be conscious of it, not only out of a humanitarian regard for others but also as a matter of our own national self-interest.

It must be obvious to most people that even were we so inclined we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. There is no need to rehearse here the well-established fact that because of recent developments in modern science our frontiers are virtually contiguous with the frontiers of others. It is desirable that a world contracted by science be united by freedom in order to preserve peace.

I have been interested in the criticisms which have been made of this measure and I should like to take up a few of these criticisms in order, if possible, to shed some light on what I consider to be the vital issue.

First, it has been said that this is not a relief bill. Of course, it is not primarily a relief bill. It is a measure which is proposed as a strategic move to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of Greece and Turkey, to protect our own national interests, and to preserve peace. The theory behind this bill is that we cannot preserve by appeasement those things which we recently gained by force of arms, and yet in a sense this is a relief bill. If military aid were not given to Greece, the relief which we propose to grant could not reach the needy who are eking out a meager existence in the guerrilla-infested mountains.

Furthermore, this measure constitutes relief in another sense. If we believe that man does not live by bread alone, then we must recognize that there are things other than food and clothing, which man needs. If our system of government has any meaning, it is that we reject the purely materialistic philosophy and base our lives upon spiritual values for which we are willing to make supreme sacrifices. Had Patrick Henry said "Give me security or give me death" we should not know his name today.

Secondly, the argument has been made that the policy represented by this measure is imperialistic and unfriendly to Russia. I have always felt that the Russians themselves who reside in this country must realize that we are not imperialistic. It rather surprises me to find that some of our own compatriots have doubts concerning our intentions. Was it imperialistic when the British landed troops in Greece to help the Greeks defend themselves against the Nazi invaders? Was it imperialistic when the British came to the assistance of Poland and when they landed troops in France? Was it imperialistic when we invaded North Africa, Sicily, Italy, France, and finally Germany? I believe that the reason for this accusation stems from the failure to recognize that there is no sharp dividing line between war and peace. Wars are but extensions of peacetime conflicts—the final confession of man's inability to solve his differences by peaceful means.

Accordingly, if we were justified in participating in the world's wars, we are at least as justified in participating in the world's peace-time conflicts. We must abandon the idea that we can oppose the disruptive forces now at large in the world without interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. We must interfere. We must interfere in order to bring relief and economic aid to those who need it rather than those who do not and who use it to destroy principles which are still widely cherished. We must interfere in order that these nations shall not be a constant drain on our resources. We must interfere in order that we may rehabilitate rather than pauperize these destitute human beings. We must interfere in order to protect the American people from the use of their money in the cause of communism. More than two billion dollars in relief and economic aid have been expended since the war's end largely through UNRRA. This money did much to strengthen the antifreedom forces. It helped the very forces to which we are opposed. It assisted Com-

munist and terrorist minorities to impose their will on freedom loving majorities.

I am relieved that the administration has at last seen the error of its ways. I am happy that it has abandoned a policy of appeasement.

There is no question that the betrayal of Poland at Yalta, the help we have furnished to Tito, the hands-off policy in China, the uncontrolled expenditures of millions of the American taxpayers' dollars, as well as many other incidents in the administration's confused approach to postwar problems have contributed to our present predicament. Had the administration been more decisive and clear-headed we might not now be confronted with this grave crisis. Let us hope that the discords and confusions of the past can provide the harmonies of the future. Let us face the actualities as they are presented to us by our President. We must do more than use the power of money. We have been asked to "authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey at the request of those countries and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished." This means involvement. In order to bring this about, in order to shoulder these responsibilities, we must do more than simply export American dollars to relieve human distress. True charity means more than the writing of a check. True participation means more than financial and economic aid.

Now that does not mean that we should be warmongers. In a nation of our demonstrated power, in a people of our might achievements, a show of truculence would be as unfitting as it is unnecessary. But I am full of wonder when I hear people violently and vociferously denounce Soviet Russia and yet seek to shackle their own country in its efforts to contain the spread of despotism. I believe that instead we should talk softly but carry a big stick. It is more becoming to be patient and restrained in our utterances and firm and just in our actions. Then we shall be calling the tune; then we shall cease to revolve in the Russian orbit. We shall have created an orbit of freedom into which we can hope to include Soviet Russia.

In the meantime, we should stop apologizing for our share in the recent war.

We must renounce the hope that we can prevent World War III by methods which failed to prevent World War II. We should place our faith in the force of principle rather than in the power of appeasement. We must bolster these principles, not only by our industrial and military might but by a dynamic concept of our own convictions. It is my profound belief that a peaceful accommodation can more easily be predicated on American strength than on American weakness.

We can perhaps indulge the hope that self-assurance and firmness now will reveal the essential debility of communism. To quote from Abraham Lincoln:

In our intercourse with other nations it behooves us to be at once compromising and stern. If international understanding

can be perpetuated by giving a little more and taking a little less, why, then, let us give a little more and take a little less. But never must we do all the giving. Rather in the case of a long-threatening misunderstanding let us prepare for the worst and work for the best.

We can work for the best through the good offices of the United Nations, and we can best prepare for the worst by an abiding sense that until the United Nations has gathered vital momentum the choice for the world lies between a Pax Sovietica and a Pax Americana. This is the issue. This is the salient fact. This is the essential challenge of the hour.

Are we prepared to nullify the tragic sacrifices so gallantly made in World War II? Are we now ready to consign the rest of the world and ourselves along with it to the ash heap of a totalitarian subjugation which differs but little from that which recently engulfed millions of lives?

It is difficult for me to understand those who trust the good intentions of other countries and do not trust the intentions of their native land; those who cry "war" and "imperialism" when the United States acts to protect the threatened and neither report nor denounce certain actions of foreign powers.

Third, the criticism has been made that we are incapable of carrying out this policy. This is a counsel of defeatism and despair which I reject. We have been capable of winning several great wars. Surely we are capable of winning peacetime conflicts. It has been said that this will result in a higher cost of living; that it will bankrupt America. While I do not believe that this will happen, I suggest to you that if the iron curtain were to be extended to high tide on the western shores of Europe our standard of living would surely go down. May I say also that we were quite willing to make sacrifices to win a war and that, therefore, we should now be willing to make sacrifices to preserve the peace.

Fourth, it has been said that the Greek Government is a reactionary monarchy unrepresentative of the will of the majority. Am I to gather from this accusation that because Russia has a totalitarian form of government we should have refused assistance to her when she became our ally? We may find ourselves in a very difficult position if we cling to such a standard. It might also be pointed out that we in this country have not yet achieved perfection in our Government. With respect to Greece, I should like to state that although the Greek Government is not perfect it represents 85 percent of the Greek Parliament, which was chosen in a fair election under the vigilance of an Allied mission of observers.

It has been said that we should clean out all the Communists in the United States before we take action outside our own country. Are we to wait until utopia has been achieved in Greece and in the United States before we are allowed to take action to salvage some of those things for which the war was fought? Will we have the chance peacefully to preserve our respective systems? Is it not more sensible to take action in

order that we may have the opportunity to evolve toward a more perfect freedom? Half a loaf is better than none.

Our choice in life is very rarely between something perfect and something imperfect; it is usually between two imperfect things. Let us not allow the ideal to be the enemy of the attainable.

Fifth, much has been made of American investments in oil in the Middle East. This question of oil is a large subject by itself. While there is no time to go into it in detail, may I say that we should not sacrifice our national interests and the peace of the world simply in order to deprive certain individuals of profits on their investments in oil. May I point out also that although aside from oil there are abundantly sufficient reasons for the enactment of this legislation.

We are fast becoming a have-not nation with respect to oil, and we shall do well to look outside our own borders in order to make our strategical position secure. Oil and profit should not be ugly words. Oil has brought comfort and happiness to millions of people, but it would not have done so unless there had been profit.

Sixth, the thought has been advanced with considerable fervor that this measure would involve our fighting on foreign soil. I favor this measure because I believe it to be a deterrent of war. However, I should like to add that if we are to do any fighting, let us by all means do it on foreign soil.

Seventh, it has been argued that we are here bypassing the United Nations. On the contrary, we are proposing to take action in defense of the Charter which the United Nations is incapable of taking in time. As was well stated in the New York Times:

It will be poor service to the United Nations if Greece has been engulfed by a Communist tide by the time the Committee makes its report.

The United Nations has neither the money, the resources, the military means, nor the power to act. I favor this bill, also, because I have high hopes for the United Nations. Amendments to this bill have been accepted by the other body and by our committee which clearly indicate that the United States has no intention of evading its obligation to consult with the United Nations. Mankind's aspirations for a peaceful world demand that the United Nations receive encouragement while the Greeks and Turks receive our aid.

Aside from all this, Mr. Chairman, there remains the relentless fact that no constructive alternative has been put forward. I realize that this is a sickening moment and I do not suggest for a minute that we are faced with a happy choice. However, we cannot find salvation or security by tying our hands behind our backs. We cannot promote peace by cutting down on our power. We have tried that before. Ours is in a sense a tragic generation. We live in a happy land in which felicities beyond the dreams of man abound. It is hard for us to take the cold plunge. But we are now, even without this bill, inextricably involved in world affairs. Let us enlarge our conceptions to the circle

of our duties. Let us accept the challenge not only within but beyond our borders. Let us remember the words of Winston Churchill when, shortly after the recent war, he said in talking to the British people:

You must be prepared for further effort of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim, and the craven fear of being great.

This is no time to grow tired. This is the time for greatness.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. RAMEY].

Mr. RAMEY. Mr. Chairman, when a group of the Pharisaical, or the self-righteous, called on Mr. Lincoln at the time he was President, they said, "Mr. President, we have our way; the Lord's on our side." To which the Great Emancipator replied, "I am not concerned as to that; the question is, Are we on the Lord's side?"

It is not my intention to be dogmatic but let me ask you, fellow colleagues, "Has this so-called debate been fair or has self-righteousness held the right of way and then adroitly put the Lord into the so-called affirmative message in behalf of this power politics proposal?" As has been stated just last week, we voted on this floor and I was happy to vote in behalf of \$200,000,000 for relief, a part of which went to the people—I mean the distressed people; not a ruler—in Greece. We are willing to vote for funds necessary to assist the brave and heroic Greek people in getting food, clothing and shelter, but how can we support a military alignment with the governments of Greece and Turkey?

Of course the proposal has been blessed with counterfeit metaphysical clothing but I am concerned. Why not listen to the Lord today instead of allowing our self-will and self-righteousness to control us and then claim he has blessed power politics plus propaganda. The common people of no country want war; the common people of whom Lincoln said, "God must have loved them for he made so many." Why could not we listen to the voice of right instead of to leadership that cries, "Peace, peace" and yet detours from the grand trunk line of peace to the side tracks which can only lead us farther afield each mile we travel.

The Senate of the United States has acted on one of the most serious and far-reaching proposals ever presented to this Republic. The Senate vote which approved the President's plan for extending aid to Greece and Turkey marks the official beginning of a new era in world politics. There is little reason to believe that any action can now be taken which will alter the course decided upon by the Chief Executive and the Senate.

We owe it to ourselves and to our children, whose lives will be affected by the decision made this week, to inform ourselves completely as to the direction in which we are traveling. We must reexamine our basic aims in our dealings with other nations. We must recognize the nature of the means which are to be used in an effort to obtain the desired goal. We must anticipate the sacrifices each

and every American may be required to make in order to carry this new policy to its ultimate conclusion.

The first and fundamental fact to be faced is that we are now playing power politics, and we are in the middle of the game. The sanctimonious statements made about our humanitarian concern for the Greek people, and for the Turkish people, are window-dressing for the benefit of those who would rather not look at the actual facts, some of which may not be very pretty. If we do not know it, we had better be quick about finding out; we are out to defeat Russia, by peaceful means, we hope, but to defeat her whatever the cost.

Why, we may ask, must we defeat Russia? What about the United Nations? What about the years we worked together as allies against the common enemy, Nazi Germany? What about the principle "live and let live"? What about defeating the threat of communism by making democracy and free enterprise work successfully at home?

The answer to those questions is, "Do not be old-fashioned. Do not be naive. The United States and Russia came out of the recent war the two strongest nations in the world. Unquestionably, we are now stronger than Russia. But potentially Russia is considerably stronger than we can hope to be if we do not expand our sphere of influence." These are the reasons given us for our new policy aimed at defeating Russia. We are also told, by some honest enthusiasts of the new policy, "We should have had it out with the Russians before we brought our boys home from Europe."

Let us agree Russia is out to take over what she can of eastern Europe, the Near East, and parts of Asia, either physically or ideologically.

Let us agree, we have no stomach for the present Russian Government because it is not a free Government, but a totalitarian dictatorship, which has used cruel and inhuman means to acquire power and maintain itself in power.

Let us agree, we have committed ourselves to stand for free elections in countries throughout the world.

But let us not delude ourselves into thinking that we are planning to solve the problems raised by Russia in the Christian spirit of brotherly love. Let us not indulge in transparent hypocrisy by pretending our policy is based on love of our fellow man or on the will of God.

Let us realize that despite the support given the new Truman doctrine by Secretary of State Marshall it has yet to be shown that anyone has thought through the consequences. The bill was passed by the Senate. The present hysterical fear of Russia has swept Washington so completely that it has drowned the voice of sanity.

Our avowed aim is to keep communism out of Greece and Turkey. Why? Is it because we feel communism would be a bad thing for the Greeks or for the Turks? Examine the form of government which Turkey now boasts. Examine the nature of the present Greek Government. You begin to understand why

there are Greek Communists. You begin to see that the present Government of Turkey has a great deal in common with the present Government of Russia.

No; Greece and Turkey must be written off as pawns in the new game of power politics and national self-interest.

Congressional representatives who have just returned from the Middle East admit the truth quite frankly. This is a direct move to keep Russia from gaining access to the Mediterranean.

This is a power struggle to keep Russia from getting into a position from which she might challenge the monopoly held by private British and American oil companies on the vast oil reserves in the Middle East.

This is a one-sided, one-way move to support a worn-out British Empire in its age-old power struggle against Russia.

The question has been asked: "In formulating this new policy, are we consulting with other members of the United Nations?" The answer is, "Yes, we are consulting with certain other members of the United Nations who stand to benefit by this policy. Certainly we have not consulted with Russia, supposedly a member of that group. There is no indication that we have consulted with France, for France, too, has a Communist taint. The State Department, in answer to congressional questioning, promises we will keep the United Nations informed, after we have taken the action we think best.

The question has been asked: "Are we simultaneously building up the UN so that it will be prepared to take over responsibility of similar problems?" The honest answer is a matter of history. How can a world organization function when its two strongest and most influential members are at swords' points? The official State Department answer is, "It may be that at some future time the United Nations will be organized and equipped so as to render emergency aid to member states of the kind now needed in Greece and Turkey," but, say the managers of our foreign affairs, "Even if the project were not blocked by the objections of certain members of the United Nations, much time would have been lost, and time is of the essence." So you see, there is no reason to build up the United Nations so that it will be prepared to take over such responsibility, for there is always the possibility that the decision might not be in accordance with our wishes.

The question has been asked: "Are we preparing progressively to turn over responsibility to UN?" The honest answer is "Certainly not." We are anticipating a knock-down drag-out struggle between our way of life and the Communist way of life. But is the honest answer given to the Senate when it asks a similar question? Indeed not. The intelligence of our senior statesmen is held in such low repute by the State Department that they apparently expect the following official answer to be credible. I quote: "In the longer range, the United Nations may be able to take over various parts of the economic and financial problem in Greece and Turkey. We are giving serious study and consideration

to ways in which the United Nations may take hold of this problem after the present emergency is past."

The question has been asked: "Are military expenditures preparing the Greek Army to maintain order as preparation for a free choice of government?"

The answer is, according to the committee report on the bill, as follows: A total of \$150,000,000 will be spent for arms, ammunition, rations, clothing, and other supplies and equipment for the Greek armed forces for 15 months, ending June 30, 1948. I quote:

This sum will permit the Greek armed forces to maintain a determined campaign against guerilla bands during the summer of 1947 and to maintain their forces at a strength sufficient to assure internal order thereafter.

Mr. Dean Acheson, in testimony before the committee, said:

The present Parliament of Greece was democratically elected in an election which foreign observers agreed was fair. There can be no doubt that it represents the majority of the Greek people. The present Greek Cabinet contains representatives of 85 percent of the Greek Parliament. It is not the object of our aid to Greece either to help to maintain or to help to remove the present government of the King of Greece.

The question has been asked: "Are expenditures being used to improve the basic economic needs of Greece?"

The answer, according to Mr. Dean Acheson, is that a very considerable part of it—the money asked for Greece—is to be used for the importation of current consumable goods. Further sums for what is called rehabilitation, fertilizers, and agricultural tools and matters of that sort, would be included:

A comparatively small amount would be used for reconstruction—the building of bridges which have been blown up, and matters of that sort.

A good many beautiful and humanitarian aims have been voiced during the discussion of this bill. The trouble is, some people are going to believe those high-flown phrases. Let us be realistic. Are the American people willing to follow through? High-flown phrases win us resounding applause, today. That applause can turn to catcalls and boos in a matter of hours, if we fail to carry out our promises.

It has been argued that this is the economical way to stop Russia. Now, it may look like a bargain to some people, but, as we all know, we usually get what we pay for. The hatred we can incur by wrong-guessing on the real temper of the people we are "protecting," the loss of prestige we will suffer if we fail to follow through on our stated policy, not to mention the cost of war, if war should eventually result, all these will cost us, not only money but something far more valuable—the respect, admiration, and good will of our fellow men throughout the world.

Let us remember that to raise the standards of living around the world, to insure security to others, means lowering our standards at home. In the long run we may get something in return, just as a family that scrimps and save to invest money temporarily lowers its standards, expecting a return on its investment.

Are we really willing to make these sacrifices? Try to translate into actual food, wood, coal, and clothing the sum of \$20,000,000,000, our postwar commitments in Europe and Asia, plus the staggering sum of \$341,000,000,000 which went into war expenditures.

We have a right to ask, Will this initial sum of \$400,000,000 be used to help the Greek people free themselves of need for our aid? Let us use a homely analogy. A child growing up depends on his parents. This is right and good. But there comes a time when the child becomes a youth, and eventually reaches adulthood. The parent who has not prepared the child to go out on his own, support himself, rely on his own intelligence and ability, has been guilty of gross negligence, to say the least.

We saw the effects of continuous support in the thirties. The elections in November proved that the people of this country wanted to get back on their own. They wanted to shake off the parental hand of Government.

Is this new policy in Greece and in Turkey to be carried out like a WPA project, or will it be a healthy building process which will enable the Greek and the Turkish people to become masters of their own destiny? Will our aid be so applied that the people who benefit from it will be preparing to go on their own in the near future?

It has been said that we must uphold the hand of the President in this matter. Let us uphold the hand of the President, by all means. But let us not uphold the mailed fist. If we are to uphold his hand, let it be a hand raised in benediction, stretched forth to aid and lift up our fellow man, not a hand raised to strike down and crush humanity that we may stand forth as the most powerful nation on earth.

(Mr. RAMEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. PATTERSON].

(Mr. PATTERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Chairman, I rise with heavy heart and acute sense of responsibility to discuss this most important piece of legislation confronting us here today. It is not easy to bring one's self to take a decisive stand on a bill about which we know so many people have such grave doubts. All of us in this historic Chamber are well aware of the far-reaching significance of what we do here today. We are actually being called upon to place our stamp on a new American foreign policy, one without precedent. One in fact, which violates all the traditions of our country. Never before have we indulged in political loans to other countries on so grand a scale. Never before have we handed our relief not to all the needy but only to those who agree with our views.

Mr. Chairman, when we hear an urgent call for blood donors over the radio these days, we do not ask about the race, color, creed, or political views of the needy man. Yet when we hear the call

of urgency from foreign lands today, we ask questions about everything from the color of their eyes to the politics in their hearts. There are many here who say this measure will insure the peace. Those of us who have watched with alarm the steady developing chasm between ourselves and the Russians are not so sure that this is not the road to war. Be war necessary, every red-blooded American will rally to his flag. But, let us make sure that war is necessary. Let none of us forget that when war comes, it is not you or I who are called. No; the postman rings twice and ten times at the door of every land in the country eligible to fight.

The Gallup poll shows, Mr. Chairman, that 64 percent of the people who have heard of this new foreign policy disagree with it. None oppose aid to Greece. They do oppose unilateral action by the United States. The people, perhaps better than some presidents, know the meaning of the United Nations. They want the United Nations. They say that if the United Nations is not strong enough to help Greece, let us strengthen it until it is able to work. Another public opinion poll, the Roper poll, shows an even greater majority of the people opposed to the loan than Mr. Gallup indicates. It seems clear that the people have more faith in the United Nations than some in Congress have. They know it is still imperfect, but they want to help perfect it.

Mr. Chairman, I arise in support of the loan to Greece and Turkey, however, under the legislation now under consideration, the United States is called upon to carry 100 percent of the burden. We are laying every penny on the line. Yet, if the plan works, and we all pray that it will, other countries also in a position to carry some of the burden, will benefit, but they will not have contributed a penny to the cause. Mr. Chairman, we have been charged with creating a new imperialism here in the United States with our unilateral aid program. I do not believe that is true. However, if we should concentrate all this aid in the United Nations, no one could have any doubts about the falsehood of these charges.

Mr. Chairman, a year before the war ended, the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference was held in Bretton Woods, N. H. Present were the ranking members and the chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency. Present also were the now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Fred Vinson, and the now Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson. They, together with men like Senators TOBEY and WAGNER, helped chisel out a new form of international finance. The two new United Nations agencies developed at Bretton Woods are the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Both the bank and the fund are capitalized at \$10,000,000,000 each. Many countries are to contribute to make up this \$20,000,000,000 sum. True, the United States is contributing 60 percent

of the money. But it is also true that on a bad loan it is better to lose 60 cents on the dollar rather than 100 cents on a dollar. Now the very name International Bank for Reconstruction and Development should mean something in itself. I supposed the bank was set up to help war-devastated countries get back on their feet. It seems to me that to bypass the bank when we need it is to bypass the United Nations. And the United Nations is like an organ of the human body. Fail to use or exercise it long enough and it will shrivel and die. The Russians are not members of the world bank. They have no veto in its actions. The bank has been established for almost a year. Yet, it has not loaned a dime or stabilized a penny's worth of currency anywhere in the world. The spirit of the bank is being violated daily. The American members no longer think in terms of need, but instead in terms of political opportunism.

A reading of section C of part 4 of the charter of the International Bank proves conclusively that this United Nations agency can be used to help the people of Greece. It says, and I quote, "If a member suffers from an acute exchange stringency, so that the service of any loan contracted by that member or guaranteed by it or by one of its agencies cannot be provided in the stipulated manner, the member concerned may apply to the bank for a relaxation of the conditions of payment." This certainly applies to Greece today as it seems to me.

The very first chapter of the bank's charter is even more specific in its application to Greece today. It says under section B the resource shall be used "for the purpose of facilitating the restoration and reconstruction of the economy of members whose metropolitan territories have suffered great devastation from enemy occupation or hostilities, the bank, in determining the conditions and terms of loans made to such members shall pay special regard to lightening the financial burden and expediting the completion of such restoration and reconstruction."

This, Mr. Chairman, is more than a charter. It is a mandate to us to use the International Bank in this Greek crisis. The charter of the bank was ratified overwhelmingly by the House of Representatives, which at the same time, voted authorization and moneys into the billions to make it work.

I dare say that many of my colleagues when they voted for the bank and the fund saw the same possibilities I have described. It comes as something of a shock, therefore, to read the account in today's New York Times of the utterances of Vice President Robert L. Gaines. I think the article should be considered in the light of my comments and under unanimous consent, I include the article:

GARNER SEES GREEK-TURK LOANS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO WORLD BANK
(By Frank L. Kluckhohn)

BOSTON, May 6.—United States loans to Greece and Turkey are noneconomic operations and not the type the new World Bank will handle, Robert L. Garner, vice president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, told the Nation's

mutual savings banks executives today at their twenty-seventh annual convention in the Statler Hotel.

Earl B. Schwulst, executive vice president of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, was elected president of the association. Other officers elected were William L. Maude, president of the Howard Savings Institution, Newark, N. J., vice president; Edmund P. Livingston, vice president of the Union Dime Savings Bank, New York, treasurer; John W. Sandstadt, executive secretary, New York.

In his speech and later in a brief press conference, Mr. Garner emphasized that the new World Bank, now financed principally with United States official funds, had as its intention the making of loans that would be repaid, so that prospective private purchasers of the Bank's bonds would be encouraged and at the same time international trade would be accelerated. He went so far in his press conference as to say that the Bank hoped many propositions made to it could be handled by private United States capital.

Referring to the Greek and Turkish loans, Mr. Garner said that "it has been frankly stated by the United States Government that these are in effect grants for purposes beyond the economic development of these countries."

"This type of loan," he added, "is completely different from the economic purpose loans for which the Bank is designed. The Bank has no intention of—in fact is prohibited from—engaging in such noneconomic loan operations."

Mr. Garner disclosed in his press conference that, while no decision yet has been taken on the proposed French loan, "we are hopeful we can get them started on the basis of about \$250,000,000 and go on from there."

Asked whether the results of the conference had not been to eliminate partly the objective of the World Bank by making impossible loans to get eastern Europe back on its feet, Mr. Garner replied that "if you can assure western Europe of food and coal for the next year, that's the problem."

Conceding that "there's a kind of economic and political instability" in Europe and emphasizing that "to the extent you get people to work you offset communism," Mr. Garner indicated that if Polish coal could be moved into western Europe with the help of the World Bank it would help relieve the most urgent of problems. He added, in this connection, that "the Russians are getting only a small part of Polish coal."

Prof. S. H. Slichter, Lamont professor at Harvard, told the gathering of 600 savings bank executives that the Twentieth Century Fund's estimate that national income in 1960 will be \$245,000,000,000, compared with \$194,000,000,000 last year is too low.

This, he explained in his speech, was "partly because the work force has been underestimated and partly because the man-hour production during the next 15 years is likely to be greater than normal." His own estimate for the national income was \$275,000,000,000 in 1960, and perhaps considerably more.

T. B. King, director of the Veterans' Administration's loan guarantee service, called upon the savings bankers to protect from gouging the veterans who are building homes under the GI bill of rights. This, he emphasized, was important to the banks in protecting their part of financing of these loans.

One further word, Mr. Chairman. Today again America finds itself at the crossroads. But this time the choice between war and peace will be harder than ever before in our history. I was in the war just ended. It is impossible to translate the yearning for peace of a tired soldier on a lonely Pacific island in

the dead of night, with your only company the hiss of insects and the nervous Jap rustling in the bushes only yards away. This was a terrible war. But those who stayed behind felt it only slightly. The next war will not be fought in the islands and on the beaches. It will be fought in the stricken cities of our own country, burned to crisps under the fantastic fury of exploding A bombs and guided missiles. Twenty-five years ago wars could still be won. We already know that there was no victor from the war which ended 2 years ago. The lands we devastated, we now finance. The homes we destroyed, we now rebuild. Only the dead whom we buried, we cannot resurrect. We thought long and hard before entering World War II. Before we take any step toward World War III, let us think and pray as we have never done before, that Almighty God in His divine wisdom may keep us on the path to peace, plenty, and the brotherhood of man, rather than on the road to war, ruin, and eternal anguish.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California [Mr. JOHNSON].

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, in approaching the question of what to do with this resolution which proposes aid to Greece and Turkey, I do so in a little different manner and from a different viewpoint than most of those whom I have heard discuss the problem. To me the determination of what we do today with this bill is a problem of national and international security. If we adopt this bill I am firmly convinced it will be a step in the direction of world stability and world peace.

Before asking you to accept that conclusion I think we should keep in mind certain well-established facts and circumstances which have a direct bearing on the problem of our security today.

Measured in terms of transportation the world is a relatively small world and is still shrinking fast. Also, that portion of the world in which so-called civilization has developed and flourishes is, generally speaking, the area of the globe north of the thirtieth degree, north latitude. This same area contains the trouble spots of the world. Also, in this civilized area of the world is where all of the wars of the past several centuries have been started. To the present time, the only method by which nations solve their important controversies is by means of mass murder, popularly called war. Twice in 30 years war has broken out and although the United States was not a belligerent at the beginning we became involved and turned the balance that won the victory for the nations allied with us. Any future war would undoubtedly be a world war and encompass our Nation as well as all the major nations of the world. The last war developed a new technique by starting the war without any formal declaration thereof. Any future war will undoubtedly come upon us without notice. The rapid air transit of today and the faster transit which will be here tomorrow makes it possible for aircraft to go from any part of the area of the world from which a war might

come and return without landing or refueling. The increase in the destructive power of weapons has been tremendous. Furthermore, some of the most powerful and devastating weapons are relatively light in weight. It is true that the human race now has the capacity to literally destroy itself by the mass murder which we call war. We got a preview of what could happen just at the close of the Japanese war when two atomic bombs destroyed two large cities of Japan and killed several hundred thousand people. The result is that danger is right in our lap whether we want it or not. Every part of our country—the interior cities, exactly the same degree as the border cities of San Francisco and New York, are subject to attack and within the range of any possible attacker. The result is that we are really on the military alert 24 hours a day, every day of the year, if there is any serious friction between us and any other great nation. In this new age of a small world and explosive and annihilating destructive capacity of armed forces we must face the possibility of complete destruction unless some method other than warfare is found to handle the disputes and differences of nations. If some system of security other than one based on might and power and murder is not developed, the people of the world, including ourselves, can no longer live in peace and quiet.

Therefore, we all agree that we must find a system based on law and order to settle international disputes.

This loan is not new. In our own country in 1916 ex-President Taft recognized the need for such an organism and organized the league to enforce peace. In other words, he realized that there must be joint action by the great nations of the world and they must combine to be able to enforce peace if necessary. Following the First World War we made efforts to bring about international understanding and set up machinery to settle controversies between countries, without resort to war. A beginning was made but our country kept aloof and really walked away from its allies as far as the development of an international peace organism was concerned. The result was that the world relapsed into turmoil and ultimately war, within 25 years of the termination of the First World War.

The last World War engulfed the whole civilized world. Its destructive capacity was a hundred times as great in property destruction and several times as great in the destruction of human life as the First World War. In the modern war all persons are subject to attack and destruction. The entire nation is the battlefield. There are no longer any barriers of oceans, mountains, climate, altitude, and the world is truly round in the conception of those that made war. The planes and missiles fly over Arctic regions and over the highest mountains of the world with the greatest of ease.

During the war, the leaders of the Allied Nations laid plans for a world of peace. Some men criticize them bitterly today, but I believe we can truly say that these leaders honestly and sincerely wanted to lay the fabric of world peace by

the creation of some type of effective international organization to settle the fights and controversies between nations.

Among one of the things that they decided was that countries which have been devastated and occupied should have the right to select their own rulers and their own form of government. That was true in the case of Greece, a country which was overrun by Nazis, badly punished and severely injured. We made that agreement with Russia and our other allies. It was a solemn agreement and not only were the nations to have this right but there was the implied agreement that once the right to determine their own form of government had been exercised that that decision would not be nullified by the direct or indirect action of one of the large countries. Greece has held an election. Its electors decided by an overwhelming vote that they wanted a monarchical government similar to the one they had previous to the war. It is no business of ours what their type of government is, so long as they do not injure their neighbors, and so long as the selection of the type by the people was their free choice.

These preliminary agreements made between the United States and Russia were the preliminary steps toward a world organism which it was hoped and believed would be in a position to develop world peace and stability. Russia has violated some of these solemn agreements entered into between its top man and our President. In some cases we have only protested. We have permitted Russia to have her way. Today, we are faced with a problem in Greece as to whether we shall allow Russia by indirection, by infiltration, by the aiding and encouraging of enemies of Greece to destroy the free choice which we guaranteed her. Russia is trying to create chaos, dissension, confusion, and even the destruction of the Greek Government. This strikes at the very foundation of the efforts and the plan to bring about a world of law and order. Therefore, I say we should challenge her right to do this. We should stop Russia from doing this very thing. We should help Greece secure the government which she by a solemn election decided that she wanted. The sanctity of this agreement is the very foundation of the future development of orderly procedure through the United Nations to bring about world peace.

We should find out today whether Russia is willing to abide by these solemn agreements or whether they were made with her tongue in her cheek. She is talking about disarmament, outlawing the atomic bomb, and, in fact, outlawing war itself. Let us now, before we take these steps, understand whether she will permit little Greece to have the kind of government she wishes after the electors of Greece have made their choice. By taking a firm stand today it is my conviction that we will move toward world peace. The only dividend that the people of the world expect out of the terrific sacrifices made in this war is a stable and lasting peace. We are the most stable country in the world, economically, politically, and socially. We have the capacity to lead if we have courage to

act today to compel Russia to abide by the agreement which she made to permit small countries a free choice of their government. Only by developing slowly but surely a course leading to the peaceful settlement of international controversies can we have real security for ourselves and our posterity. The time has come for us to make that decision in the case that we have before us.

If we lack the courage to insist that Russia abide by her agreements to allow this little country her freedom and choice in selecting her government and the right to maintain that government without interference we will be guilty of appeasement, weakness, and expediency. That in my opinion would be the road to a war, and it might be the final gasp of civilization. If we take a firm stand today, I believe that we are facing toward a world of peace. I believe we are laying the groundwork for a system of security that will be based on law and justice. I believe that Russia herself will by the passage of this bill determine that we mean what we say and she will find ways and means of getting along with us. Weakness, procrastination, passing this job on to the United Nations which is not now able to handle it, is the road of indecision that will lead to chaos, controversy, strife, and ultimately world destruction.

A firm stand today will give hope to the millions of peoples who have been saddened and ruined by this tragic war. It will give hope to those small nations who are the victims and the pawns of the aggressive nations of Europe. It will breed new confidence in the hope of mankind that, under the guidance of God and by our own intelligence and character, it can weave a fabric that will bring the peaceful world we are all looking and praying for.

For that reason and other reasons I hope with every ounce of my strength that this bill will pass by a resounding vote to tell the world that we believe in the sanctity of contracts, we are willing to risk our destiny and our power to compel obedience to agreements made. We are willing to put our leadership, our money and our men if necessary behind our effort to bring permanent peace to this tumultuous world.

(Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry. I want to ask a question of the gentleman from New Jersey. I want to know whether or not there is going to be an attempt to finish the bill tonight. We will reach the 5-minute rule, according to the Chairman, after 5 o'clock.

Mr. EATON. Is the question whether we plan to finish this bill tonight?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. EATON. Under the 5-minute rule?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. EATON. Certainly not. It will take all day tomorrow under the 5-minute rule, and it may go over even beyond that. We will be lucky to finish debate tonight.

Mr. RANKIN. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 13 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BUFFETT].

(Mr. BUFFETT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, does the Greek-Turko scheme commit us to gigantic hand-outs the world over that will result in economic and social collapse in America? Those favoring this proposal cannot answer this question fully, fairly, and honestly. That is my first reason for voting against this proposal.

For there is no more certain way to destroy American capitalism than to overload it with an impossible burden. The proponents of this legislation cannot show how we can give away billions of our resources each year in peacetime without continuous inflation of war regimentation at home.

And so, this act means continuous high prices or peacetime regimentation is ahead—taking us on the one-way road toward totalitarianism.

Lenin, himself, declared that the most certain way to destroy the existing social order is to debauch the currency. This scheme sets off a new outpouring of American dollars. That means higher prices, higher taxes, and systematic and legal cheating of the humble people and the poor. That economic condition helps communism, not freedom.

Suppose you were trying to devise a way to destroy this country? Could you figure out a more certain method than to commit this country, 140,000,000 people, to underwriting the combined budget deficits of the non-Russian world?

That is what this bill anticipates—that the budget deficits of every nation in the world may be paid out of the savings of the people of America. No people can carry that kind of a burden very long.

Already food prices are up close to 50 percent from a year ago. How do you suppose this spiral reflects in the pocket-books and the market-baskets of our thrifty people? This hand-out program guarantees that that sort of inflation is going to continue.

That is the kind of economic condition that makes communism just as fast as the bayonets of Russian soldiers.

A 14-YEAR RECORD OF BUNGLING

My second reason for voting against this loan is equally important. For 14 years this administration has been playing into the hands of Russia. Their ghastly bungling has resulted in communism making more gains by American assistance in 4 years than they made by themselves in 25 years.

This administration held in its hands during World War II decisive industrial, military, and economic power. It used that power so recklessly and stupidly that Russia came out of the war the only true victor.

An earlier speaker has called the roll on the countries that have been taken into the Russian orbit following World War II. Who had the power that was used in such a manner that Russia made those gains? It was the United States that had that decisive power.

There may be those in this House who can shut their eyes to that kind of failure and place in the same hands new instruments to wield in foreign affairs, but I want no part in such irresponsible action.

It is not unlike having a chauffeur having your car and driving it up and down the road and smashing up one car after another and killing people and then coming back and saying, "Let me drive another new car for you."

No; I will not agree to placing new power in the kind of administration hands that have given the Russian Government for 14 years steady gains all over the world.

I would rather put a fully loaded machine gun in the hands of a delinquent teen-ager than more opportunities for international destruction in the hands of our State Department.

Mr. COMBS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUFFETT. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. COMBS. Does the gentleman consider General Marshall that kind of stupid leader, or driver?

Mr. BUFFETT. The gentleman has asked a fair question and he is entitled to an answer. The gentleman may be willing to put his trust in the hands of a man who under oath before a committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives could not remember where he was or what he was doing on the most important day in his life, but by my standards of integrity I cannot do that.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Was the gentleman referring to the Pearl Harbor disaster?

Mr. BUFFETT. I was referring to that event; yes. There are a lot of facts in chapter of our history that have not been revealed. We ought to find out where we are, how we got there, and what shape we are in, before being shoved in any new global messes involving military action.

An administration that is responsible for unconditional surrender, for post-war lend-lease to Russia, for UNRRA, for the Morgenthau plan, for Potsdam, for the Atlantic Charter going into the wastebasket, and for the sell-out of Poland and other lands does not get new instruments to menace civilization by my vote.

My third reason for voting against this scheme is because instead of restraining communism abroad, it will shore up ruling politicians everywhere and actually promote and accelerate the spread of communism.

Mr. Chairman, we have seen the ghastly failures during and since World War II ended. Perhaps it seems hard to believe that worse disasters can occur. But they can and will if this Congress votes to allow the administration to take us into an American attempt to determine the pattern of human life everywhere.

Mr. Chairman, God Almighty with infinite wisdom and unlimited power does not try to make any person behave according to His ideas. He sets down the natural laws we can live by or disobey at our own risk.

We are asked to go out on a crusade now to tell everybody in the world how to live. I do not think that God approves of such egotism. I do not think it will work. I am sure the people of America do not think it will work.

But let us see how that pattern has been working thus far.

FAILURE IN CHINA

Some time ago, it was announced that America was to help China solve its problems—and that in doing so we were going to drive communism from China.

That scheme was a reasonable facsimile of what is now proposed in Greece and Turkey. About \$3,000,000,000 has been spent to date in China. Our official top man in military and political affairs, Gen. George Marshall, spent a year in China.

Marshall came home in disgust and failure. What did he accomplish? The civil war goes on. Inflation is worse than ever in China. Human butchery has taken place on a large scale in Formosa. Evil days unlimited seem to be the fate of the Chinese.

In the May 4 New York Times we have a report from an authority on Chinese affairs, Nathaniel Peffer, professor of international relations at Columbia. Members would do well to read the whole article. I quote briefly from its most significant passage.

Peffer declares:

Scant as is the hope for improvement, there is no chance of its growth so long as America continues to give even color of support to the existing government. In fact, it has already been diminished by such support as America has given in the form of maintenance of troops in the country, training of the Nationalist army, and the sale on easy terms of surplus property. That this support has been falsely exaggerated by the Communists is a consideration apart.

The help already given has worked to entrench those now in power, those who make China's outlook hopeless. Whatever America's intention may have been in keeping troops in China—and about this, too, the Communists consciously lie in their propaganda—the effect has been to stiffen the elements in power and negate prospects of reform.

Those elements listen respectfully to America's exhortations to reform, to institute democracy, whether made by President Truman, General Marshall, or Ambassador Stuart, but they have no intention of giving heed to them. They do not believe they have to. Whatever they may say openly, they believe America has to support them anyway. They believe they are in a position to blackmail America. The reason is Russia.

Privately men of that class tell a visiting American, if they know him well enough to be frank, that America is going to fight Russia. Therefore, America needs China, and it must and should stiffen up the national government. It must support the Kuomintang government against the Chinese Communists, because the Communists are the vanguard of Russia.

What they do not say to Americans but do say to each other is why, then, make any concessions to America in return for support, especially concessions by way of reforms that will cost them the prerequisites and profits of monopolistic power?

And except in words they make no concessions by way of reforms.

Actually the Chinese Communists say much the same thing. They, too, think America in keeping troops in China has Russia in mind. They say that America

wants a base from which to fight Russia and therefore it supports the Kuomintang regime. They hold that a deal has been made: Support for a corrupt, reactionary, and quasi-fascist regime in exchange for service against Russia.

This must be emphasized and understood in America: Many Chinese not Communist, not even radical, are coming to believe the same thing. And so far as they believe it, they have also come to the conclusion that America has betrayed not only its own traditions but its traditional role in China, which has been to foster republicanism and democracy.

Therefore—and this, too, should be understood in America—anti-Americanism is growing in China, not only among Communists and leftist students but among the liberal intellectuals and the scholar class who still make opinion. Much of it is incited by Communist propaganda—lying propaganda, no doubt—but not all.

There is an increasing conviction among all classes that America, having become supreme, is going the way of all great powers, acquisitive in its ends and cynical in its means.

A SET-UP FOR INTERNATIONAL BLACKMAIL

Mr. Peffer declares:

They believe they are in a position to blackmail America. The reason is Russia.

The logic of this statement is terrifying. One does not have to be an expert in foreign affairs to forecast what will happen once the Greek-Turkish deal is passed.

Ruling politicians everywhere are going to spend much of their energies on one goal. That aim will be devising ways and means of using the threat of Communism to blackmail America for continuous handouts. And they do not stay bought.

Picture the outlook. Figure out the possibilities for politicians from everywhere in the world to come around to the back door of our Treasury and say, "Give me the dough or communism comes in the morning."

It is the slickest blackmail racket that has ever been invented for foreign politicians to get the savings of the American people. Make no mistake about it.

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUFFETT. I yield.

Mr. KUNKEL. Why do you think that they will come to the back door?

Mr. BUFFETT. I accept a correction—they may come in at the back door, the front door, the side door, or through the windows.

The Peffer article reflects our position in China.

But you do not have to take his word for it. The logic of his appraisal of the situation is perfectly plain for anyone to see.

NATIONS DO NOT STAY BOUGHT

Mr. Chairman, I urge Members to look up the record and see how many countries have ever stayed bought.

Before World War II France made loans to 10 different nations. When the war came 5 of those 10, half of them, 50 percent of them, fought against France. Four of the remaining five were overrun inside of 30 days. No. 10, good old Turkey, sat on the side lines and played both sides.

That is the record of trying to buy assistance in fighting a prospective foe.

That is the record of trying to bribe somebody into coming in on your side. Look at the record of France and you will get the answer as to how far this scheme will work in giving us protection against communism.

Everywhere we are going to have from now on attempts to get hand-outs on account of communism.

A RAT RACE FOR HAND-OUTS WILL RESULT

Whispers about communism were used in this House last summer to put over the British loan. Then the Communist threat was used in silk-glove fashion. Now it is used in bombastic style—perhaps by some trying to wash out the stains of their earlier appeasing of Russia.

Mr. Chairman, passage of this act will accelerate rivalry between most non-Russian foreign governments for American hand-outs. Each will connive to get a lion's share of the resources of America before the bubble bursts. This scramble will cause a rat race between nations for aid in their alleged opposition to communism.

Every ruler abroad, be he tyrant or parliamentary politician, will claim the threat of communism is the most dangerous in his land. Then he will get the largest and quickest hand-out of American resources. At any sign of American reluctance, the pressure will be stepped up.

This scheme sets the stage for international blackmail—blackmail on a scale that will lead our kindergarten diplomats into even worse bungling than that of the past 5 years.

Mr. Chairman, the Greek-Turkish deal will promote a demoralizing rat race to exhaust American resources. With the American people betrayed and bankrupt from this outpouring, the end result might be world triumph for communism.

For once the Truman administration gets us on this blackmail roller coaster, we will be on a boom-and-bust ride toward a bloody smashup.

Mr. Chairman, this Truman scheme, like the hypocritical actions of the New Deal for 14 long years, plays into Stalin's hands. Only a badly hypnotized Congress will embark on such a reckless course. H. R. 2616 should be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BUFFETT] has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO].

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, it has been repeatedly stated here, by the President on March 12 and by every proponent of this legislation, that the United Nations cannot handle the problem of economic rehabilitation in Greece. That statement, in my considered judgment, is belied by the facts. I am not charging anyone with suppressing the facts here, but I am charging many of the proponents with not informing this Congress of the fact that the United Nations has gone into this Greek situation and has, through one of its most important organizations, made specific recommendations. There exists in the United Nations an organization called the Food and Agricultural Organ-

ization of the United Nations. At the request of the Greek Government itself, this organization of the United Nations sent a mission into Greece, and that mission worked in Greece from May through August 1946. It made a report. I hold that report in my hand, Report of F. A. O. Mission to Greece." It made 85 itemized specific recommendations for the economic rehabilitation of Greece. The members of this mission are, all American citizens, outstanding educators, experts in their fields, and, as much as the Committee on Un-American Activities may try, it and no one else will ever be in a position to charge any of these gentlemen with having any reputation other than that of being conservative.

For instance, the chairman of the committee is none other than Dr. Franklin S. Harris, president of the Utah Agricultural College, located at Logan, Utah.

I cannot in this brief time give you the 85 recommendations this organization made, but I want to give you some of the high lights:

1. A program of special feeding, regardless of religion or politics.
2. A program of citizen labor on repair of roads, participated in by all able-bodied males and also by the armed services.
3. Curbing inflation by rationing and price controls; expansion of industrial production; providing funds for purchase of consumer goods; setting up joint buying and selling offices of the Agricultural Bank and the Confederation of Cooperatives; and undertaking to negotiate exchange of goods with countries which still have controlled foreign trade.
4. Restoration of export markets with the use of proceeds for the balance of trade, instead of hoarding dollars abroad.
5. Larger output per farm family. Breaking up of large estates and raising the acreage of land cultivated per family.
6. Reorganization of the Ministry of Agriculture.
7. Increased support of cooperatives and extension of production credit to farmers.
8. Abolition of the spoils system and pay roll padding in the Civil Service and the accepted system of graft and perquisites.
9. Complete reform of taxes and insistence that the Government undertake to put into effect reforms in its tax system to make it less regressive, and more like that of the United States of America and the United Kingdom and other developed countries.

And the last and most important from the standpoint of this debate:

A United Nations Advisory Mission and financial aid on an international basis.

These recommendations were made by this very important body of the United Nations Organization.

How do we meet it here? We meet it here by a proposal to implement the policy of doing what? Not of having these sound recommendations put into effect and bring about financial and economic stability in Greece. Our proposal here is to wipe out, to starve and kill the opposition to the regime in Greece which has refused up to now even to show any semblance of initiating any of these reforms which may be very properly described as mere rudimentary economic democracy.

It is my contention and the contention of the gentlemen who made this comprehensive on-the-spot study and who did not spend their time speaking to only the rulers of Greece or the men in charge

of the police in Greece, that these recommendations, if they were put into effect, would go a long, long way in eliminating the existing civil strife in Greece. If these recommendations were adopted, if the people who are now fighting in the hills were guaranteed the freedom about which you gentlemen have been speaking here this afternoon there would be no civil strife in Greece and there would be no problem such as the President described in his speech of March 12 and which many Members are seeking to accentuate on the floor of this House.

Why do we bypass the United Nations? Why do we insist on ignoring the recommendations of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations? Why do we insist on a program that would prevent the adoption of these reforms in Greece, reforms that would do away with the civil strife and which would give Greece at least some substance of economic stability? Why is it that we ask for legislation that would implement a policy of merely starving or destroying the opposition to a regime which refuses to accept these recommendations made by American citizens, mind you, acting as agents of the United Nations Organization after a careful and exhaustive study of the problem?

Mr. Chairman, I recommend that between now and tomorrow or when we vote on this bill the Members obtain this document and spend some time with it. I am sure after they have they will know much more about the situation in Greece than they know now.

Mr. Chairman, the program before us is to starve and kill the opposition to a regime that refuses to accept these reforms. That is the program set forth in this legislation. This legislation represents a policy of refusal to do that which will really aid to eradicate civil strife and restore economic stability and freedom in Greece. Some may say, "Well, the Greek Government will be forced to do this if we adopt the pending legislation." That is impossible. The ruling class in Greece cannot maintain its sinecures that it now holds on to if these reforms were put into effect. In other words, the fascist rulers of Greece today and the well-entrenched few families in Greece today would not be able to maintain their position of political and class rulers if these reforms that have been recommended by the United Nations Organization were adopted.

In all fairness to Great Britain, it made some effort to have some of these reforms adopted during the period of its disgraceful rule there. It met with nothing but resistance, refusal, and sabotage on the part of the Greek regime which we are now asked to sustain with money and with military aid. That regime cannot accept these recommendations and survive. If it accepts these recommendations its control of the political and the economic life of Greece will be destroyed. For the present rulers of Greece to accept these recommendations means extinction for them. They will hang on to their present position and refuse to accept these recommendations. Therefore again I say, this legislation implements a policy not of reform so necessary and vital for the freedom and

the economic rehabilitation of Greece, but it implements a policy of destroying, starving out the people who oppose the regime which refuses to accept these very elementary recommendations so necessary to a democracy, freedom and stability in Greece.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentlewoman from New York.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. I just want to ask the gentleman why it is that these very excellent recommendations of the United Nations have not been put into effect in Greece. How does the gentleman think they could have been effected?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. This report was printed, may I say to the distinguished lady, in March 1947, right here in Washington, D. C. On March 12 the President came here and proposed unilateral action on the part of the United States. Certainly, that foreclosed action on the part of the United Nations to carry out these recommendations.

Now, Mr. Chairman, why are we doing all this? We are doing it under the guise of stop communism, and I say while we are doing all this, we are aiding a regime which is shot through and through with Fascists, with Nazi collaborators, petty and big Quislings. Read the roll of those who rule Greece today: The Minister of Public Security, the Chief of Police, the present King, the present Queen, blood relatives, politically and otherwise, of nazism. I just wonder how our men who fought against the Nazis will feel when they learn that we are giving aid and comfort to a regime that is made up of those elements who aided and gave comfort to the Nazis. I wonder how the ex-GI will feel when he learns that we pass this legislation which provides for the shooting down; yes, of these guerrillas, some of them Communists, many of them non-Communists, but all men and women who fought heroically against the Nazis and against the Fascists, and thereby saved the lives of thousands of Americans.

Why are we doing this? We are doing this under the guise of stop communism. I have heard that used before; so have you. You heard it to justify the destruction of republican Spain. You heard it at Munich; the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the betrayal of democracy in Europe was alibied with the same cry, stop communism. You heard it to alibi the creation of the anti-Comintern pact. You heard it to excuse the terror of the Axis. You heard it from the lips of Hitler, Tojo, Mussolini, and Goebbels. You heard it at the Nuernberg trials from the lips of the guilty, from Goering and Ribbentrop. It was used before to excuse ruthless warfare waged on the democratic people of the world. Now monopoly capital and its agents set up the same cry in an attempt to stop the forward march of mankind toward freedom from fear and want.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, may I make a short answer to the gentleman

from New York who has just spoken on the FAO report. That report says that the purpose of the Mission was the long-time reconstruction and rehabilitation of Greece and was not aimed at immediate help. It went into such things as reconstruction of industry and rehabilitation that can be done over a long period of time, while this particular bill of aid and assistance is aimed at the present, immediately, so that disposes of the FAO report on that basis.

Certainly, the FAO report clearly had in mind that they would go to some other nations for help, and specifically talked of the United States helping.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I should like to ask the gentleman from New York this: The State Department on June 11, 1946, received a cablegram from Yugoslavia stating that Russia had entered into a unilateral compact with Yugoslavia for the reconstruction of Yugoslav industry, assisting its arms industry and putting it back into effect, and also giving them mechanical and other equipment for their armies. Did the gentleman on June 11, 1946, object to unilateral action by Russia in connection with this agreement with Yugoslavia?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I say to the gentleman that this is the first I have heard of it. I cannot account for the accuracy of that report.

Mr. FULTON. The gentleman may accept it as accurate, because I will produce the cablegram to the State Department.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. However, assuming the statement to be correct, then I say that that action as well as this action should be handled through the United Nations.

Mr. FULTON. So the gentleman now disapproves the action of Russia on June 11, 1946; is that correct?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I disapprove the action of any country that takes unilateral action on any matter that involves the peace of the world.

Mr. FULTON. Including Russia?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Including Russia, the United States, Turkey, Greece, or any other nation in the world.

Mr. FULTON. Then if I am right in my statement that we did receive such a cablegram from Yugoslavia, the gentleman condemns Russia just as he condemns the United States right here, does he not?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do.

Mr. FULTON. That is very interesting.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think any action should go through the United Nations when that action affects the peace of the world.

Now, will the gentleman let me make a statement with respect to the FAO? The gentleman says that it made only long-range recommendations. I think that if the gentleman will read the report he will find that some of those recommendations were made to be put into effect before the initiation of the 1947 crop.

Mr. FULTON. Yes, and did they not say to go to the United States to get the money?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. No; they said to go to the United Nations, including the United States.

Mr. FULTON. Yes. The United States was specifically mentioned.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The United States is part of the United Nations.

Mr. FULTON. I refuse to yield further.

May I correct someone else? The eminent chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives said yesterday we were "one of the principal sponsors of the United Nations, yet now, less than 2 years later, we are the first nation to attempt to nullify it by proposing to act alone." We were not. On June 11, 1946, Russia did it by specific agreement with Yugoslavia. He was wrong.

"It means our embarkation upon a new policy that may lead to no one knows where." The gentleman does not know where.

May I answer him further. I think the Republican Party should ask the gentleman what he means when he says on page 4765 of the RECORD, "Are we prepared for it? Can we do so with a national debt of \$258,000,000,000?" Then he states specifically, "And with a budget for next year that may approximate thirty-seven and one-half billion dollars?" These are Truman's exact figures, from the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means of the Republican Party.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BENDER. With this program and what will follow it will be way in excess of what that budget indicates.

Mr. FULTON. Let me answer the gentleman from Ohio on that one. Can we help Greece? We certainly can. The gentleman says we are going to bankrupt ourselves. I do not see how anybody from Ohio, one of the granaries of the country, can stand there and say that when Time magazine on April 28 had this to say:

THE BIN

Actually, the United States could stand the drain on its food resources without even tightening its belt. Production was high. The Agriculture Department predicted a bumper 1947 wheat crop of 1,240,000,000 bushels, compared to 1,185,000,000 last year. Despite 14,000,000 more mouths than before the war, per capita food consumption in the United States had increased 16 percent. In 1946 the United States supplied the world with a net of \$6,600,000,000 of goods and services, but this was only 3.4 percent of the total value of goods and services produced by a fat and wealthy land. Far from scraping the bottom of the food bin, the United States was only spooning out its resources.

May I further state that we also have the greatest industrial production right around Pittsburgh, where I come from. Look and see if anybody else can do it. They cannot. Only the United States under present conditions, with ingot output at a rate above 80,000,000 tons, can even begin to supply the immense world needs for steel. British industry has only 15,000,000 tons of steel. German industry is to be limited to 5,800,000 tons. France has some steel capacity but none

for export. Russia has only 20,000,000 tons, and Japan is to be permitted 2,000,000 tons.

Mr. BENDER. What is the gentleman's point?

Mr. FULTON. That we are perfectly able to go ahead on this program, and all these cries of anguish about bankruptcy from certain parties certainly amaze me.

Mr. BENDER. I read some of the gentleman's speeches in the last campaign when he was speaking about bankruptcy.

Mr. FULTON. They were good, because I won.

Mr. BENDER. But you did not win on this program. You did not win by telling them you were going to vote \$400,000,000 for Greece.

Mr. FULTON. I won on a program saying that we were going to help everyone who was friendly to us, whether they were Republicans or Democrats, and that whether it was in this country or abroad we would not let anyone starve. I do not think that we should.

(Mr. FULTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. PRESTON].

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Chairman, I do not hold myself out as an expert on foreign affairs, but as a soldier in the United States Army in the recent war I spent 20 months in Europe. Although I learned much about the geography, customs, habits, and political cross-currents of Europe, I know little of the economic and political structure of Greece and Turkey. Few of us have first-hand information on these phases of the question. All of us know, however, first, that these two countries occupy strategic geographic locations; second, that Russia is seeking the collapse of the Greek and Turkish Governments; and, third, that Russia is engaged in a program of expansion toward the south and west.

If we are perfectly frank, we must admit that Russia is conducting a bloodless war in Europe today. She is accomplishing the same results as if she had used her military—that is, placing small powers under communistic rule. The question is—and it is not a complex one—shall we move to stop Russian expansion? Or shall we listen to the familiar cry of the professional isolationist as we did when Japan moved into Manchuria, Italy into Ethiopia, and Hitler into the Rhineland? My answer to the question is to act, and act now, to let Communists throughout the world know that the issue is joined as between democracy and communism; that God-hating Communists shall not overthrow the Christian brotherhood of man; that the precious blood of the American soldier was not shed to make Europe an impotent prey to the power lusts of Russia.

If we were justified in entering Europe in 1918 and again in 1944 with our troops to save democracy, then we are justified in spending our dollars there to preserve the democracy we have saved. We have waited too long now to take steps to deter Soviet expansion. Long

ago we should have issued an ultimatum to Russia that unless she agreed to an accounting of her lend-lease accounts we would stop the flow of millions in manufactured goods as reparations from the American zone of occupation in Germany.

This is the opportune time for America to strike her telling blow to communism; a time immediately following the fruitless talks recently held in Moscow; a time when a tottering and weak government of France expelled its Communist cabinet members, although she is facing an industrial collapse; and a time when the President of the United States has decreed that no longer will any tainted pink disciples of Stalin and Molotov hold jobs in our departments to better sabotage our form of government. The passage of this measure at a time when our Appropriations Committee has very wisely decided to recommend the continuance of our Voice of America broadcasts to Russia will have a telling effect throughout the war-weakened nations who are valiantly fighting communism in the face of starvation and sickness.

Yes; it can be said with great truth that not one of us can foretell the eventual results of our passage or failure to pass this measure, but I, for one, want to be recorded as favoring the spending of dollars to do something now that may prevent the spending of blood in the future.

To you who choose to take the course of an isolationist, I would say: Turn back the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and look at the names of those who voted against repeal of the Neutrality Act, against arming the merchant marine, lend-lease, and selective service.

They thought they were right, too.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN].

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say to the House today that quite a few of us GI's who served in World War II are disillusioned. I know those of you who were in Europe, if you will turn back with me, will remember how the Army publication, Stars and Stripes, from day to day cartooned the picture of Joe Stalin as one of the finest men who ever lived; a smiling benefactor to humanity. And they talked of the GI, when the war was over, as returning to a home with little kids playing all around—a perfect idea of Utopia. But I tell you gentlemen that millenium days have not come. Utopia is not here. They told us if we would just go ahead and get rid of Hitler the world would be a great place in which to live. Mr. Chairman, you have another dictator in his place today in Europe. If we get rid of him, who will be the next? I tell you frankly, I reluctantly will vote for this bill and pray that some good will come of it. I have heard a lot of talk the last few days about realism. Let us be really and truly realistic. If we are going to send this loan to Greece and Turkey, let us back it up with a great army and navy and air force second to none in the world. That is one foreign policy that America has never adopted in peacetime. That is, maintaining an adequate na-

tional defense. I favor that today as a safeguard to peace. Let me remind the membership that when the Roman legion was the most feared force in the world, that was the greatest era of peace that the world has ever known. Not a major war for 300 to 500 years. After the Dark Ages, when Britannia ruled the waves, how many nations of this world were prevented from aggression by the power of your British Navy? I tell you today that the only thing that will stop Russia at the Dardanelles is not this \$400,000,000 that we are voting, but an air force right here in the United States of America that can bomb Moscow, that can strike at the industrial potential beyond the Ural Mountains. That and that alone, and the knowledge that we have the atomic bomb and are willing and prepared to use it, that and that alone will prevent Russia from moving on the Dardanelles or into Turkey and Greece.

Mr. Chairman, the Scripture says that "a wise man's eyes are upon the things about him, but a fool's eyes are in the ends of the earth." Let us not neglect our home front and he power of our home base, which is he one that really counts.

France put her trust in her Maginot line only to have her armies defeated from within. The great Roman Legion, feared as it was through the then known world, was finally overcome from within. The great civilizations of the past have fallen mostly from within. I will vote for this loan, but along with it, Mr. Chairman, let us vote adequate national defense to back up our foreign policy. Let us take up where the British Government is no longer able to patrol the seas and have an air force that will put fear into the heart of any would-be world conquerer.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DORN. I yield.

Mr. BENDER. In line with what the gentleman is saying, does he not think we ought to stop the sale of our surplus war materials?

Mr. DORN. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

I am told, I know not whether it be true, but I am told that right now goods are being loaded on ships at Norfolk, New Orleans, and elsewhere and being sent to Russia. I am opposed to that policy.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. JONES].

(Mr. JONES of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Chairman, the proposal to extend American aid to Greece and Turkey, as I see it, is based upon two considerations: humanitarianism and the national security of the United States.

Greece resisted the Axis invaders heroically, but was overcome by superior forces and suffered tremendously from mistreatment and spoliation. She emerged from the war a shattered nation. Recovery would have been difficult at best; under postwar conditions,

with rival groups fighting for control of the country, recovery has been impossible. Political stabilization is necessary in order for the Greek people to achieve economic recovery and rebuild their homeland.

The record of the Greeks in the recent war should have earned them the gratitude not only of the United States but of all the Allies, and the right to work out their future in peace, with such financial assistance as they might require. The war record of Greece and the historic friendship between the Greek and American peoples would, I believe, dispose our people and our Government to aid the Greeks from motives of sympathy, even if other considerations were lacking.

In the case of Turkey, sentiment does not sway us as strongly, though Turkey conducted herself during the war to the advantage of the Allied cause, which she formally joined in the closing months of the conflict. In the matter before us the case of Turkey is strategically tied up with that of Greece, and therefore the two countries should be considered together.

Now, the question of American aid to Greece and Turkey cannot properly be examined save in the context of the current international situation. I must confess that I find that situation disquieting. I refer mainly to the uneasy relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Frankly, I find it difficult to reconcile the occasional conciliatory statements attributed to Generalissimo Stalin with the more bellicose statements of other Soviet spokesmen and—what is much more important—the aggressive policies of the Soviet Government and its Communist adherents in other countries.

President Truman stated the situation concisely in his message to Congress on March 12, when he said:

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

In the face of the self-evident Soviet policy of expansion, the democratic way of life—of which the United States is the foremost exponent—is challenged to maintain its position, or to give way by default. If we are realistic, we must face the fact that—through Soviet choosing, not ours—we confront Soviet communism across a common frontier in Germany, in Austria, in Korea—and, most important of all, across a common frontier in the minds of men everywhere. The meaning of this, in my opinion, is that we must either stand our ground, or retreat. I believe that, since the Soviet

Union chooses to repulse all our efforts to eliminate the barriers between us, it is to our best interest to maintain the frontiers as far from our own shores as possible, and not wait for communism to encroach upon our own territory.

Greece and Turkey comprise one area where the frontier is not stable, or where stability is threatened by Communist pressure. The United States cannot ignore the obvious evidence that Soviet communism is pressing to advance to the shores of the Aegean and into the Middle East, where the equilibrium is delicately balanced at best. It is a matter of record, as the President stated, that "the very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists." At the Paris Peace Conference, the Soviet delegate supported Bulgarian demands for Greek territory in western Thrace. The Soviet Government has exerted strong pressure on Turkey in an effort to obtain a preferred position in control of the Dardanelles and military bases on that strategic waterway, which runs entirely Turkish territory. The government controlled Soviet press and radio have waged a determined propaganda campaign for annexation of territory in the eastern provinces of Turkey—an area specifically awarded to Turkey in the Treaty of Moscow, signed by Turkey and the Soviet Union in 1921. It is well to remember that these lands in eastern Turkey are adjacent to northern Iran, where Soviet troops last year over-stayed their treaty deadline by 2 months, and a Soviet-sponsored rebel group seized power until put down by the Iranian Government.

It has been charged that the present Governments of Greece and Turkey are not fully democratic, and therefore do not deserve our support. Though they fall short of perfection, these Governments were chosen by the people of their respective countries, and were not imposed by force controlled from without. I maintain that the substitution of aggressive communism for the imperfect Governments of Greece and Turkey would not solve the basic issues, but would make the solution more difficult.

I am not an alarmist, and I do not mean to imply that war is inevitable, or even imminent. But realism compels us to recognize that we are engaged in a struggle to determine which parts of the world are to be dominated by the Communists and which parts left free to choose their own way of life. I am convinced that the Soviet Government is not ready for war, and does not desire war, but is determined to keep expanding the areas under Communist domination by every means short of war. I believe that an American foreign policy exemplified by the proposal to aid Greece and Turkey is our most effective means to prevent war, by delimiting the area of Communist expansion and exploitation and by stabilizing the frontiers between communism and the democracies. Perhaps with each at work behind its frontiers, both systems can learn to cooperate for world peace—as Stalin professes the Soviets want to do, and as the

United States has demonstrated it wants to do.

I desire to make one further point, concerning the relation of American policy to the United Nations. I think it is useful to recall that Great Britain was aiding both Greece and Turkey, at the request of those two countries. This arrangement was strictly a matter between governments, and was not a concern of the United Nations. When Britain served notice that she no longer could continue that arrangement, the governments of Greece and Turkey appealed directly to the Government of the United States. As for me, I fail to see the logic of the objections raised to the replacement of Great Britain by the United States as the Nation supplying the financial and economic aid required by Greece and Turkey, without special reference to the United Nations. This is particularly true when the UN, and its subsidiary organizations, are without funds to respond to the urgent requests of those two countries. Clearly, it seems to me that this is a matter that necessarily must be handled outside the UN. As President Truman declared:

In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

American aid to Greece and Turkey would contribute to the strengthening of the United Nations because it would contribute to the political stability and economic well-being that are essential to the preservation of peace, and to the maintenance of the national security of the United States.

May I say in conclusion that I am heartily in favor of the President's recommendation of a loan of \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey and shall vote accordingly when the bill comes on for a final vote in the House of Representatives.

(Mr. JONES of North Carolina asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 6 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KUNKEL].

(Mr. KUNKEL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

GREEK-TURKISH MILITARY MISSION

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Chairman, the proposed policy of intervention in Greece and Turkey is limitless. President Truman said: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." This sets no reservation on the type, the scope, or the place of the proposed help and support. It is clearly global and permanent in its application.

While at first glance it might seem as though the United States would determine this policy, upon careful analysis, actual control would rest with Russia. Russia could, and no doubt would, stir up the domestic strife or the outside pressure wherever and whenever Russia wanted to force intervention by the

United States. Russia would be able to force the extension of the policy to various areas, carefully selected by the Kremlin, of the world. By Russia's actions, the United States could be forced to over-extend itself or to abandon the policy, either of which would be most unfortunate. Indeed, either would be fatal.

Some kind of control of these countries from Washington must result. If this were not so, there would be no point at all to the program. Would we move in to prevent communism and yet allow the natives freely to choose communism? Russia has deviated from the original theory of Karl Marx in some respects. Stalin uses communism as an instrument of Russian nationalistic policy. He has abandoned the Marxian theory, as practiced by Lenin and Trotsky, of a general world revolution of international character, but he retains the theory of a world revolution for the benefit of Russian nationalism. Marxian theory still dominates Russian policy. The basic axiom of Karl Marx is that world capitalism leads to an inevitable crisis, that this crisis is the mother of communistic revolution and that, therefore, the sooner the crisis comes, the sooner will the world revolution be accomplished. Hence, the cornerstone of Russian policy is to precipitate economic crisis in capitalistic and democratic nations, particularly in the United States, the strongest one of all. Premier Stalin referred to this in his famous speech of February 9, 1946. What Russia has done during the past years, in general conforms to this thesis. If the United States embarks upon a policy which will deplete and weaken its strength and its resources, then we are actually playing into the hands of the Soviet Union and the Communists. We will be doing for the Soviet Union what they are unable and impotent to do for themselves. We will be enabling the Soviets to control indirectly our own domestic economy. By forcing us to expand and affirm at her will, she will decide what we are to make and to do here at home.

The uncompromising attitude of Russia in respect to Germany supports this thought. This was the key question to settle with Russia in the Moscow Conference. Secretary Marshall failed to reach some kind of an agreement whereby the load would be lifted from the United States. He has been unable to do so. Before Moscow, a settlement in respect to Austria was widely anticipated. This failure is even more significant.

This country, with some help from the United Kingdom, has been supplying western Germany, the British and American occupation zones, with goods valued at more than \$500,000,000 per year. From eastern Germany, Russia first took factories and equipment. After the Russians found they were unable to set these factories up in Russia and make them work, the Russians then changed their method, leaving the factories in Germany and taking the goods currently produced from the factories. Russia has been taking goods currently produced equal to \$500,000,000 which the United

States is putting into Germany and which may have to be put into Germany at least until some kind of agreement is reached. The division of Germany gave Russia the self-supporting agricultural section of eastern Germany. The western section, under the British and American control, cannot feed itself, and never did. In this area, the vast majority of the population of Germany have poured—Germans from various other European countries, such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, as well as refugees from the Russian zone. In spite of German territory taken by Russia and Poland, the population of the present curtailed Germany is larger than that of prewar Germany. Seventy-two million Germans are being crowded into an area one-quarter smaller than the whole prewar Germany which supported only 69,000,000 Germans. A square kilometer of German land will have an average of 200 inhabitants compared to 168 before the war. This creates the problem of either a continued drain on American resources or, according to President Hoover, letting 25,000,000 Germans starve. The situation will continue until some kind of an agreement whereby Germany can support itself eventually, is reached. The French see in this the threat of a future demand for expansion by Germany and hence, a threat to France.

The net effect of the present policy is for the American taxpayer to feed the Germans so that the Germans can work and produce goods to turn over to the Russians for reparations. Almost exactly the same thing happened between 1924 and 1931. Then the United States loaned Germany over \$2,000,000,000 which was never repaid but out of which most of the reparations sent to France and Britain came. Today our expenditures amount to a subsidy to Russia just as in the former case it amounted to a subsidy to France and Britain. It is entirely inconsistent with President Truman's position on the Greek-Turkish question. We are asked to supply \$400,000,000 to erect a bulwark against Russia in Greece and Turkey, while at the same time the policy in Germany is to give Russia \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000 worth of goods to bolster her economy for future expansion. The same can be said of the Italian Peace Treaty, under which we would supply funds and goods to Italy, while Italy would be required to pay reparations to Russia and Yugoslavia. Secretary Marshall is attempting to negotiate an agreement under which Germany can repay us for all sums advanced and can become self-supporting, and thereafter, but only thereafter, undertake the task of paying reparations to other countries. The Russian policy certainly seems to be designed to drain our resources, to keep this load upon our backs. This pattern is completely clear in every phase of Soviet policy.

In ex-President Hoover's report on feeding the Germans, he calls attention to the fact that, under a limitation im-

posed by Russia, and I quote from his report:

The fishing grounds in the Baltic and North Seas are being limited against Germans fishing. As there are ample supplies of fish in these seas, it seems a pity that British and American taxpayers are called upon to furnish food in substitution for fish the Germans could catch for themselves.

Fish are one of the finest proteins in the world. Proteins are most needed in Germany. The American taxpayers are required to send protein or protein substitutes all the way across the ocean to Germany in order to supply a commodity quite freely available off their own coast line.

I used to play chess quite frequently. In chess, before making a move, you always study the probable continuation or variation your opponent will adopt. What move will he make to counter or offset yours? The Russian counter move to the Greek-Turkish program seems to me not only obvious but also deadly effective. It will be under their control.

There is another phase. Once we announce our intention of advancing loans and missions to check communism everywhere, we have advertised to every government throughout the world that they can call on us with reasonable hope of success for any Communist menace, whether real or faked. If all this keeps up long enough, one of these days we will be broke and totalitarian ourselves. Dorothy Thompson said a few days ago in which she developed this thought quite clearly. To quote:

There is also a more immediate danger than that it will lead us into war. It might, instead, lead us into bankruptcy. * * * The greatest barrier against the spread of communism the instrument of Russian messianic imperialism, is a prosperous, solvent America.

* * * The quickest way to communism is American bankruptcy after a failure of dollar diplomacy—more dollar than diplomacy—that, plus war hysteria.

I say, if we adopt this Truman doctrine, Russia will totalitarianize this country without firing a popgun.

We can draw some lessons from the British on this. The situation within the United Kingdom today, combined with the changes occurring externally in the British Empire, deserve constant study. Recently, speaking in Richmond, Va., Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador to the United States, frankly said:

I am prepared to concede that we—

The British Empire—

may have overdone our expenditure abroad. In fact, we have. That is why we have come here to ask your Government to take over our financial responsibilities in Greece and Turkey.

Yet, from the accounts of Wallace's trip to the United Kingdom, there is a strong opposition to the Truman doctrine in the British Isles themselves.

It is entirely in the cards that we may be called upon to take over further British commitments, particularly those in the British-occupied zone of Germany.

It is reported that discussions have taken place as to what the United States should do after the British withdraw from India in 1948. Russian aid to the Chinese Communists might well force our reentry into China. All these moves and proposals must be taken into account in deciding this question.

From parts of the foregoing you can readily see why I oppose this program.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KUNKEL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. BENDER. Does not the gentleman feel that, if we undertake this policy, we might just as well tell the gentleman from New York, JOHN TABER, and his Committee on Appropriations to stop trying to reduce Army and Navy expenses and other expenses, because in line with the argument made by the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. DORN] we are on the march?

Mr. KUNKEL. We are on the march, and as the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. BUFFETT] has pointed out, we have opened the door to every country of the world to come in and request aid from us on the ground of combating communism. How can you refuse them if they can present any kind of a legitimate case?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CHADWICK].

Mr. CHADWICK. Mr. Chairman, I shall content myself with less time than the distinguished chairman of the committee has granted me. I do not rise to suggest any particular answer for the question before us, but rather to define if I can, and for my own purposes, the nature of the problem as it presents itself to me.

I envy those of my colleagues who find this question simple and uncomplicated, and who have a completely apt answer which fully satisfies them. I notice that in such cases the answer is almost invariably on the negative, which is itself not without significance.

I also observe that a majority of my constituents who have addressed me on this subject also find the question more simple than it appears to me, and that they too are negatively minded. Perhaps they are right.

But it seems to me that the negative approach to this question is based upon a misconception of its character. There are obviously many who feel that if we can only avoid adopting this bill we will be safe—safe from war; safe from national bankruptcy; safe even from the necessity of making hard decisions.

They seem to think that this problem, like the fabled unicorn, has only one horn, and that to avoid its cruel possibilities is the ultimate good. But this question is not that kind of an animal; it is, on the contrary, a dilemma; and there is nothing merely fabulous about dilemmas; they are part of the stubborn stuff of life, of our urgent realities.

This question threatens us with two horns, on one of which we must voluntarily impale ourselves by our collective

vote. Both are about equally grim. To support this bill is to abandon a national policy which had its first expression in Washington's Farewell Address; to support this bill is to advance our declared sphere of national interest to the very core of the Near East, at the hottest spot on an already overheated globe. It means that we are deliberately toeing up to the Russian bear; and that, Mr. Chairman, is quite a chore. Let us have no mistake about that.

But not to support this bill is itself in affirmative decision; a decision to abandon any effort to face up to our international problems and try to alter them to our advantage by courage and firmness; a decision to repeat past errors, rather than profit by them; a decision to repudiate the responsibility which our Constitution clearly commits to the Executive; and finally, a rejection of the leadership of the one man in America in whose wisdom, courage and proven competence we all place the highest trust.

To me, this has never been an issue of humanitarianism, in the smaller and now more generally accepted sense of the word; it is not merely a matter of "opposing the spread of communism" in foreign lands; it is rather a move in the field of international relationships, an operation of over-all and major strategy. I have neither the personal knowledge nor the experience to reach any finally satisfying conclusion as to its ultimate wisdom. But I believe that the man who has already steered this Nation's cause at one of the most critical junctures of history, is probably the best equipped American to guide us in this new emergency. I hope that none, even among my constituents, will disparage him as being a "militarist"; he is a soldier, but he is also a statesman of the first order.

I am going to vote for this bill, not without the deepest concern for the future, but because, being in doubt, I revert to my basic philosophy that leadership is the sine qua non of all security, all success, and all progress; and I am willing to trust the foreign relations of America to the leadership of General Marshall.

(Mr. CHADWICK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER].

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, we have a task force in the eastern Mediterranean. We have a foothold in Saudi Arabia where the Arabian-American Oil Co. will pay six billions for oil concessions to Ibn Saud and his 600 sons. We will soon be in Turkey and Greece. The administration is definite about its policy in those places, but what about the vacillation in Palestine in the Near East. In the instance of Greece, compulsion comes from the East and in the instance of the Holy Land, the oppression comes from the West. May I ask, "Do we measure evil by who fosters it?"

It is difficult to comprehend the attitude of our delegates to the UN, Warren Austin and Herschel Johnson. They have given less than lip service to the

declared policy of the United States on Palestine.

Now comes Secretary of State Marshall who believes it would be premature for the United States to formulate its policy on Palestine. What about the two resolutions passed by Congress which called for unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine, for close settlement on the land and the eventual establishment therein of a Jewish democratic commonwealth? What about the planks in the platforms of both the Republican and Democratic Parties in the last Presidential campaign which advocated the same? What about the testimony of our Nation as embodied in forthright declarations of Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Roosevelt, and Truman?

President Roosevelt said:

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization.

President Truman said:

It is only natural, therefore, that this Government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home.

Perhaps Palestine is a new subject for Mr. Marshall, but it is not a new subject for the Nation. Perhaps he is being briefed by Mr. Loy Henderson, the Arabophile. I do not wonder that he is possibly confused. He must know, however, that his party is pledged, as is his chief, President Truman, to demand the abrogation of the Malcolm MacDonald white paper of 1939 which shamelessly closed the doors of Palestine to escaping Jews. He must be aware of the inconsistent attitude of our delegates at the General Assembly, who but for the delegates of the small nations would have even precluded Jewish representation from appearing before Committee No. 1, the Political and Security Committee.

Does Mr. Marshall forget the six million killed in Hitler's charnelhouses? He dare not forget that. The Jews must have a voice, although they have no vote. Who is to speak for them unless they speak for themselves? Mr. Austin, apparently, does not speak for them.

There is something indecent about the way Great Britain's spokesmen and American spokesmen and Indian spokesmen, and even Arabian spokesmen, begin with an apology about Jewish suffering and Jewish martyrdom and end up with a verbal shrug. Never mind these apologies. Never mind the soft-soap. Do not bother with the dripping sentimentalities. Say your piece and do not bother to prettify it. The insistent note of hypocrisy is by this time a maddening monotone.

The Arabs in full dress and full parade have seized upon their advantage and have stated their arguments and distorted the truth before the General Assembly. But Warren Austin and Herschel Johnson would have precluded the

Jews from replying. Do they not want the truth? The whole question of Palestine revolves about the Jewish stake in Palestine, and yet it is claimed they are not entitled to representation. They are relegated to the antechamber, cooling their heels while their fate is decided.

And what does all this sound and fury, this procedural tangle add up to, all this feverish debate and thumbing of memorandum, and the whispered meetings between the Arabs and the British and the United States, all the sage remarks of our columnists and the breathless reporting of our radio commenators? What will be the sum total? Another investigatory commission, the twentieth of its kind. And what, too, if that commission probes and searches and listens to testimony of all sides and recommends in all sincerity what it considers the best of solutions? If not acceptable to Great Britain, then she will dismiss the commission with the usual British civility and proceed on her devastating way in Palestine.

Will this farce never be played out? Will commission follow commission in an endless merry-go-round? How much can one people endure?

Well-wishers of Jews and the Jews themselves, the people of our country, can expect little from those in the middle echelons of the British Foreign Office of our own State Department. The Loy Hendersons have their counterparts in the assistants to Bevin at Whitehall Street. Most of those having to do with Palestine were educated or spent a long period of time in the Middle East. Henderson, who is Director of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Iraq. Gordon P. Merriam, Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, was a teacher of English and geography at Robert College, Constantinople, and was vice consul and consul at various times at Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, and Istanbul. He was secretary of the Embassy at Cairo as well as at Tehran. In turn, Evan Wilson, assistant to Merriam, was vice consul at Cairo.

These men have all taken on the color of their surroundings and have become Arabophiles. In fact, they are more Arab than the Moslems. They never walked and talked with the fellahin, the humble denizens of Arabia, but they were wine and dined by the pashas and emirs and caliphs and courted by the British Foreign Office on all occasions.

Mr. Loy Henderson had the audacity some years ago to try to explain to me that the splitting off of Trans Jordan from Palestine and the promulgation of the white paper of 1939 were not violations of the Anglo-American Treaty of 1924.

We see these devil's advocates acting behind the silken curtain when they attempted unduly to influence the American members of the Anglo-American Inquiry Committee. Bartley Crum in his book speaks of the action of Loy Henderson in attempting to brief him and his colleagues. He wanted to have them prejudge the whole subject of Palestine before there was any inquiry.

We see Evan Wilson as the villain of the piece. He accompanied the American members of the inquiry committee and sought to pressure them. Wilson used the phrase, "an aroused Arab world." He spoke of Britain's life line and as he did Bartley Crum "heard in my mind again the careful words of Loy Henderson."

The presence, too, at Flushing Meadows, of the State Department oil expert, Hayden Raynor, is very significant.

These are the mischief makers who sabotage the declared congressional and executive policy of the United States. Perhaps they applaud the appearance of the members of the higher Arab committee before the political and security committee. This is the same Arab higher committee, most of whose members, according to British and American intelligence reports, played the pro-Axis game in the last war. It is headed by the Hitler stooge, the Grand Mufti, who in his broadcasts from Berlin encouraged the Moslems to fight against the Allies, who organized the Arab brigade that killed Allied soldiers. He should long since have been hanged as a war criminal on a gibbet five times higher than the one from which Haman hanged.

It is high time that our State Department spurned the Loy Hendersons and Gordon Merriams and Evan Wilsons and refused to dance to the tune called by the British Foreign Office. It is high time our Palestine policy were made by the President of the United States and the Secretary of State and not by our striped-trousered underling saboteurs.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BUSBEY].

(Mr. BUSBEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, we are advised that the \$400,000,000 provided in H. R. 2616 is to be given to Greece and Turkey to stop communism. I challenge anyone to show me how communism is going to be stopped by the granting of this gift.

I must admit, however, that it is encouraging to see the President of the United States, after all these years, finally acknowledge there is such a thing as a Communist threat in this world. There are many of us who have been trying to point out the dangers of communism to the people of this country, as well as those in high places in our Government, and as a result of our patriotic efforts have had to stand up under one of the most vicious smear campaigns that has existed in the history of our country. We were called red baiters, witch hunters, Fascists, Hitlerites, and many other names which are all a part of the familiar technique of the Communist, left-wing, and fellow-traveler groups in this country.

Instead of stopping communism, the granting of this gift will only act as an invitation for any country in the world to come to us with the plea that its Government is threatened by communism and ask for gifts for the purpose of stopping communism. It is only reasonable to assume that if these gifts are not granted, the United States will then be

charged with taking an unfriendly attitude toward those who are refused. Already many countries are lining up with hat in hand ready to ask for these gifts if they are granted to Greece and Turkey.

You can no sooner stop communism by granting gifts to the various countries of the world than you were able to stop people from drinking when the eighteenth amendment was added to the Constitution. Friendship is something you cannot buy. It is something you must earn, and, in order to earn it, you must have a definite program better than communism, and a means of conveying that program to the peoples of the world. The Communists, through the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia, have had a very definite foreign policy of world revolution from the beginning of the Lenin regime. They not only stick to it but work at it consistently throughout the world in every country. On the other hand, the United States of America has not had a definite foreign policy and no one seems to know from year to year in what direction we are going. Combating the ideologies of communism is an educational problem and not a monetary one.

It is encouraging, at least to a slight degree, to see the President of the United States recognize the threat, and I hope a practical and constructive program will be offered by him to meet this menace, particularly here at home.

I received a letter the other day from one of my constituents and he raised a question which I think very aptly states the point:

Did it ever occur to you that a lot of people in the United States think it is more important to protect the Potomac from the Communists than the Dardanelles?

Anticipating that some Members of this House might raise the point here by saying, Did not the President in his Executive order of March 22, 1947, recognize the threat of Communists on the Potomac, particularly those employed by the Federal Government, and prescribed procedures for eliminating them from public office? I have studied this release very carefully, and, notwithstanding the screaming headlines of the press on the following day to the effect that Mr. Truman was going to get rid of Reds in Government, there is nothing in the Executive order that will expedite or assist in getting rid of these subversives. It may come as somewhat of a shock to you to know that in the opinion of a great many people, as well as myself, who have studied this Executive order, sincerely believe that it will be twice as hard to remove these Benedict Arnolds from our pay rolls under the President's order.

Ever since we recognized Soviet Russia in 1933 we have done nothing but appease her. We have written numerous letters of protest, and our Ambassadors to Soviet Russia have made many verbal protests, but nothing was ever accomplished. We have let Russia dominate Finland, and take over completely such countries as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and let her set up puppet governments in Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and many other places. Why did we not

call her hand at that time rather than at this late date?

We have actually been appeasing Soviet Russia for the past 11 years. In fact, we started appeasing Russia when President Roosevelt, through Ambassador Bullitt, in August of 1935, charged Soviet Russia with violating her pledge of November 16, 1933, the conditions under which we gave her recognition. The exchange of these communications regarding the violation of Russia's pledge makes very interesting reading at this particular time. These communications were released by the Department of State on Saturday, August 31, 1935, and they were as follows:

VIOLATION BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF ITS PLEDGE OF NOVEMBER 16, 1933—NOTE OF PROTEST BY THE UNITED STATES

(Released August 25)

The following is the text of the note presented today to the Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs at Moscow by Ambassador Bullitt and thereafter made available to the press at Moscow by Ambassador Bullitt:

"Under instructions from my Government, I have the honor to call attention to the activities, involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, which have taken place on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in connection with the VII All-World Congress of the Communist International, and, on behalf of the Government of the United States, to lodge a most emphatic protest against this flagrant violation of the pledge given by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on November 16, 1933, with respect to noninterference in the internal affairs of the United States.

"That pledge, which was given by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a result of the discussions which took place prior to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, reads in full as follows:

"WASHINGTON, November 16, 1933.

"Mr. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
"President of the United States of America,
The White House.

"MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Republics:

"1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable rights of the United States to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its territories and possessions.

"2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed interventions, or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim, the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its territories or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

"3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which makes claim to be the Government of, or makes attempt upon the

territorial integrity of, the United States, its territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

"4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group—which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions.

"I am, my dear Mr. President,

"Very sincerely yours,

"MAXIM LITVINOFF,

"People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,
"Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

"My Government invites particular attention to the obligations of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics contained in the paragraph numbered 4:

"In view of the fact that the aim and activity of an organization, such as the Congress of the Communist International, functioning on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, cannot be unknown to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, it does not seem necessary to present material to show the aim of the Congress of the Communist International with respect to the political or social order of the United States or to quote from the published proceedings of the congress to show its activity relative to the internal affairs of the United States, as evidenced in the discussion at the congress of the policies and activities of the Communist organization in the United States and the determination and formulation by the congress of policies to be carried out in the United States by the Communist organization in the United States. Nor does it appear necessary to list the names of representative or officials of the Communist organization in the United States who were active at the above-mentioned congress whose admissions into the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was, of course, known to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"As I have pointed out to the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs when discussing earlier violations of the undertaking of November 16, 1933, the American people resent most strongly interference by foreign countries in their internal affairs, regardless of the nature or probable result of such interference, and the Government of the United States considers the strict fulfillment of the pledge of noninterference an essential prerequisite to the maintenance of normal and friendly relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

"The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable, to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Government of the United States.

"I may add that it is a source of regret that in the present international situation the development of friendly relations between the Russian and American peoples will inevitably be precluded by the continuance on territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in violation of the promise of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of activities involving interference in the internal affairs of the American people."

REPLY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

(Released August 27)

The following is a translation of a note received by the Department of State from the American Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The note was handed to the American Ambassador on August 27 by the Acting People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs:

Moscow, August 27, 1935.

MR. AMBASSADOR: By note of August 25 of this year you invited my attention to the activity of the Congress of the Communist International which took place at Moscow and, referring to the note of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs Litvinov to the President of the United States of America, Mr. Roosevelt, under date of November 16, 1933, protested against this activity, considered by your Government as a violation of the obligations of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning noninterference in the internal affairs of the United States provided for in the note of November 16, 1933.

In connection therewith I consider it necessary to emphasize with all firmness that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has always regarded and still regards with the greatest respect all obligations which it has taken upon itself, including naturally, the mutual obligation concerning noninterference in internal affairs provided for in the exchange of notes of November 16, 1933, and discussed in detail in the conversation between the President of the United States of America, Mr. Roosevelt, and the People's Commissar Litvinov. There are contained no facts of any kind in your note of August 25, which could be considered as a violation on the part of the Soviet Government of its obligations.

On the other hand it is certainly not new to the Government of the United States that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cannot take upon itself and has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International.

Hence the assertion concerning the violation by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of the obligations contained in the note of November 16, 1933, does not emanate from obligations accepted by both sides, in consequence of which I cannot accept your protest and am obliged to decline it.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, sincerely sharing the opinion of the Government of the United States of America, that strict mutual noninterference in internal affairs is an essential prerequisite for the maintenance of friendly relations between our countries, and steadfastly carrying out this policy in practice, declares that it has as its aim the further development of friendly collaboration between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America responding to the interests of the people of the Soviet Union and the United States of America and possessing such great importance for the cause of universal peace.

Taking advantage of the occasion, I invite you to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

N. KRESTINSKI.

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

(Released August 31 for morning newspapers of September 1)

In connection with the protest lodged by Ambassador Bullitt against the violation by the Soviet Government of its pledge of November 16, 1933, with regard to noninterference in the internal affairs of the United States, and the reply of the Soviet Government thereto the Secretary of State today made the following statement:

"The recent note of this Government to the government of the Soviet Union and the reply of that government raises the issue whether that government in disregard of an express agreement entered into at the time of recognition in 1933 will permit organizations or groups operating on its territory to plan and direct movements contemplating the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States. For 16 years this Government withheld recognition—as did many other governments—mainly for the reason that the Soviet government had failed to respect the right of this Nation to maintain its own political and social order without interference by organizations conducting in or from Soviet territory activities directed against our institutions.

"In 1933 this Government, observing the serious effects upon peace and prosperity of the many partial or dislocated international relationships throughout the world, took up anew the question whether the United States and the Soviet Union, two of the largest nations, could not find a way to establish more natural and normal relations, which would afford a basis for genuine friendship and collaboration to promote peace and improve material conditions both at home and abroad. After various stipulations in writing had first been carefully drafted and agreed upon by representatives of the two Governments, recognition was accorded to the Government of the Soviet Union by this Government in November 1933. One of the most important provisions of the agreement thus reached was the pledge of the Soviet Government to respect the right of the United States 'to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.' The essence of this pledge was the obligation assumed by the Soviet Government not to permit persons or groups on its territory to engage in efforts or movements directed toward the overthrow of our institutions. The representative of the Soviet Government declared in writing that 'coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the affixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

"4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in, the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories, or possessions."

"The language of the above-quoted paragraph irrefutably covers activities of the Communist International, which was then, and still is, the outstanding world Communist organization, with headquarters at Moscow.

"In its reply of August 27, 1935, to this Government's note of August 25, 1935, the Soviet Government almost in so many words repudiates the pledge which it gave at the time of recognition that 'it will be fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics * * * not to permit and to prevent' the very activities against which this Government has complained and protested. Not for a moment denying or questioning the fact of Communist international activities on Soviet territory, involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, the Soviet Government denies having made any promise 'not to permit * * * and to prevent' such activities of that organization on Soviet territory, asserting that it has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the

Communist International. That the language of the pledge, as set out above, is absolutely clear and in no way ambiguous and that there has been a clean-cut disregard and disavowal of the pledge by the Soviet Government is obvious.

"The American Government, having previously made oral complaints of failure by the Soviet Government to carry out its pledge and being deeply concerned over the growing instability of international relations and the dangerous consequences thereof to peace and economic recovery, sought most earnestly in its note of August 25 to impress upon the Soviet Government the sanctity of its pledge to the end that there might be between the two nations continued development of friendly and official relations and valuable collaboration in many beneficial ways. When in its reply the Soviet Government indicated an intention entirely to disregard its promise to prevent such activities as those complained of, it struck a severe blow at the fabric of friendly relations between the two countries.

"To summarize, in view of the plain language of the pledge, it is not possible for the Soviet Government to disclaim its obligation to prevent activities on its territory directed toward overthrowing the political or social order in the United States. And that Government does not and cannot disclaim responsibility on the ground of inability to carry out the pledge, for its authority within its territorial limits is supreme and its power to control the acts and utterances of organizations and individuals within those limits is absolute.

"It remains to be seen to what extent the intention indicated by the Soviet Government's reply, which is directly contrary to the fixed policy declared in its pledge, will be carried into effect. If the Soviet Government pursues a policy of permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of preventing such activities, as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired. Whether such relations between these two great countries are thus unfortunately to be impaired and cooperative opportunities for vast good to be destroyed, will depend upon the attitude and action of the Soviet Government."

Regardless of these protests, we have continued to appease Soviet Russia by permitting her to carry on her insidious propaganda against our country throughout the world, and particularly inside the United States. Our present program must come as somewhat of a shock to Soviet Russia in view of our many years of appeasement.

In August of 1941 we were given the Atlantic Charter. This was the charter which was to give hope to all small nations and guarantee their independence at the termination of World War II. Let me read you the third provision of the Atlantic Charter, which is as follows:

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Did we stand by our commitment to that Charter when we let Soviet Russia gobble up all her satellite states? The answer is obviously "No."

A greater disgrace, however, was when the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, sold the brave, gallant, patri-

otic people of Yugoslavia down the river to Stalin, and permitted him to put his Communist leader, Tito, in as dictator of Yugoslavia.

We must admit in this present situation, if we will be honest, that the Communist pressure on the Greeks is due wholly to the activities and the program of Tito. Tito would not be in a position today to bring this pressure to bear on the Greeks if Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill had not agreed to Tito for the dictator of Yugoslavia. He was supplied with millions and millions of dollars' worth of food and various materials, through UNRRA and other agencies, with which to build up his strength in Yugoslavia. This total amount almost equals what we are asked to appropriate in this bill. In other words, we are asked to appropriate \$400,000,000 to fight a program that was set up by approximately a like amount for Tito.

Now the President of the United States has the audacity to come before the Congress and ask us to furnish money to fight what he and his predecessor are responsible for.

The most effective way to promote the forward march of communism throughout the world, and particularly in our own country, is to weaken our economy to the extent that we are no longer financially able to help ourselves, let alone the peoples of other countries.

The New Deal can accuse the Republican Party all it wants for the inflation of prices and wages, but the fact still remains that the reason prices have gone up, thereby giving labor a legitimate excuse for increased wages, is due to our own Government and the governments of other countries, with money we have given them, coming in and bidding against individuals for merchandise and commodities.

It is high time that the Congress of the United States starts paying a little attention to the people of our own country. I do not believe any individual, including the President of the United States, has the right to put the Congress and the people of our country in the position of either granting this gift to Greece and Turkey or losing face with the peoples of all the other nations. And that is exactly the position we are in today.

If the administration had not been so foolish as to appease Soviet Russia at the San Francisco Conference that brought forth the United Nations Organization, when they agreed to give her the veto power, we would not be in the position we are today.

The Congress should either agree that situations of this kind should be handled through the United Nations Organization, or be willing to admit the United Nations Organization is a failure and is not capable of doing those things we were told it would do when it was organized. A proposition of this kind should be handled through the United Nations Organization as long as it is in existence. Loaning this money to Greece and Turkey will be serving notice on the entire world that in our opinion UN has failed.

Our plight in considering this gift to Greece and Turkey is proof of the old adage that "politics has strange bed-

fellows." I assure you my reasons for opposing this gift are entirely different from those of the Communists and their fellow-travelers.

In a speech made by Daniel Webster in Congress on January 26, 1830, he had this to say:

When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence and before we float further on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we now are.

I sincerely believe the best interest for the future of our country lies in the defeat of this gift to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. SMITH].

(Mr. SMITH of Ohio asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the Congress is being maneuvered into a course of action simulating the one that led the Nation into World War II. Is this a mere coincidence?

I, along with many others, warned in 1940-41 that legislation forced through the Congress at that time under the guise of keeping America out of war would have the reverse effect. Each of us that were Members of the House at that time remember the repeal of the Neutrality Act, lifting of the arms embargo, cash and carry, arming merchant-marine vessels, use of American ships to convoy materials to countries at war and lend-lease. And all of this in the name of peace, but we know it finally ended with a declaration of war.

What will be the next step? Restoration of OPA? It is well known that the administration reluctantly yielded to the public clamor for ending price control and that it has been possessed of the urge to restore it. Furthermore, as the reenactment of the rent-control law last week clearly reveals, the thinking of a majority of the Members of Congress is in line with that idea.

Will the President request Congress to reenact the price-control law on the ground that this is essential to effectuate the policy embraced in the pending bill? If so, will the Members who supported the measure presently under consideration refuse such request? How could they?

All this comes at the very moment inflation is getting out of control. Carrying out of the program projected by the pending bill will add to the existing inflationary forces and will have the effect of increasing the efforts of the groups that are pressing for restoring the OPA.

Suppose the President some time later tells the Congress that conscription is also necessary to carry out the program involved in the pending bill and requests Congress to reenact the conscription law. Will the Members who are voting for the measure under consideration refuse such request? Would it be consistent for them to do so?

A vote for this bill is sanction for the administration to restore OPA and all the political restraints and regimentation that were in effect during the war, but intensified to a degree that will make the political interferences of World War II look like a picnic by comparison.

It will simply mean the completion of the collectivist economy.

To stop Russian territorial expansion and domination is one thing. To take action against her to stop communism is something else. It is ridiculous. How can the United States pretend to be opposing communism when we ourselves are already more than half way down the road to that irreligious ideology?

It is wrong to say that the United States is not launching upon a program of imperialism. The fact is that we have already done so, as those who are familiar with the work of the International Trade Organization and other international bodies well know. Either we will have to levy tribute upon some or all of the peoples of the world to meet the cost of policing it, if that is what the cult of internationalism succeeds in establishing, or we will bleed our own Nation to death in the attempt to meet such cost.

Emotion and blind belief are also playing an important role in the passing of this bill. Does the Foreign Affairs Committee pretend to tell the other Members of Congress that it knows the whole background of the President's request for this legislation? Who believes anything of the sort after Yalta, Potsdam, Tehran, and the Atlantic Charter, and so forth?

In going into Greece we are taking sides in a quarrel between two groups, a quarrel that is not remotely related to communism versus free enterprise, but a quarrel that relates solely to the control of the Greek state. Can it be expected that the other nations of the world will look upon this act as being proper and just? Is not this action we are taking tantamount to declaration of war upon Greece itself? Does it not involve our holding Greece by military force? Let the Members supporting this measure pass these things off lightly, if you will, but coming events will have it otherwise.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. MORGAN].

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, I have listened to the testimony of the officials of our State, War, and Navy Departments and that presented by our Ambassadors to Greece and Turkey. All have testified that the need for this legislation is immediate and urgent and that it is essential if Greece and Turkey are to survive as free and independent nations of the world. These officials have also given the committee absolute assurance that the passage of this bill would not lead us into war.

On the other hand, we have listened to the opponents of the bill, who have testified that it is a complete reversal of our previous foreign policy, that it is bypassing the United Nations, that it will lead us into war, that it will end in a race for armaments and will eventually lead to bankruptcy of the entire world.

Thus, I have earnestly sought, how I should vote on this pending bill and after careful consideration, I will support the foreign policy proposed by our President. It has been called "dollar diplomacy" and rightfully so, but it is my belief that it is better to give dollars now than to receive bullets later.

This bill authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$400,000,000 and gives the President the power "when he deems it in the interest of the United States" to furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey upon the requests of their governments and upon the terms determined by him. Thus the assistance would be of four types: First, financial aid in the form of loans, grants, and credits; second, sending American officials for the purpose of assistance; third, a limited number of military men in an advisory capacity for instruction and training; and, fourth, articles, services, and information which the President may deem advisable. This has been described as giving the President a blank check for \$400,000,000, but if the program is going to be successful, it is absolutely necessary to grant the President blanket powers.

Mr. Chairman, we have the testimony of State Department officials that Turkey is being subjected to severe external pressure from the north, which has forced her to maintain a large armed force for defense purposes. Her army at the present time is about 800,000 men and this has put a severe strain on her national economy. The pressure includes definite demands for portions of east Turkey and for bases that would give other powers control of the Dardanelles. This would lead to the collapse of Turkey and let Russia gain control of the entire Middle East. In my opinion this would comprise the strategic position of the United States and make it impossible to gain world peace. Thus, I think it is vitally essential that we aid Turkey to remain militarily strong. From information received, we find that the morale of the Turkish Army is excellent, and knowing the background of the Turks that they will fight if invaded, the financial aid poured into Turkey will not be wasted. In fact, I feel sure that in years to come the entire world will profit by this investment. The sum of \$100,000,000 has been recommended to be used to provide military security for Turkey. No part of this amount will be used for civilian supplies. The funds will be used to modernize the Turkish Army. The purchases will be under the supervision of our ambassador and I feel sure that the members of the committee who have listened to the frank and enlightening statement of Mr. Wilson, who appeared before the committee, of the existing conditions in Turkey, that they can have no doubt as to his ability to see that the money is expended as this great body intends it to be.

However, in Greece we face an entirely different situation. The Greek Government is weak and her condition has become very acute after 4 years of war and enemy occupation. The \$275,000,000 thus proposed for Greece is going to be quite a gamble. It will, however,

help save a free and proud people. Greece has always been a very poor nation, one that was just able to survive on a hand-to-mouth basis. That, together with great destruction caused by 4 years of war, has left Greece in such a weakened condition that at present she is fertile pasture for aggressors and expanding neighbors. In fact, Greece has charged before the Security Council of the United Nations that her neighbors to the north have been supplying and training insurgents who have been conducting raids upon her northern civilian population. In order to combat this, House Resolution 2616 will provide \$150,000,000 for the armed forces of Greece. It will permit the Greek Army to maintain operations against the Russian-inspired guerrilla forces operating from the north and also that she may defend her other borders. What Greece needs most is military equipment for mountain fighting. The other \$125,000,000 is intended for civilian reconstruction and rehabilitation. This will help her repair her bridges, roads, railroads and farms. This will be necessary if Greece is to survive as a free and independent nation and enable her to return to the export market.

Mr. Chairman, the opponents of this legislation have charged that it is bypassing the United Nations. I deny this accusation. The United Nations is still in its infancy and it is not possible for it to do the job. For almost 2 years the United Nations' Organization has been trying to lay the ground work for a pattern by which the people of the world can once again live normal lives free from fear. The progress thus far has been slow because of the obstructive action of Russia. This action of Russia and her aggressive tactics toward her smaller neighbors should convince every Member of this great body that there can be no lasting peace until she demonstrates a greater degree of cooperation. So by helping Greece and Turkey we are strengthening the United Nations. I am for a strong international organization for peace and will support such an organization as long as I remain a Member of this body.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, it is our desire to let the world know that we are through with appeasement and are going to stand firm against Russia. Our policy is one of great sacrifice to our own people and all we ask is to attempt to bring lasting peace to the free peoples of the world.

(Mr. MORGAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON].

[Mr. JOHNSON of Texas addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. TEAGUE].

Mr. TEAGUE. Mr. Chairman, I have attempted to obtain as much information as possible on the subject of assistance

to Greece and Turkey in order that I could intelligently reach a decision on our aid to these countries. It is a gross understatement to say that this is a grave decision for us to make, as I believe we are well aware of the implications this policy may entail if enacted. I believe that we are also aware of the fact that world peace is threatened whenever totalitarian regimes are imposed on free people by aggression.

I have tried to read every written statement on this subject since the President addressed the Congress bringing this matter to our attention. I have listened to the Members of the House debate this proposed legislation both pro and con. The hearings held by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations have been very thorough and reflect sincerity on the part of both Houses to examine this measure carefully.

Greece fought valiantly on the side of the Allies during the recent war and continued to offer effective resistance even when she was occupied by enemy forces. The ravages of war have left Greece with many serious economic problems which can only be solved if assistance is given to her and the threat of communistic aggression is removed. Greece is in need of our assistance to bolster her economic position. In this way only will she be able to defend herself from the disrupting attacks of the Greek Communists who receive a substantial portion of their supplies from the Communist-dominated neighboring countries.

Mr. Chairman, I do not think any of us fought to free these countries from Nazi oppression and to remove the Hitler threat from the world only to deliver them into the hands of the Communists. We would not be accomplishing a single aim we fought for if we continue to allow freedom-loving people to be subjected to the expanding policy of another totalitarian regime.

The following testimony of Mr. Frederick J. Libby, of the National Council for Prevention of War, before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, is incompatible with the American ideals of freedom and fighting for that freedom.

Note: Mr. JOHN DAVIS LODGE, Congressman from Connecticut, directs the questions:

Mr. LODGE. Do you believe there is anything worse than war?

I can answer the question. Can you answer it?

Mr. LIBBY. I think, Mr. LODGE, that my answer will be that there is nothing worse than war. It sums up all the evils that there are, it breaks all the commandments, and there is always another way out.

Mr. LODGE. If we were now living under the German Nazis, under Hitler, with their race persecution, their hangings, their concentration camps and incinerators, that would be better than war; is that your view?

Mr. LIBBY. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the Greeks know that there are several things worse than war. They feel, I am sure, that living under a communistic totalitarian government would be worse than war. I know that I would rather fight for my freedom than to submit to either Nazi or Communist domination. I hope that all the Members of the House feel this way.

The situation in Turkey is not a healthy one either. It is reported that the Russians have 20 divisions of troops on the Turkish border. This is a war of nerves against the Turks, and their government has requested military equipment to provide the Turkish army with weapons to defend their borders. Our military leaders feel that if Turkey is compelled to give in to the Russian demands for military control of strategic areas, Turkey would collapse which would involve the subjugation of the entire Middle East by Russian forces.

Mr. Chairman, world leadership has been thrust upon the United States and whether or not we accept this leadership is a part of this present bill. If we do not accept this leadership, a less desirable leader will accept it. I do not believe this policy if enacted will lead one step toward war, but instead will be another step toward the prevention of a third world war.

It is my belief that General Marshall is one of the greatest living Americans and if we support his leadership, the United States will remain strong as we must be if we are to prevent World War III and to assist other nations in becoming strong democracies.

(Mr. TEAGUE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CARROLL].

(Mr. CARROLL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. Chairman, I have listened attentively to this debate for the past 2 days. I am amazed and at the same time depressed at the utter callousness of warlike statements issued by certain Members in support of this bill. It has been said by some that the passage of this bill will strengthen the United Nations, thereby contributing greatly to the cause of peace. Others have said that the United Nations is a weakling and that it is incapable of meeting the crisis which confronts the world today.

Let us examine the immediate past. Two years ago we were on the eve of a great victory, culminating one of the most terrible wars in the history of all mankind. That war was so prolonged, devastating, and destructive that all of the nations of the world were convinced that it was necessary to build an organization to prevent further wars. This Nation assumed the leadership in the building of such an organization in the search for a permanent and durable peace.

Fifty-one nations of the world joined together pledging themselves to the principle of collective security, binding themselves and their peoples in a solemn obligation to work out their differences and conflicts by peaceful means rather than by force of arms. This new organization was properly called the United Nations and gave great joy and hope to the people of every color, race, and creed throughout the world. After the hundreds of years of wars, here at last was an organization by and through which the common people of all nations could achieve their dream for a continuing and lasting peace.

Yes, Mr. Chairman; I am amazed that anyone could believe that we are strengthening the United Nations when, in fact, we refuse to use it at all. The United Nations can only be strengthened by continued use of its machinery in settling those problems which affect the peace of the world. That is the purpose for which the United Nations was created. Leading educators, scientists, and diplomats of the world are all of the opinion that by ignoring the United Nations as we propose to do in this bill, we are dealing it a blow from which it will not soon recover, if ever.

I am depressed, Mr. Chairman, at the cynicism and pessimism of leaders who now regard the United Nations as being incapable of performing those functions for which it was created. This is indeed a bitter pill to the people of the world who repose so much hope and faith and confidence in the peace machinery of their own organization.

I do not share the view of those cynical leaders. I believe the United Nations can work if we have the will to make it work and will give it the opportunity. It is imperative that we do so, for only by following such a course will we travel along the road to peace.

Mr. Chairman, I have been in two world wars. In the first I believed, as most people believed at that time, we were fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy. We know now the history of the League of Nations, we know of the great spiritual and moral leadership the United States gave to the world in the quest for peace. We know now that a small group of selfish, willful men interfered with our leadership, and it was only a matter of time until the nations of the world began to play the same old game of power politics. And then we entered World War II.

Every thinking person admits that under the circumstances we had to fight in that war in our national self-interest. True, it cost us blood and treasure but it was a war we had to fight. If nations begin again to act independently of one another, maneuvering and conspiring to outdo each other in the broad field of power politics, war is inevitable. All through the centuries this had been the history of civilization. Practically all of the military leaders of the world and most of the world's politicians and diplomats regard war as inevitable. They accept without question the doctrine of Hegel, the German philosopher, who is dogmatic about the inevitability of war. I suppose it is the thinking of this group that is primarily responsible for this tongue-in-the-cheek attitude insofar as our present United Nations Organization is concerned. However, there are wise leaders in this world of ours and they have the support of all of the common people who believe that war is not inevitable; that we can have peace if we have the will to have peace; that we can have peace if we remain united for that purpose.

Mr. Chairman, there can be no peace in this world if each of the big powers arrogate to themselves the sole right to determine what is just or unjust. In pure and simple language that is anarchy. That course of action has always led to war. It is for that reason that

the United Nations, imperfect as it is in some respects, must be given the opportunity to determine what is just or unjust if war is to be prevented. It may well be that the United Nations, due to the existence of the veto power, cannot give us a positive and definite assurance of peace, but a proper use of its machinery can focus world attention upon those who are trying to defeat its purpose. From my experience, I can tell you that the game of war is stupid, and criminal, and brutal. No nation ever solves anything by war. It is true that sometimes we have to wage war to prove that point. All will agree that wars have become so terrible and costly that even the victor is also the loser in the end.

I should like to emphasize this point. As an American I want to do everything possible to assure and protect our own national self-interest. If the occasion arises and there is no other alternative, I will not hesitate to wage war against Russia in the protection of our own Nation. I do not believe we have reached that point yet, nor do I believe that the people from Colorado and particularly of Denver, whom I represent, believe that we have reached that point yet. That is why I urge upon the Members of Congress to use the machinery of the United Nations in the hope that we may not reach that point at all.

What can we do through the United Nations? What can we do to prevent us from taking this step toward war? We can do this. We have given \$50,000,000 for food and medicine for Greece. That is a step in the right direction but it is not enough. We can, by resolution of this body, give to the President of the United States authority to spend \$100,000,000, or whatever additional amount we may designate, to be used in restoring the economic stability of Greece. That can also be done through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. There is no delay in that program. That can be accomplished immediately. Any military aid must come and should be given through the United Nations. There is machinery in the United Nations notwithstanding what has been said on the floor in the past 2 days. There is action that can be taken against Russia or her satellites. Vigorous action by our United States representative in that body can clearly point up the issue. If Yugoslavia and Bulgaria are threatening, let us smoke them out into the open.

Let us turn to Turkey for a moment. The situation there is critical. The President in his message states that the situation existing there is a threat to the peace of the world. In the interest of world peace, of course, it is important that Russia does not overrun Turkey. What can Turkey do about it is the question? Under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, she can petition the Security Council of that body for action. She has merely to say, "My national sovereignty is being threatened by Russia and I ask the protection of the United Nations." The matter will then go to the Security Council, which would then set up an investigating committee. There is a difference of opinion as to whether or not Russia has the power of veto. The majority opinion is that Rus-

sia, having been named as an offender, could neither vote nor veto, this being a procedural matter. However, let us assume that Russia not only had the power but exercised her veto. She would then stand indicted before all the people of the world. No; she would not dare to exercise such a veto in that situation any more than was possible when Iran asked for protection. You must understand that the United Nations has been effective in similar situations and I refer specifically to the call for help from Iran, Syria, and Lebanon.

If Turkey is fearful that the Russians are about to attack her for the purpose of seizing the Dardanelles, under the Charter of the United Nations there is a proper procedure to handle such a situation. If there is justification for such a charge, it is the duty of the United Nations to notify the Russians that any such aggressive action is contrary to the Charter, of which Russia is signatory. The United Nations could then set in motion the existing machinery to resist and prevent such an aggression. Then at that time it would be the duty of the United States to come forward, assuming it rightful leadership, and say to the nations of the world, "I stand ready to meet my obligations under the Charter of the United Nations and I ask the nations of the world to join with me in resisting this act of aggression."

No, Mr. Chairman; the path we are pursuing is not the right one. I am in complete agreement with the objectives of this bill, but I should like to travel another road—a road that leads through the United Nations. Again I want to make my position perfectly clear. I am not in agreement with isolationists who are opposed to this bill for different reasons. They are the fear mongers who have always been afraid to go forward. I am not unwilling to spend the amount of money set forth in this bill. I am willing to spend a lot of money now rather than to spend it later for war.

Mr. Chairman, I have been informed that there will be amendments presented to this bill for the purpose of bringing the United Nations into this picture. I shall support those amendments. Clearly by doing nothing we shall injure our own national security and at the same time we shall not be providing the means whereby the United Nations can function at a later time. Therefore, it is my present opinion that should these amendments fail I shall join with others who are in favor of the passage of the bill in the hope that the United Nations may in the future take upon itself what so rightfully belongs to it now.

As for those orators who feel we must act unilaterally and who feel that we, independently, can fight for the "four freedoms" all alone all over the world, in my opinion they ought to talk to the GI's back home. But I warn you that they have a peculiar cheer for that type of oratory which would place them again in military service. They are not anxious to go into another war. They have had their belly full of it for now. It is all very well for world politicians and for striped-pants diplomats to determine these great issues which lead people into war, but, I tell you, the people

do not want to go to war, and I say to you that this bill, unless amended, may very well lead us into World War III.

All history is screaming at us. In this age of the atomic bomb, religious leaders, educators, scientists, and elder statesmen have implored and beseeched us to close the gap between present political thinking and the great advances made by science. Truly this is a race between education and catastrophe. As a result of World War II, on every side there is chaos, misery, and suffering. It will take a generation for some of the nations of the world to recover from the effects of the last war.

Already we have seen evidence of great political changes throughout the world. The tide of these political changes will ebb and flow until some measure of economic stability is restored to those nations most seriously affected by the war. Our greatest contribution to world peace and to our own peace is to do all that we can, without endangering our own economy, to aid and assist the people in the war-torn areas of the world in regaining their economic balance. This is the proper method to meet the challenge of communism. By proper action the people of the world will continue to look to this Nation for hope and leadership. Such will not be the case if we assume the position followed by others in the game of power politics. That is a costly game and one for which we as a people are unsuited both by temperament and tradition.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Colorado has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. REED].

(Mr. REED of Illinois asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. REED of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, America is faced by two prongs of a foreign policy. The one prong is to pour out our money in foreign relief which inevitably will be a heavy drain on our national resources. The other prong of the foreign policy involves loans being sought by foreign governments. These also will add to the drain on our national resources and to the danger of inflation which results from an artificial activity which brings in no return.

Last week I voted for the reduced relief assistance to people of countries devastated by war because I realized, as did other Members of the House of Representatives, that to withhold food from the starving, wherever situated, is inhuman and cruel, even in the countries of our former enemies or in those whose present governments are dominated or coerced by the Soviet Union. We were, and are, firmly convinced that unless we help to keep starvation out of Europe, chaos—communistic regimented chaos—will sweep the Old World.

Now we are considering another bill, a proposal for loans approximating \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey. My vote on that proposition will be in the negative.

The relief funds, voted last week, while they do constitute a drain on our resources, are temporary in nature, and are designed to help sustain hungry

European peoples until they can recover sufficiently from the ravages of war to take care of themselves.

The Grecian-Turkish loans in their naked reality are military loans. They simply open the door to demands for the expenditure of not hundreds of millions but many billions of dollars over a long period of time in a policy which would involve us in every war, big or little, that would take place in Europe or the Orient for the next 50 or a hundred years.

Since this proposal by the administration has split party lines in all directions, it is not a partisan question.

What actually has been proposed by the administration is that we, the Congress, commit the American people to accept and to finance a jigsaw-puzzle foreign policy, the outlines of which we can only surmise. Two—only two—little pieces of this jigsaw puzzle are laid down for the American people to see. Those are the loans to Greece and to Turkey. It is admitted that they are military loans.

If we grant these loans, what about Poland, Estonia, Finland, Rumania, Austria, Russian-occupied Germany, all the countries which are now behind the iron curtain or under the domination of Soviet influence, or which may in the future come within that zone? Are we going to lend money to all of them along with more billions to England and France and China and Italy? What is to be our attitude toward other countries which may be menaced by the shadow of "the bear that walks like a man"?

The American people, and I as a Member of Congress, want to see more of this picture. It is not enough that the door to the United States Treasury be opened while the door to this whole foreign policy is kept closed against the view of the American people.

It becomes appalling when we stop to realize the billions upon billions of dollars we have loaned in addition to our war expenditures.

We have loans amounting to \$9,280,000,000 to 58 foreign countries.

We have the bulk of the money in the World Bank Fund. We have the bulk of the money in the Foreign Currency Stabilization Fund. We put the bulk of the money into UNNRA. The pattern thus far is that we not only fought and paid for two wars, one of them in the Pacific which we fought practically alone and unaided, but we are now asked to rehabilitate, to feed and clothe not only our allies, but our former enemies as well.

The question everybody in America is asking, the question uppermost in your thoughts and in my thoughts is this:

"Are we going to have to fight Russia to stop the expansion of despotism by the Soviet group over all Europe and the Orient?" If that is so, it is better to stop Russia now and compel her to move the iron curtain back to her borders, or is it better to wait for 10 or 15 years, meanwhile maintaining the strongest national defense in the world, cost what it may, and run the risk that Russia may become so strong, or that she may attain the secrets of atomic warfare, and that such a conflict would simply be mutual

suicide, and the destruction of our civilization?

It serves no good purpose for us to keep that question unspoken and under cover to fester and spread until it overshadows all other questions. Let us at least have the courage to look it squarely in the face.

If the Grecian-Turkish proposed military loans are for the purpose of stopping Russia from expanding Stalin despotism, then \$400,000,000 is a mere bagatelle—it is not enough. If these Grecian-Turkish loans are not for the purpose of stopping Russia, then what are they for?

What is the total cost going to be if we embark on this adventure totally out of keeping with American tradition? These are questions the American people want answered before they are led into this policy.

If we make these loans, shall we have American military and civil commissions set up in the debtor countries to supervise and police the spending of those hundreds of millions and billions of dollars, or will we turn our money over to foreign manipulators to be stolen—much of it to be used to finance communistic expansion? If we are to police the spending of this money, then we shall have embarked upon an imperialistic technique with colonial administration, whether we like the term or not.

What will be done in the case of China; Korea; India; Palestine? These are all pieces of this great jigsaw puzzle of foreign policy which the administration has thus far refused to lay down for us to see.

If, as, and when the other parts of this puzzle are brought into clear view, I shall then decide how I will vote, but until those questions are answered for the American people, I shall vote against taking this Nation into any such policy with our eyes shut and the American people blindfolded.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. JENKINS].

Mr. JENKINS of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, as I have listened to my colleagues who have preceded me in discussions of this bill, I have been impressed with the sense of responsibility that they feel rests upon them in casting their votes either for or against the resolution. I have been gratified that, almost without exception, they have approached the problem with a sense of its tremendous importance, its implications and imports to all America, and free from partisan political bias or prejudice; that they have attempted to resolve any questions in their minds from the point of view of Americans, rather than as members of a political party.

I am glad that that is the case, and that this debate has been kept on that plane, for, it seems to me, the matter rises far above any considerations of partisan politics. I shall try to emulate them in my own discussion.

Mr. Chairman, I propose to vote for this bill because, primarily I believe that its passage is essential, is vital, to our national security, and to our national defense. However much I might be

moved by humanitarian considerations, I am in complete accord with the gentlemen who feel that our first duty is to our own people, that we should not squander our substance in riotous living, and that we cannot afford to play Santa Claus to the whole world until we first take care of our domestic requirements.

To my mind, this is not a relief bill, however, not a charity, no matter how it is entitled and no matter how it is presented. Whatever may be the disguise it wears, I hope we may see beneath it the reality that confronts us. Having been in two wars I shall vote for the bill to prevent, if possible, a third world war, but if that be impossible, then to ensure that our sons, the sons of my constituents and your constituents, who will be the ones to fight it, will, at least, have an even break and will do so under the most favorable circumstances possible.

It is my belief, as a result of observation and study, that such a war, if it is to come, will have its origin in the Middle East, in Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. From the time when the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the Middle East has been the crossroads of the world, both physically and ideologically, and today, with our global air lines, it is more so than ever. Its tentacles reach into India and Tibet and thence into China, into Egypt and North Africa, into Greece and Turkey. Never, with some few exceptions like the Valley of the Nile and the Fertile Crescent, a productive land, it is yet immensely wealthy in hydroelectric power and in oil. Its resources in those things have hardly begun to be tapped.

In years gone by England has been the dominant power in that region. Today the British Empire can no longer fulfill its commitments. It is on the verge of national bankruptcy and is, and must, if it is to preserve its national economy, draw out of that whole region. It is a truism of physics that nature abhors a vacuum. And when Britain moves out, someone is going to move in, and, unless we take steps to prevent it, that someone will be Russia. Today two countries stand on the flank of that advance, and only from their territories can that advance be hampered or stopped. They are Greece and Turkey. As a result, they are being attacked, for what is happening is but a form of military operations and unless they are aided they cannot survive as independent nations.

With their flank secure, with Salonika and the Dardanelles under the control of a vassal regime, the Russian march into oil fields of the Middle East is but a short, and a safe, step. And with the inoculation of the Arabs of that region with the virus of communism, an inoculation which will follow occupation as the night the day, it is but a step to spread the disease to their coreligionists of India, the Dutch East Indies, Egypt, and North Africa. As the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey will tell you, once an epidemic starts it spreads fast. Only by isolating the patients and imposing a quarantine can it be conquered. I am

for imposing that quarantine as a matter of self preservation.

Some gentlemen have referred to this as a blank check. If it helps to prevent a third world cataclysm it will be worth all its costs, for, as the distinguished gentleman from Ohio so correctly observed, civilization can ill afford another such debacle as those through which we have just passed. If it fails to do so it will have immeasurably added to our strength in any conflict which might come.

Others have referred to it as a change in our foreign policy. I do not consider it as such. To my mind, it is but the logical application, in a world grown smaller in this day of more speedy communications, of the Monroe Doctrine which has guided us over the years since its enunciation. As the world has decreased in size our frontiers have pushed farther and farther from our coast lines until today we must, of necessity, as a matter of self-preservation, be concerned with attacks on democratic institutions and free nations wherever in the world they occur.

I wonder if the gentlemen who propose to vote against this bill have forgotten Munich and Mr. Chamberlain's remarks on his return from that surrender, that he had insured at Munich "peace in our time." All that Munich did for peace was to enable the aggressor the better to prepare for war, to permit him to grow so strong that he was ready to take on all of Europe, all the world. And he nearly succeeded. It took us 3 years to win that one.

Have we not seen enough of the results of such appeasement policies? We tried them with the Kaiser's Germany, and also again with Hitler's, and what was the result? You all know.

Are we to learn nothing from those experiences, so recently and so vividly before us? Are we again going to sacrifice needlessly the lives of thousands of our young men to stop an aggressor whom we, ourselves, have helped to strengthen? But for the change in names, we are today in exactly the same position in which the world was after Hitler had moved into the Rhineland and before his troops occupied Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Are we going to let history repeat itself, or have we, at last, learned a little wisdom? The vote on this measure, I believe, will answer that question.

(Mr. JENKINS of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. COMBS].

(Mr. COMBS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COMBS. Mr. Chairman, I have listened for these two days with a great deal of interest to the debates. I question no one's motives, for to me it is inconceivable that a Representative of the people in this House, facing so great an issue as we face, would approach it in the spirit of partisanship or fail to do what he conceived to be his duty.

A little more than 25 years ago I engaged, I think, in the most bitter politi-

cal debate in my career with a very dear friend then, as he is today. I supported the League of Nations proposal, and in the Democratic convention in my section my friend opposed it. A lot has been said through the years since that a few willful men in the United States sabotaged the League. I have come to look at it differently and to believe that our people were not prepared in their hearts and in their thinking to accept the responsibilities that go with world leadership.

But whatever the reason, we then turned away from our opportunity and left the stricken peoples of the world who were struggling toward freedom without our leadership, and without it they turned to their Mussolinis and their Hitlers. The white crosses which mark graves of our sons all over the world bear striking testimony to the price we paid for our failure to humanity.

Let us turn our minds back a moment. When World War I ended and our President went abroad, in Italy and in France and throughout the countries he went through multitudes that thronged the streets, millions of them, until traffic was jammed for hours, simply to catch a view of him. To them he represented that one great nation which had demonstrated in the 150 years of its history the truth that men are qualified to govern themselves and to build free institutions. But when he came back we would not accept that leadership. We drifted down to World War II.

I think one of the tragic examples of our failure, one that will not be a proud page in our history, occurred in 1936 when the struggling League of Nations, which was doomed without our leadership and our membership, was in session in Switzerland in an effort to devise means of stopping Hitler and Mussolini. We were there represented not as a member but by an observer who peered through the keyhole while the conference failed and preparations were continued by the aggressors to plunge us into World War II. In the weak-kneed attitude of the freedom-loving peoples of the world we permitted Hitler and Mussolini to go their way until World War II was inevitable. No matter what one may think of the League of Nations or of the wisdom of President Wilson, I would recommend that every member before he votes on this bill read that series of speeches he made in support of it back in 1920. One passage in the speech he made, I think at St. Louis, I shall never forget. He there predicted that unless America took her place of leadership for democracy and gave assurance to the world that we meant to support free institutions, that before another generation should pass away the soil of Europe would be stained with the blood of our sons. It reads like prophecy.

The real issue here today is not whether we shall contribute \$400,000,000 to aid in the rehabilitation of Greece and Turkey. Were that the controlling issue, it might be well to consider whether it would not be better to extend it through the United Nations, or as a loan through the International Bank, or by some other means as a simple gift to the stricken people who sorely need aid. But

the fundamental issue is not the mere extending of aid to needy people. The bill under consideration is an expression of the policy of this Nation to aid weaker nations to maintain their freedom and to resist efforts from without to force communism upon them. The grant of funds is a necessary means to an end. It is merely the implementing of an international policy of our Government in which we are saying to the people of the world that this Nation will hereafter assume its place of leadership and give its strength and support to people who are trying to establish for themselves free government. That policy requires more than just money; it takes our leadership.

Four hundred million dollars is a relatively small contribution for the maintenance of peace. Having contributed so much in blood and treasure to win a war we should not hesitate to contribute this relatively small sum to win the peace and insure that we and our children shall live in a decent world. A world in which the people of every country, large and small, shall be free to work out their own government and their own social institutions without fear of aggression from without or sabotage from within by any other country. It is only in such a world that we can hope to maintain our own freedom. I believe devoutly in the principle of collective security, and in United Nations. Our membership in that organization is a guaranty of our support—an assurance that we shall not repeat the mistake of 1920. We are not bypassing it. The Vandenberg amendment expresses our desire to work with United Nations. That organization can take over the task whenever it chooses. This Government will withdraw when the Assembly or the Security Council desires it. In the meantime, and on a temporary basis only, we shall meet the emergency. We shall accept communism's challenge to democracy. This is urgent. This does not weaken United Nations. It gives it added strength and recognition.

The policy of President Truman and Secretary Marshall, embodied in this bill, is intended to secure these ends and I shall vote to uphold their hands and sustain their efforts in this crucial hour.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and four Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. MORTON].

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Chairman, I favor the passage of this bill. Like most Americans, I regret the world conditions which force us to consider such legislation. I concur fully with the views so ably expressed yesterday on this subject by the distinguished gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]. History teaches us that the principal nations of the world have, for years, pursued foreign policies for war. What is now needed is a world policy for peace. To accomplish this end, the United States must take a positive, courageous, and realistic stand in its dealings with other nations. The adoption of this measure

will, in my opinion, implement such a stand.

Yesterday, during the debate on the rule, the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH] stated that it has been suggested that no one could vote for this measure in view of his oath of office, unless he felt that our first line of defense was the Greek or Turkish border. I disagree with this point of view, but for the sake of argument, let us accept it. Where is our first line of defense? It is not a static line to be found on any map or chart. It is a mobile line depending on the precarious balance between the offensive and defensive implements of war. It might well be determined by the cruising radius of tomorrow's plane, or the range of some rocket-propelled guided missile, or even some imaginative fantasy found in a Buck Rogers comic strip. In any event, the war head of the missile will be filled with a derivative of uranium and not nitrogen.

Along with most Americans, I deplore the fact that the United Nations Organization does not yet have the stature to deal with this problem. I know that most of my constituents in Kentucky agree with me that the peace of the world depends upon a strong and effective United Nations. Yet, in Kentucky, no one in his right mind would think of starting a 2-year-old, carrying top weight, in a mile and a quarter race. Let us not cripple the United Nations in its infancy.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. HAND].

Mr. HAND. Mr. Chairman, the whole 9 hours of debate allowed to discuss the Greek-Turkey \$400,000,000 gift is an inadequate time to analyze its far-reaching implications, and certainly I cannot do it in the short time allotted me. It may be useful, however, to point out the profound misconception of the scope of this proposal advanced yesterday by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

In the course of the debate, he said this:

The second thing that this bill does not do is this. I think it does not mean that we are adopting for America a permanent foreign policy called the Truman doctrine, or anything else which could be interpreted as meaning that we are going to finance faltering governments all over the world simply because they claim to be operated by free men. I do not think that that is involved in this decision. We are meeting an important problem, recognizable at two specific points, and answering it in a specific manner.

This does not mean that we are committing ourselves—and our committee report makes that very clear—to faltering governments which may get into difficulty all over the world, and simply by coming to us and saying, "We need help; we believe in freedom," expect that we will aid them with hundreds of millions of dollars. These are two unique cases paralleled by no other country in the world, unless possibly you could present the case of Iran. In Iran we have already done the thing we now propose to do in Greece and Turkey.

Not a word of this statement is correct.

I am not concerned with what the gentleman thinks the bill means, or what some newspaper writers say it ought to mean. If we will take the trouble to

read the President's speech to the joint session of Congress, we will know what it means.

Mr. MUNDT says this particular problem is unique. He suggests that we vote this four hundred million and stop. But the President said:

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision concerns Greece and Turkey.

This is "one aspect" for our consideration "at this time." Let me warn you that the other aspects are innumerable, impossible, and ruinous.

Mr. MUNDT said that we are not committing ourselves to faltering governments all over the world. But Mr. Truman said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

And the President said:

We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] said that the instant problem is unique, "unless possibly you could present the case of Iran." But the President said:

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

If the President thinks that the United States has the moral duty, or even the moral right, to interfere with all governments that are not democracies, he might have also mentioned most of the rest of the world; not just Iran, but Iraq, Egypt, India, Korea. He might have mentioned the communistic threat of Togliatti in Italy, of Thorez in France. He could have referred to the totalitarian Franco in Spain, and closer to home, Argentina and Chile are not conspicuous adherents to the form of government that we in America prefer.

Mr. Chairman, it is the President's proposal that we are voting on, not Mr. MUNDT's. Four hundred million is appropriated to the President, to start America on a dark journey, a dangerous journey, an imperialistic adventure to every plague spot in the world.

There should be no misunderstanding of the Truman doctrine. The President was frank about it. Summed up, it is this:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I cannot bring myself to believe any such thing. I do not believe we have either the duty or the right to interfere with the internal affairs of foreign nations throughout the globe.

So much for the broad implications of the general doctrine.

DRESSED UP IN ATTRACTIVE CLOTHES

Mr. Chairman, this proposal would not get 50 votes in the House if it were not appealingly presented as a move to curb communism, or to contain Russia. Both objects are greatly to be desired. In common with almost all Americans, I hate communism, and am exasperated with Russia's lack of cooperation. But this bill will do neither.

Indeed, it is not even aimed at communism, which is a threat in many other parts of the world in addition to Russia; and I hope no one is so gullible as to think that one hundred and fifty million for the Turkish Army, or that new uniforms for the Greeks will reform the Soviets.

If Russia is to be contained it must be done by more direct and less scattered means. We must say bluntly, "Thus far and no further"; and our State Department must make up its mind which way it is going. You cannot in common sense advocate the Truman doctrine in one breath and the continuance of lend-lease in the next; nor ask \$31,000,000 for propaganda broadcasts one day and extol Henry Wallace the next.

ARE WE HELPING DEMOCRACIES?

Strengthening the democracies of Greece and Turkey to oppose Russia is the old balance-of-power system, which has not kept peace in 500 years. Let us examine the nature of the democracies we seek to ally with us.

Greece is a very small country with a population of approximately 7,000,000 people, the overwhelming majority of which are illiterate. Because of its strategic location on the Mediterranean Sea—which even now must not be overlooked—it was, shortly before the time of Christ, the world's leading community, since which time it has experienced a continuous deterioration. Although the birthplace of democracy it has not for centuries, and does not now, enjoy democratic government, and particularly in modern times it has suffered a series of dictatorships including that of the notorious Metaxas, and today it is for all practical purposes a police state. There is no proof that in their government there is anything remotely like our conception of democratic government, which is evidenced, among other things, by their tax law which bears heavily on the poor and lightly on the rich, with virtually no income tax and virtually no government revenues of consequence, so that the result is that the President's proposal asks American income taxpayers to pay for government expenses that the Greeks do not even try to pay for.

Their agricultural methods are wholly primitive, with no surplus crops except olive oil and wine. Their soil is eroded and uncared for. Their manufacturing is nonexistent for all practical purposes,

and their army, while fighting gallantly against the Italians, is of no consequence in the modern world. So it is my position that they are a liability to the country which "takes them over" rather than an asset. Their only possible advantage, if we are talking about imperialism and control of the Mediterranean, is a highly strategic location, with a land easy to defend with its mountainous terrain, and of great naval importance because of literally hundreds of excellent bays and harbors.

The talk about this country as a free country or a democracy is laughable. They probably have not been for 2,000 years. For the last few years they have lived entirely on the benefit of foreign capital, principally British, although America has contributed since VJ-day about \$500,000,000. Aid to Greece can be justified only as to a people who are unable and unwilling to help themselves. In the modern world there is no sense to their archaic methods of agriculture and industry, and in their complete unwillingness to make sacrifices that we in America are now making, and have been making, to support their own Government by the taxation of their own people.

Only as a bastion or a fortress for offensive and defensive actions in the Mediterranean against Russia, as a recognized enemy, and to protect the great oil fields in the Middle East, in which American and British oil companies have a substantial interest, can we possibly justify the slightest interest in Greece.

It must also be remembered that notwithstanding the gallant fight of the small Greek armies against Italy, Greece was definitely pro-German before and after World War I, and its political history indicates that no reliance could be put on their sympathies, since for 50 years they wavered back and forth between one policy and another—and what has suddenly happened to change this situation? Nothing, except that Britain has decided that they could no longer afford to keep soldiers in Greece to protect British interests. So now we do it, while Britain can still afford to keep 100,000 troops in Palestine.

TURKEY

And what of Turkey?

Although aid to Greece might be justified on an exclusively humanitarian basis, and undoubtedly they need aid as a helpless people, aid as such to Turkey is pure nonsense. See the article of the London Statist in January 1947 indicating that Turkey is one of the well-off countries of the world. It is evident that Turkey needs no aid whatever except to revamp and modernize its military force—which force was used on the side of Germany in World War I, and in World War II was neutral until 1945, and was then forced into a technical declaration of war by Roosevelt pressure, and after the war against Germany and Japan was obviously successful. There is no possible justification for supporting Turkey by reason of its need or from any sentiment, or from past favors, and the only reasons are:

A. Turkey controls the Dardanelles and wishes to keep Russia out.

B. Turkey stands in a strategic position with reference to a considerable interest in oil fields by various American and British oil companies.

Again it must be said that it is absurd to talk about aiding democracy, and resisting totalitarianism in Turkey because of all the nations in the world, including Russia, none has shown consistent totalitarianism more than Turkey for six or seven solid centuries, first under the complete domination of a sultan, and in modern times under practically the first rigid dictatorship, that of Kemal Pasha, who knew all about dictatorship long before Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin.

IF THE SHOE WAS ON THE OTHER FOOT?

What would happen if Russia said, "We sympathize with the evidently totalitarian government in Argentina, and we feel that the United States is attempting to encircle Argentina with pressure and propaganda, and therefore we will send money, food, and a military mission to Argentina to help her resist the Colossus of the North." I think this is analogous. If Russia took that position, the United States would declare war in 24 hours; and I think further that Russia would declare war in 24 hours against us if she had reasonable hope for success, which presently she does not have. The principle, however, remains the same. It is an act which invites war, either now or in the future.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The criticism that the United States, in acting unilaterally, bypassed the United Nations was so obviously justified that Senator VANDENBERG was prompt to present an amendment, since passed, providing that United Nations could stop this proposal, which was evidently an apology for the premature action of the President. I am skeptical of United Nations success, but we must patiently try to support it as the only means toward peace, and nothing could have weakened it more than the American attitude that we will do what we want in the Near East, and will fight all governments that we do not like, regardless of what anybody else says.

THE BOTTOMLESS BARREL

Is the Treasury of the United States a bottomless barrel? We now owe \$260,000,000,000—the Truman peacetime budget is thirty-seven billion this year. To cope with such staggering sums we levy income taxes ranging up to 90 percent. In an attempt to find the road back to solvency, the House has cut about four hundred million from appropriations for our own needs. In one stroke we cancel these savings. We provide this money for people that do not tax themselves; do not try to be self-sufficient.

NONPARTISAN POLICY

It is argued that we must not oppose the President because foreign policy is nonpartisan. I understand that to mean that party politics should not be injected, and I agree. I do not understand it to mean that we must swallow whatever is spoon-fed to us by the State Department.

Mr. Chairman, this proposal will be adopted, but my conscience impels me to continue to fight it and similar de-

mands in the future. I did not come to Congress to assist in dissipating the blood and treasure of America in the Balkans, in Asia, all over the world.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER].

[Mr. MILLER of Connecticut addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maine [Mr. HALE].

(Mr. HALE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HALE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending measure, H. R. 2616.

Since the President came before us on March 12 I have had very little doubt about the necessity of giving financial assistance in Turkey and Greece. The alternative to the action provided for in the pending measure is to allow these countries to become Russian dominated, then to stand idly by while Russian aggression spreads over the whole Middle East and the Mediterranean Basin. That, to my mind, is an unthinkable course to take, or rather an unthinkable piece of inaction.

Even after the last war we pursued the policy of having a sanitary cordon about Russian communism. The forces of recovery operated much more quickly after the last war and the dangers of Communist aggression were much less. You will remember that it was France which in 1920 sent Marshal Weygand to Poland and helped the Poles to preserve their freedom from Russian domination. Some of our other adventures in Russia may have been less well-advised, but despite Communist activities in the twenties and thirties, I think it cannot be said that Russia became definitely an aggressor state until after the victory of 2 years ago.

I am perfectly aware of the many considerations which cause us to shrink from pursuing this course. A constituent writes me that it is power politics for us to pass this measure. I think it is. There is no alternative to power politics except collective security, and you cannot have collective security really operative in the world while the dominant power of the Eurasian Continent is willing to pay it only lip service.

I hear it said that the Governments of Greece and Turkey are not democratic governments, that the Government of Greece is a corrupt monarchy and that the Government of Turkey although stronger is not what we should fancy. I have no first hand knowledge about either of these governments and the bits of information which one receives do not always harmonize. However, our official observers at the Greek election said that it was a fair election. Over and beyond that, it seems to me that the important thing to us is that the Turkish Government be Turkish and the Greek Government be Greek. We have suffered the Polish Government to be non-Polish, the Rumanian Government to be non-Rumanian, the Bulgarian Government to be non-Bulgarian, and the Yugoslav Government to be non-Yugoslav and the

Czechoslovakia Government to be only pallidly Czechoslovak. There is a limit to which we can go in ignoring and appeasing and I believe that that limit has been reached.

I do not enjoy seeing my country walking a tight rope over disaster. There has been very little enjoyable about the world since Hitler came into power in Germany nearly a half a generation ago. However, we must face the facts. Hindsight makes it crystal clear that in the period from the Japanese entry into China in 1932 until the passage of the Selective Service Act in 1940 we did everything wrong. We could not get cooperation in stopping Japanese aggression in China so we did nothing. We made no serious attempt to stop Italian aggression in Ethiopia, we allowed the Axis powers to treat Spain as a proving ground for their ordnance, and we raised not so much as an umbrella when Hitler in swift succession entered first the Rhineland, then Austria, then Czechoslovakia. Even after the British and French declared war on Hitler, millions of Americans thought we could stand by while Hitler invaded Denmark, Norway and the Low countries, then France, then the Balkans. If the familiar pattern of totalitarian aggression is being pursued by Stalin as it has been for 2 years then I think the correct course is to consider what we did in Hitler's case and do the opposite.

I hear it said that Greece is a British chestnut which we are pulling from the fire. Have no illusions about that. When we pass this legislation we shall have acted for America and not for Britain. But I make bold to say that the weakening of British power in the world is a catastrophe for the United States. If, unlike Winston Churchill, Clement Attlee became the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, it will mean that the ideas we live by are losing power in the world. Inveigh as you will against the British imperialism, it has been useful to us from Waterloo on.

I hear it said that we should not try to check communism in Greece and Turkey until we have put a stop to it at home and in other countries. That, I think, is a sophistical argument. We cannot squander our resources by waging war against communism wherever it appears any more than we could send an expeditionary force to every island in the Pacific where the Japanese had landed a few soldiers. We wisely did not try to do that. Instead, we took the few vital places that took us to the gates of Tokyo. We are fortunate, in my estimation, to have the strategist of that campaign to guide us now. What we oppose in Greece and Turkey is not communism per se but the threat of Russian aggression.

Lastly I hear it said that this bill will get us into war. I do not think so. Russian aggression flows like a river downhill. If we oppose it by a dike, I think the dike will be effective. It is about the best investment we can make in flood control. In any event, this bill seems to me to afford our best chance of averting war. Our vote this week will go echoing around the world.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I wonder if the gentleman would agree to yield to a couple of Members who wanted to speak who had been promised time to speak under the agreement, but have not been able to do so?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Chair state the time is being charged to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlemen to make statements. I yield 1 minute each.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Under the agreement the opposition still has 21 minutes. Are we going to have it or are we not? I have two or three gentlemen here who would like to speak for 3 or 4 minutes.

Mr. JARMAN. On this side we have only 22 minutes remaining. Obviously it would be impossible to yield the gentleman the 22 minutes. However, if the gentleman has two speakers for 1 minute each, we will be happy to yield them that much time. We regret that we do not have any more time.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I will be glad to accept just that much. However, it is in violation of the understanding.

Mr. JARMAN. I did not mean to violate any understanding.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. OWENS].

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, the great sovereign State of Illinois, eight and one-half million people, of which I represent over a million persons, the Seventh District of Illinois, largest in the United States, is allowed 1 minute. When I asked the chairman to yield, he said, "I won't yield. You ask too many questions." I asked five questions in 2 days, which took a total of about 1 minute.

I just wish to say that I think it is a mighty unfair distribution of time to give one-third of the 9 hours to those opposed, then take away 10 percent of that allowance, and permit a total of 6 minutes to Members from Illinois in opposition, when you gave a half an hour to a gentleman who represents less than 300,000 people in the State of Illinois, who spoke in favor of this abominable measure.

I want time to read just one telegram out of hundreds of communications I have received against this proposition. I did not receive one in favor thereof. I will read one telegram from a man in the State of Illinois who did as much as any other person in the United States to win the late war. It reads as follows:

GENEVA, ILL., May 5, 1947.

HON. THOMAS L. OWENS,
Congressman From Illinois,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.:

I still urge you to oppose Greek-Turkish subsidy and any other gifts or loans to foreign countries unless there is a definite and guaranteed basis of repayment with interest. History has demonstrated that most loans are defaulted. This Greek deal can be a precedent for others which can be bankrupt us. It is entirely political and the Russian situation is not and will not be involved except as New Dealers try to involve Russia so as to secure public approval of themselves. Certain business interests and bankers approve of it for their own selfish rea-

sons. This is demonstrated when National Manufacturers' Association board approves loan on recommendation of John R. Suman, vice president, Standard Oil, New Jersey. Most members of NAM in downstate Illinois are opposed to action taken by NAM. My company is resigning its membership in NAM because of the un-American position assumed by NAM board in respect to this cheap political issue.

C. M. BURGESS.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. OWENS. Will the gentleman yield me one more minute?

Mr. BLOOM. I am sorry. I do not have any more time.

Mr. OWENS. That is just what I would expect from the dictators who are proposing this bill, and depriving members of their right of speech.

I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Chairman, during the recent hearing which was held by two of our colleagues and myself in Milwaukee with respect to possible perjury in hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, I had occasion to examine a young Communist about 22 years of age who stated that he had received only a common school education and had become a Communist about 4 years prior thereto. He gave as his reason for joining the ranks the results which had been achieved by Communist leadership in Russia during a span of less than 30 years. While we realize the immaturity of this lad there were many remarks made on this floor yesterday and today which could easily lead one to believe that some of our brilliant members were of the same opinion as this young man, or else they are overlooking the true facts. At the time of hearing in Milwaukee, I called attention to the words of the young French noble, Alexis De Toqueville, who had visited our shores about the year 1829 and, after spending approximately 1 year here, returned to his native land when, within a few years, he completed the first volume of his remarkable work, *Democracy in America*. Because of the fact that certain newspaper correspondents at Milwaukee requested information concerning De Toqueville, after I had mentioned his prophecies, I shall read briefly from the last page of the first volume of that work:

The time will therefore come when one hundred and fifty millions of men will be living in North America. * * *

There are, at the present time, two great nations in the world, which seem to tend toward the same end, although they started from different points; I allude to the Russians and the Americans. Both of them have grown up unnoticed; and while the attention of mankind was directed elsewhere, they have suddenly assumed a most prominent place among the nations; and the world learned their existence and their greatness at almost the same time.

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and only to be charged with the maintenance of their power; but these are still in the act of growth; all the others are stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty;

these are proceeding with ease and with celerity along a path to which the human eye can assign no term. The American struggles against the natural obstacles which oppose him; the adversaries of the Russian are men; the former combats the wilderness and savage life; the latter, civilization with all its weapons and its arts; the conquests of the one are therefore gained by the ploughshare; those of the other, by the sword. The Anglo-American relies upon personal interest to accomplish his ends, and gives free scope to the unguided exertions and common sense of the citizens; the Russian centers all the authority of society in a single arm; the principal instrument of the former is freedom; of the latter, servitude. Their starting-point is different, and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems to be marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.

Are we to believe that this prophecy of De Toqueville is completely a thought of his own creation? It was not. While he was here he read carefully of the expressions and utterances of our founders, including Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and Chancellor Kent, all men of great vision. They foresaw the future and left their thoughts, yes, even their prayers for our guidance with reference to that matter. I particularly call your attention to the Farewell Address of our first President, which address is often acknowledged to be the combined work of Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, and particularly to these words:

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges toward another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impel to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves

to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity: gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

There are some who would scoff and say that the years have changed the situation. However, they have not. The prophecy of De Toqueville seems to be realized, and it appears that natural location and resources are more responsible than is any individual governing body. Russia does sway the destinies of that half of the globe in which she is located. Are we swaying, or even influencing, the half in which we live? If not, it is time that we begin, and not make our destiny the attempt to conquer the entire world. If we will only look about us we shall find that there are subversive influences which we should overcome on our own soil. The same is true in the lands of many of our Latin American neighbors. What are we doing about it? Very little. Nevertheless, we would take the step on which we are about to embark before we have even received a report from the Etheridge Commission which was assigned by the United Nations to investigate the Greek border incidents. Without any proof of an act of aggression by Russia, we would now commit an overt act, one almost as insane and unnecessary as the use of the atomic bomb on Japanese land. As I said yesterday, when I asked a question of my distinguished colleague from Illinois, which question was not answered, "If the Soviet Union has offended us, why should we not sever diplomatic relations instead of taking the same pusillanimous actions which side-stepped us into two previous wars?" But we know that we do not have any ground for offense, so we shall take the first overt step, just short of war, as we have done before. I say to you let us pause. Let us act within our own sphere, our own orbit, and show that we know how to take care of our interests over here.

The very record of hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs shows a statement, page 216, by the eminent Samuel Guy Inman, guest professor of International Relations, Ohio Wesleyan University, where he said:

Every man who travels outside the United States today knows that people everywhere—even in Canada, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and England—talk of fear of American dominance. The other great fear is of communism. The way to throw the weight of the public opinion of the world on the side of Russia is to follow the President's plan to start arranging the affairs of other nations for them.

Charles F. Boss, Jr., executive secretary of the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, also told the same committee, at page 266, that the commission had voted unanimously that it opposed the use of relief funds and the making of loans for the purpose of political war against the Soviet Union in Greece, Turkey, and the Near East, or for supervised training of armed forces in Greece or Turkey.

Monsignor Sheen, well known for his radio addresses on the Catholic Hour, said:

War is not the answer to communism. We must not hope for the extinction of Communists, but must pray for their conversion.

It appears, however, that we are men who would be God. Are we going to disregard the advice from the past, and the mistakes of the past, and launch ourselves upon a campaign which may mean the destruction not only of our own Nation but that of the world? Do not give me an answer that opposition to such a program means appeasement, because that word is just as trite as the word "isolationism," which has been used so frequently on this floor. I inquired yesterday if the antonym of the word "isolation" is "intervention," and I did not receive an answer. The answer is that it is the antonym. That is, those who are casting the word "isolationism" at the persons who would think of America first are those who would intervene in the affairs of the other nations and thereby bring us into another world conflict. It is time we place our trust in divine providence, and at the same time mind our own business in our own sphere. We have the means of extinction at hand. We also have the United Nations Organization, which we virtually created for the purpose of bringing about world peace and order. Omar Khayyam asked if the potter would destroy the pots which he marred in the making. I ask a similar question. Are we going to destroy the instrument of peace which we created, and put in place thereof an instrument of destruction and horror? Which shall we use? That is the question. The answer lies with us. May God guide our decision.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHILLIPS].

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, it is my idea that we are in a sad hour when today this Congress is taking action that may plunge this country directly into war, and because some of us have an honest difference of opinion we are denied the right of free speech in the well of the Congress of the United States. I say if this action prevails today, then we are short-circuiting and destroying the United Nations. The proponents of this bill say that their people oppose it. If they oppose it, why do we not have the courage to take the story directly to the American people and tell them we are leading them down the road to a third World War?

Mr. Chairman, today we have before us for consideration a new international world policy. The President and the State Department have recommended that the Congress appropriate \$400,000,000 for aid to Greece and Turkey. First of all we should understand that this is a gift from the taxpayers of America. The American people look to Congress for the preservation and safeguarding of the finances of this Government. I have listened carefully to the discussion throughout the course of this debate. I cannot see how we can base or predicate a vote upon any facts that have been presented to this Congress. We have

discussed legislation in the Eightieth Congress touching important domestic problems and volumes of testimony have been produced for our guidance and consideration. The proposed legislation before us is based upon a small, brief document which is in itself full of contradictions. I cannot understand that it is my duty to cast a vote upon secrecy and upon a diplomacy that no Member of this House has explained to the Members. The ill-fated misunderstanding of the State Department in days gone by has led this Government down a road of international chaos and involvement.

The proponents of this bill admit that this is the most important decision that this Congress may ever be called upon to decide. We have been compelled to fight for time to briefly discuss the real issues involved. The American people do not favor this new and complete reversal of our long standing policy in foreign affairs. When we launch upon this program we commit ourselves to a responsibility to assume the economic burdens of all nations that claim to be afflicted with the scourge of communism. Many others will appear upon the horizon with their hands out desiring relief at the expense of America. This is only the beginning. Before we launch upon this program, we would do well to take stock of our national assets. With a national debt of \$260,000,000,000, how can we place upon the brow of the taxpayers of this country a burden so heavy and great as this? How can we give something which we do not have? France, Italy, China, India, and many other nations will answer the roll call when Uncle Sam announces to the world that he is Santa Claus whose heart bleeds with compassion for all the world except the financial security and development of our own people. Under the Constitution of this country we are the representatives of the people and it is our duty to safeguard and promote their general welfare. A bankrupt treasury cannot promote the general welfare of the millions of people of this country.

If we allow a smooth delivery and mass propaganda to lull us into a false decision that will lead to a complete breakdown of our financial structure we can then look to a day of inflation. Inflation will bring higher prices, cheap money, and will compel this Government to institute controls. Controls may again forge the shackles of economic slavery and controls upon our people. To me the specter of such a reality in the future is a real possibility. When that day comes we can only blame ourselves for the hardships of tomorrow. I do not speak as one unfamiliar with the hardships, blood and sacrifice of war. I had the honor and privilege to wear the American uniform in World War II. I saw at first hand the devastating effects of war upon the whole civilization. It is now time that this Congress face the real issue in this proposed legislation. We should declare to the American people that what we are doing here today may easily lead to an immediate war with Russia. I am opposed to communism every day, every week, and every year of my life, and I say to the Members

of this Congress that the mere spending of money will not stop communism. We have poured billions into countries and no man or woman can stand up in this House and say that communism has been stopped by the spending of money. I shall think seriously before I cast a vote that will send the young men of this country to don the uniform in a third world war.

In one generation we have fought two world wars and when the news goes out over America that we have voted to send food, supplies, equipment, and the military necessities along with the military strength to build up Turkey and Greece the mothers of this land, and the wives and sweethearts, will experience in their hearts and souls a sad feeling indeed. I am disturbed about this whole situation. Nobody has told the Congress how much money we propose to spend. No person has informed the American people just how far we expect to go with this policy. We have a United Nations with 51 member nations. Why should we short-circuit this United Nations and destroy it. We are undertaking to solve a problem that rightfully belongs to the United Nations. I submit that it is now time that we begin to look to and after our own household. Charity begins at home. It is now time that we formulate an American foreign policy and stick to it. Much has been said in the course of this debate concerning the destruction of communism. We would do well to drive the Communist from the departments of government in America. People all over America are pointing to the fact that this Government is continuing to deal with Russia, continuing to send supplies to Russia and at the same time proposing to appropriate money to stop the spread of communism.

In conclusion, it is my humble opinion that we can best promote the general welfare of America if we turn our attention toward home; if we spend our money to rehabilitate and care for the disabled and wounded veterans and orphans and widows; if we look after the education of our people at home; if we preserve and protect the financial integrity of this country; if we announce to the world that America will not establish a worldwide WPA but that the spirit of self-help, individual liberty, and determination must be reestablished in all countries in the world, and that no nation can look to America to save her from financial involvement and that it will not be the policy of this Government to come to the aid of any tottering empire; and that we here and now divorce ourselves once and for all time from such a policy. I would like to say that the strongest and safest course for America to take is to teach our people the spirit of self-help and to build ourselves strong and powerful and engage in military and scientific development so that no nation or combination of powers can inflict harm upon us.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

(Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the remainder of my time to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] is recognized for 18 minutes.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, I regret deeply to detain you at this late hour. I would not now ask your indulgence if I did not feel so very deeply the moving hour in which we live, if I did not have a memory, if I had not been a Member of the Congress during the first great war, and, of course, a Member of Congress during the last great war. I saw us win a glorious victory in 1918. I saw us throw away the fruits of that victory. I knew that isolationism existed in the United States before that war. It was not evident to any great extent during that war, but after that war that infamy crawled out of the shadows and made itself very evident.

I hope that after more than a quarter of a century in which to find out our mistake we do not repeat that mistake and withdraw from the remainder of the world and not be willing to do a man's part in the world's great work of peace as our fighting men in two wars did a man's job on the battlefields of the earth. I trust that in our considerations here and in the other body this thing called isolationism may not again crawl out of the shadows and defeat the hopes of men and again break the heart of the world.

Woodrow Wilson came back from France many years ago with a dream of world cooperation, world concord, and world peace. That was spurned by the representatives of the people. He cried out at that hour and made a prediction that if we did not cooperate, if we did not do our part in the effort for permanent world peace, that the world within 25 years, a quarter of a century, would be shocked by a greater and a more devastating war than even that one. His prediction came tragically true. We stand today with the leadership urging upon us certain action. Whether we like that leadership or not we have it. It is the voice of America and whether that leadership is followed or spurned will have a tremendous effect upon our position and our influence in this world.

A few weeks ago our leader came to us and said:

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

This bill was reported to the Senate. A great Senator in that body had this to say:

Mr. President, in response to the urgent recommendations of the President of the United States, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has unanimously reported the bill (S. 938) entitled "A bill to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey."

It could be alternatively titled "A bill to support the purposes of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security," or it could be titled "A bill to serve America's self-interest in the maintenance of independent governments."

Further on he said:

This is a plan to forestall aggression which, once rolling, could snowball into global danger of vast design. It is a plan for peace. It is a plan to sterilize the seeds of war. We do

not escape war by running away from it. No one ran away from war at Munich.

Another great Senator of that body had this to say:

There is ample evidence that these armed bands are being encouraged, stimulated, and motivated from the States of Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, all of which are under the domination of Russia and her communistic system.

Only this week our great Secretary of State, who is not a warmonger—God knows he has seen enough of war—in a letter to the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON], chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, had this to say, and I will read only one paragraph:

My strong conviction that immediate passage of this bill is a matter of the greatest urgency was made even more positive by the recent meeting in Moscow.

This bill, not mangled by amendments. He is talking about this bill.

That is the Secretary of State. That is the man who planned our campaigns and led our armies triumphantly to victory. Are his words to be taken lightly? He just returned from Moscow. He thinks this aid to Turkey and to Greece is urgent, and should be given now. Shall we listen to him, shall we listen to the head of the Government and to Senators who sat around these tables trying to bring about world concord, world cooperation and world peace, or shall we listen to some one who is so scared of war that he is willing to allow conditions to again obtain in the world that brought us into two wars?

I remember not many years ago when we were trying to prepare this country for an eventuality and an emergency if it should come. I remember when we were trying to appropriate money to build 5,500 airplanes. Men took to the well of this House and said, "Whom are we preparing to fight?"

Pull down the map and look at Greece and Turkey. What does it mean if they are absorbed into the maw of communism and accept the leadership of Russia, which they do not want to accept? That includes Turkey, Greece, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, northern Africa, Italy, and maybe France. If \$400,000,000 will help to stop that thing, I for one, am willing to appropriate it. Maybe if our vision had been broader, our insight keener a few years ago, and we had built up our forces, there might not have been a Pearl Harbor. They knew we were unprepared to fight and, frankly, they read speeches and newspaper articles, some of them from the United States, that made the Japanese think we would not fight. General Marshall said, "This bill."

Now, let me say just a word about one amendment that is going to be offered, as I understand, and that is about this thing of turning the matter over to the United Nations. The United Nations is impotent to handle this matter. The United Nations has not the money, it has not the power, it has not the organization to do this job. So, it would appear to me that the better thing to do and the more candid thing to do by the people who intend to support an amendment like that would be to rise upon the floor of this House and move to strike

the enacting clause from this bill. If Greece and Turkey need help, they need it now; not 60 days from now, not 90 days from now or a year from now. It might be too late, my friends; it might be too late.

It is a trite expression that we stand at the crossroads. I think we do. We are the most powerful Nation that has existed on the face of the earth, comparably, since the Caesars bestrode the world like a colossus. Leadership has been offered us. People who love liberty and cry for a fair chance want us to assume that leadership and lead the world and not follow in this challenging hour, on this fateful day and in these fateful times. If we do not accept our responsibility, if we do not move forward and extend a helping hand to people who need and want help, who are democracies or want to be, who do not want to be smothered by communism, if we do not, I repeat, assume our place, God help us; God help this world.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH].

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, it is gravely doubtful, in fact, it is almost certain that I shall not be able to add much to this discussion. Every facet of this issue has been debated with ability and with sincerity. All that one can expect to do in the situation in which I am placed is to try to pick up some of the points which may not have been overemphasized and to give as best I can the picture as I see it.

As I indicated in a 2-minute speech while the rule itself was under consideration, I am very strongly in favor of this bill. In halting sentences in conversation with some of my colleagues on last Friday afternoon I confessed to them that were I the master of my own destiny I should like to spend the rest of my life under the shade of a tree, comfortable and happy. I likened my own wishes in that regard to the wishes of the people of the United States. Indeed, we would be happy, our children would be, and our grandchildren would be, if we and they as they come after us could live that way. But fate apparently determines otherwise. The work of the world is never finished. The tasks of humanity are never finished. The struggle for liberty is never finished.

As I look across the face of the world today it strikes me that the struggle for liberty rather than having been won, or half won, is more acute than ever, and that means that instead of resting under the shade of a tree we must stand up on our feet and support our convictions.

May I look back, and I hope I shall not consume too much time, over some of our experiences? The gentleman from Texas has referred to some of them, and one or two speakers during the debate have referred to others. They have to do with the struggle for liberty and the mistakes which I believe those most devoted to liberty have made from time to time, mostly mistakes of neglect.

I wonder how many of the members of this committee have read a book entitled "The Far Eastern Crisis," written by Henry L. Stimson, who wrote that book after he left the office of Secretary

of State, the office which he occupied under President Hoover. In it you will find the story of the beginning of Japanese aggression in Manchuria. In it you will find the record of his protests and his appeals to the democracies, not only to the people of the United States, but to the other great democracies of that day. In it you will find the prophecies which he made as to what the ultimate objective of the Japanese was and how it would undoubtedly affect us.

Neither America nor Great Britain nor France nor Belgium nor any other democracy rallied to his call. His was a lone voice, in a sense, crying in the wilderness, and the Japanese aggression prospered, starting from 1931, ever spreading its power and overrunning one section of Asia after another as the democracies of the world stood idle, we among them.

We know the results of that neglect—at least, I hope we have learned that lesson.

Coming on later, in the 1930's, after Hitler had seized power in Germany—I wonder if any of you have read the volume entitled "While England Slept." It is well worth reading. It is a collection of speeches of Winston Churchill delivered in the British House of Commons in the middle 1930's in which he, a voice crying in the wilderness, begged the MacDonald government and begged the Baldwin government to look, to look and understand, what was brewing in Germany, begging France to wake up, begging Belgium to wake up, begging the League of Nations to wake up—speech after speech. But he was a member of a hopeless minority. France crouched behind the Maginot Line and you know what happened to her. Belgium was overrun. The democracies in those pre-war years did not meet the issue that confronted them. They dodged it.

I hope we have learned a lesson here in America, and I believe we have, that if freedom, if liberty, if democracy are to live, we must rise upon our feet and defend them.

The Hitler-Japanese combination represented an enormously strong and aggressive force. We defeated it at terrific cost. It may be partly our own fault, partly a misconception of our psychology as a people, indulged in by others, but, nevertheless, I think it is true and I think it cannot be denied that a new aggression is raising its ugly countenance; a new aggressor, strong, determined, employing tactics perhaps somewhat different from that of Hitler and the Japanese, but, nevertheless, employing tactics taught in its central school—make no mistake about that—calculated eventually to destroy liberty upon the face of the earth.

And here we are, after these failures of the past to understand the meaning of a menace launched by totalitarian powers, here we are facing the same sort of menace, and for one—and I can speak only for myself—I rejoice that for the first time in the history of what we might term modern days, America, spiritually equipped as well as materially supplied, through her President has announced to the world that she intends to defend lib-

erty; and as she does that I am convinced from the bottom of my heart that we are actually defending our own liberty.

This bill to me signifies such an attitude on the part of the great United States; a forthright declaration in support of righteousness.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interests of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their Governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

(1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

(2) by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: *Provided, however,* That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this act.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose, and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 2616, had come to no resolution thereon.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND ON H. R. 2616, AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have three legislative days within which to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MILLS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a

statement made by Mr. C. D. Jackson, vice president of Time, Inc., before the Committee on Ways and Means this morning.

Mr. MARCANTONIO asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. BENDER asked and was given permission to include as part of the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today certain newspaper clippings and articles.

Mr. PATTERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in the Committee of the Whole today and include therein an article from the New York Times.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I asked and obtained unanimous consent to have included in the Appendix a report entitled "American Economic and Technical Aid to Foreign Countries since mid-1945," prepared by the Division of Historical Policy Research of the Department of State. This report is referred to in my remarks at page 4728 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 7 under the heading of Aid for Economic Reconstruction. Due to the fact that the manuscript was excessive in length for the leave granted, I now ask unanimous consent to include it in the Appendix of the RECORD notwithstanding the estimate of cost of \$177.50.

The SPEAKER. Notwithstanding the excess, without objection, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. CASE of South Dakota asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include a bill he introduced some time ago and include a letter from the Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted as follows:

To Mr. MILLER of Nebraska (at the request of Mr. STEFAN), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. PRESTON, for May 8, 9, and 10, on account of official business.

To Mr. CANFIELD (at the request of Mr. AUCHINCLOSS), indefinitely, on account of illness.

To Mr. REEVES (at the request of Mr. ARENDS), for today, on account of illness.

SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 125. An act to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, so as to extend the benefits of such act to the Official Reporters of Debates in the Senate and persons employed by them in connection with the performance of their duties as such reporters; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

S. 361. An act for the relief of Alva R. Moore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 423. An act for the relief of John B. Barton; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 522. An act to authorize the sale of certain lands of the L'Anse Band of Chippewa Indians, Michigan; to the Committee on Public Lands.

S. 554. An act to provide for the collection and publication of statistical information by the Bureau of the Census; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

S. 560. An act to prohibit the operation of gambling ships, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 583. An act to authorize the exchange of lands acquired by the United States for the Silver Creek recreational demonstration project, Oregon, for the purpose of consolidating holdings therein, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

S. 614. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for a permanent Census Office," approved March 6, 1902, as amended (the collection and publication of statistical information by the Bureau of the Census); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

S. 620. An act for the relief of Mrs. Ida Elma Franklin; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 629. An act concerning common-trust funds and to make uniform the law with reference thereto; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

S. 640. An act to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to sell certain property occupied by the Weather Bureau at East Lansing, Mich., and to obtain other quarters for the said Bureau in the State of Michigan; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 664. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Edward H. Isenhardt; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 665. An act to reimburse certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for money stolen or obtained through false pretenses from them while they were on duty at the United States naval training station, Farragut, Idaho; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 800. An act to make additional funds available for access roads to standing timber; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

S. 980. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to define the area of the United States Capitol Ground, to regulate the use thereof, and for other purposes," approved July 31, 1946; to the Committee on Public Works.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Mr. LECOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 173. An act to authorize the sale of certain public lands in Alaska to Victory Bible Camp Ground, Inc.;

H. R. 326. An act for the relief of Wilma E. Baker;

H. R. 490. An act providing for the appointment of a United States commissioner for the Big Bend National Park in the State of Texas, and for other purposes;

H. R. 492. An act to authorize the juvenile court of the District of Columbia in proper cases to waive jurisdiction in capital offenses and offenses punishable by life imprisonment.

H. R. 729. An act to provide that the United States District Court for the Western District of Virginia shall alone appoint the

United States commissioner for the Shenandoah National Park;

H. R. 804. An act authorizing the reduction of certain accrued interest charges payable by the Farmers' Irrigation District, North Platte project;

H. R. 1359. An act to amend the act of August 29, 1916 (39 Stat. 556), as amended, so as to increase the total authorized number of commissioned officers of the active list of the Corps of Civil Engineers of the Navy;

H. R. 1363. An act to amend further the Pay Adjustment Act of 1942, as amended;

H. R. 1365. An act to establish a Chief of Chaplains in the United States Navy, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1367. An act to authorize the construction of experimental submarines, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1368. An act to include civilian officers and employees of the United States Naval Government of Guam among those persons who are entitled to the benefits of Public Law 490 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, approved March 7, 1942 (56 Stat. 143), as amended, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1369. An act to amend the act entitled "An act providing for the reorganization of the Navy Department, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1940, to amend the act entitled "An act authorizing the President to appoint an Under Secretary of War during national emergencies, fixing the compensation of the Under Secretary of War, and authorizing the Secretary of War to prescribe duties," approved December 16, 1940, as amended, and for other purposes;

H. R. 1381. An act to amend the act of July 20, 1942 (56 Stat. 662), relating to the acceptance of decorations, orders, medals, and emblems by officers and enlisted men of the armed forces of the United States tendered them by governments of cobelligerent nations or other American Republics;

H. R. 1605. An act to amend the act approved December 28, 1945 (59 Stat. 663), entitled "An act to provide for the appointment of additional commissioned officers in the Regular Army, and for other purposes," as amended by the act of August 8, 1946 (Public Law 670, 79th Cong.);

H. R. 2199. An act authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to issue a patent in fee to Henry Big Day and other heirs of Catherine Shield Chief, deceased, to certain lands on the Crow Indian Reservation;

H. R. 2758. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to provide for the administration of the Washington National Airport, and for other purposes," approved June 29, 1940;

H. R. 2846. An act authorizing and directing the removal of stone piers in West Executive Avenue between the grounds of the White House and the Department of State Building;

H. J. Res. 90. Joint resolution to correct an error in the act approved August 10, 1946 (Public Law 720, 79th Cong., 2d sess.), relating to the composition of the Naval Reserve; and

H. J. Res. 116. Joint resolution to correct technical errors in the act approved August 13, 1946 (Public Law 729, 79th Cong., 2d sess.).

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill and a joint resolution of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 874. An act to authorize the President to appoint Lt. Comdr. Paul A. Smith as alternate representative of the United States to the Interim Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization or its successor, and as representative of the United States to the Air Navigation Committee of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, without affecting his

status and perquisites as an officer of the Coast and Geodetic Survey; and

S. J. Res. 86. Joint resolution to authorize Herschel V. Johnson, Deputy Representative of the United States to the Security Council of the United Nations, to be reappointed to the Foreign Service.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do not adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 4 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 8, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

661. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report as to the number of men on active duty on March 31, 1947, who enlisted or reenlisted in the Regular Army after June 1, 1945; to the Committee on Armed Services.

662. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill making certain changes in the organization of the Navy Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ALBERT:

H. R. 3362. A bill to amend the Social Security Act (49 Stat. 620) by adding a new title thereto to be known as title XIV, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. R. 3363. A bill to amend section 2 (a) of the Alien Registration Act, 1940, with respect to certain subversive activities; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. COLE of New York:

H. R. 3364. A bill to provide for retirement at full active-duty pay for any individual who has served in the Army or the Navy on the active list for a period of 50 years or more; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. DAVIS of Georgia:

H. R. 3365. A bill exempting from tax cigarettes sold to certain organizations for distribution as gifts to hospitalized veterans; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROPHY:

H. R. 3366. A bill to amend section 4934 of the Revised Statutes (U. S. C., title 35, sec. 78), as amended, to permit public libraries of the United States to acquire back copies of United States letters patent, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HOPE:

H. R. 3367. A bill to enable the Secretary of Agriculture, through the Federal Extension Service, to cooperate with the land-grant colleges and universities in carrying out a program for the collection and dissemination of information with respect to the supply of, the need for, and the effective use of agricultural workers, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

H. R. 3368. A bill to extend, for an additional year, the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937, as amended, and the taxes with respect to sugar; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. JENKINS of Ohio:

H. R. 3369. A bill to treat certain predecessor and successor railroad corporations as

the same taxpayer for the purposes of certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. MURRAY of Wisconsin:

H. R. 3370. A bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to support the price of milk at not less than \$3.10 per 100 pounds; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. WELCH:

H. R. 3371. A bill to transfer jurisdiction of certain lands comprising a portion of Acadia National Park, Maine, from the Department of the Interior to the Department of the Navy, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

H. R. 3372. A bill authorizing certain agreements with respect to rights in helium-bearing gas lands in the Navajo Indian Reservation, N. Mex., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. CLASON:

H. R. 3373. A bill to permit certain Polish veterans to enter the United States for permanent residence; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEFAN:

H. J. Res. 191. Joint resolution requesting the President to designate May 7 for annual observation as American Heroes' Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KEATING:

H. Con. Res. 48. Concurrent resolution to invite Canada to join the Pan American Union; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. R. 3374. A bill awarding a Distinguished Service Cross to Tony Siminoff, veteran of the Philippine Insurrection; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. SASSCER:

H. R. 3375. A bill for the relief of Henry A. Bowie; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

452. By Mr. BUFFETT: Petition of 34 Elmwood, Murdock, and Eagle, Nebr., citizens, urging favorable consideration and support of S. 265, a bill to prevent the interstate transmission of advertising of all alcoholic beverages and the broadcasting of such advertising by means of radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

453. Also, petition of 34 Weeping Water and Avoca, Nebr., citizens, urging favorable consideration and support of S. 265, a bill to prevent the interstate transmission of advertising of all alcoholic beverages and the broadcasting of such advertising by means of radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

454. Also, petition of 28 Louisville, Nebr., citizens, urging favorable consideration and support to S. 265, a bill to prevent the interstate transmission of advertising of all alcoholic beverages and the broadcasting of such advertising by means of radio; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

455. By Mr. CASE of South Dakota: Petition of A. E. Brown and 22 other signers, of Deadwood, S. Dak., requesting that communism be stopped and stamped out completely in this country; to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

456. Also, petition of Carl H. Loocke and 24 other signers from Hill City, S. Dak., requesting that communism be stopped and stamped out completely in this country; to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

457. By Mr. EATON: Concurrent resolution of the New Jersey State Senate, opposing

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued May 9, 1947
For actions of May 8, 1947
80th-1st, No. 87

CONTENTS

Accounting.....	2	Foreign affairs.....	11,13,24	Postal service.....	25
Animal industry.....	15	Forests and forestry.....	1	Prices, support,.....	9,19
Budgeting.....	23	Insect control.....	1	Research.....	15
Economy.....	7	Labor.....	8	School-lunch program....	4
Education.....	4	Lands, farm.....	17	Small business.....	16
Electrification, rural...	21	Lands, reclamation....	12,20	Soil conservation.....	1
Farm program.....	1,18	Legislative budget.....	6	Sugar.....	10
Federal aid.....	19	Loans, farm.....	1	Territories & possessions	1,17
Fertilizers.....	14	Organization, executive...	4	Transportation.....	5,22
Flood control.....	20	Personnel.....	3,7,26	Wool.....	9,19

HIGHLIGHTS: Senate committee reported measures to extend SCS-FHA-ACP to Virgin Islands, protect forests from insects and diseases, and investigate agriculture. Sen. Lucas criticized failure to complete action on Legislative Budget and inserted list of Republican bills that would cost money. Sen. Hickenlooper et al introduced national-fertilizer-policy bill. Rep. Lane criticized wool bill, and Rep. Murray supported it.

SENATE

1. The Agriculture and Forestry Committee reported the measures mentioned in item 1 of Digest 86, as follows: S. 512, Virgin Islands (S. Rept. 158); S. 597, forest insects and diseases (S. Rept. 159); and S. Con. Res. 11, investigation of agricultural situation (S. Rept. 160) (p. 4885).
2. DISBURSEMENTS. Received from Treasury, GAO, and Budget Bureau a proposed bill "to establish a procedure for facilitating the payment of certain Government checks." To Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee. (p. 4884.)
3. RETIREMENT. Sen. Tydings, Md., submitted an amendment which he intends to propose to S. 637, the civil-service retirement bill (p. 4886).
4. REORGANIZATION. At the request of Chairman Taft of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, S. 1239 was taken from that Committee and referred to the Expenditures in the Executive Departments Committee (p. 4886). This bill makes the Office of Education an independent agency; transfers to the Office various activities, including the school-lunch program; directs the Budget Bureau to study and report to Congress on whether additional functions should be transferred to the Office; and creates a National Board of Education to control and supervise the Office.
5. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Overton, La., inserted letters from ship companies discussing this project (pp. 4901-9).
6. LEGISLATIVE BUDGET. Sen. Lucas, Ill., criticized failure to complete action on this matter, and he and other Senators discussed various phases of the appropriations situation. Sen. Lucas inserted a list of bills showing "additional cost of legislation pending in the eightieth Congress introduced by Republican members." (pp. 4909-16.)

7. PERSONNEL; ECONOMY. Sen. Dworshak, Idaho, urged reduction in Federal employment (p. 4916).
8. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 4875-84, 4887-900, 4916-19).

HOUSE

9. WOOL. Rep. Lane, Mass., spoke in opposition to S. 814, the wool price-support bill as reported in the House, opposing particularly the import fee provision, and claiming that the bill "would fix the price of wool for 2 years at over 100 percent of today's high parity, and could be 130 percent or more should parity drop to wartime levels" (pp. 4959-60).
Rep. Murray, Wis., spoke in favor of S. 814, the wool price-support bill as reported in the House, stating that he hoped the bill would be passed unanimously (pp. 4960-1).
10. SUGAR. Rep. Crawford, Mich., inserted a table on domestic sugar production compared with Cuban sugar production and claimed that the figures demonstrate the dependability of the domestic supply (p. 4920-1).
11. FOREIGN RELIEF. Continued debate on H.R. 2616, the Greece-Turkey aid bill (pp. 4921-58).
12. RECLAMATION. Received a Puerto Rico Legislature memorial urging that the benefits of the Reclamation Act be extended to Puerto Rico (p. 4962).
13. FOREIGN AGRICULTURE. Received a petition from the Model Agri-Pisci-Poultry and Cattle Farm, India, urging consideration of their resolution on the availability of funds for a farm-trust plan in India (p. 4963).

BILLS INTRODUCED

14. FERTILIZERS. S. 1251, by Sen. Hickenlooper, Iowa (for himself and others), to provide for the establishment of a national soil-fertility policy and program, to authorize the construction of certain fertilizer plants as a part of said program, to provide for the testing and demonstrating of fertilizer produced in such Government and other plants on a Nation-wide scale, and to provide for the exploration of fertilizer resources on the public lands. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 4886.) Remarks of author (p. 4886).
15. RESEARCH; ANIMAL INDUSTRY. S. 1249, by Sen. Wherry, Nebr., authorizing additional research and investigation into problems and methods relating to the eradication of cattle grubs. To Agriculture and Forestry Committee. (p. 4886.)
16. SMALL BUSINESS. S. Con. Res. 14, by Sen. Brooks, Ill., for recognition of to the claim of small businessmen for equal representation as an entity with labor agriculture, and other groups. To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 4886.)
17. FARM LANDS; TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS. H.R. 3377, by Del. Farrington, T.H., to amend Sec. 73 of the Organic Act of Hawaii, relating to opening of agricultural lands for settlement. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 4962.)
18. INVESTIGATION. H. Con. Res. 46 (see Digest 85) establishes a joint congressional committee, from the agriculture committees, to investigate existing and pending legislation and the trends, needs, and problems of agriculture, including the

effect of termination of price supports, methods of soil and forest conservation, improvements in production and marketing, etc.; requires the committee to complete its study and make a report to the two agriculture committees by Jan. 1, 1948.

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

19. WOOL; FEDERAL AID; PRICE SUPPORTS. Rep. Lane, Mass., inserted L.F. Whittemore's (Federal Reserve Bank of Boston) recent address reporting on potato price-supports, the wool situation, and Federal aid programs in New England (pp. A2299-300).
20. FLOOD CONTROL; RECLAMATION. Rep. Angell, Ore., inserted J.W. Haw's (dir., Northern Pacific Ry. Co. Agriculture Dept.) recent address on western development's dependence on control and use of water flow (pp. A2301-4).
21. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION. Rep. McKinnon, Minn., inserted a Minn. Legislature resolution urging continuation of REA programs (p. A2304).
22. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Aiken, Vt., inserted a Washington Post editorial favoring careful consideration of this project (p. A2294).
23. BUDGETING. Rep. Beall, Md., inserted a Cumberland (Md.) News editorial, "Every Appropriation Cut Brings Bureau Protests" (p. A2296).
24. FOREIGN RELIEF. Various remarks and insertions on Greek-Turkish aid (pp. A2287-8, A2288, A2291-2, A2298, A2310).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

25. POSTAL SERVICE. H.R. 2408, postal rate revision. House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.
S.Res. 43, increase in postal rates. Senate Civil Service Committee.
26. PERSONNEL; RETIREMENT. S. 637, to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act. Pt.2. Senate Civil Service Committee.

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for May 9: H. Public Lands, FS range policy and 1948 range program (Watts, Granger, Dutton to testify); S. Appropriations, 2nd deficiency appropriations (ex.); S. Public Works, water pollution; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; S. Public Lands, Central Valley reclamation; H. Appropriations, Government corporations and independent offices appropriation bills (ex.); H. Banking and Currency, Export-Import Bank incorporation; H. Education and Labor, Federal aid to education; H. Judiciary, various patent bills; H. Merchant Marine and Fisheries, aid to States in fish restoration and management projects; H. Ways and Means, trade agreements.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely of developments on any particular bill.

mestic beet area set a new production record. During the first 3 years of World War II, this domestic area maintained its output above prewar average. Cane-sugar production, in contrast, did not increase until 1942, the third year of the war; in fact, it decreased in 1941, especially in Cuba. Since 1941 Cuban production has been above prewar, but with sharp fluctuations, which certainly do not demonstrate unusual dependability. Production in the domestic cane-sugar areas since 1943 has been reduced by unfavorable weather in Puerto Rico, Florida, and Louisiana by a labor shortage and a strike in Hawaii in 1946, and generally by the impact of the war on these sugar-cane producers in a country fully at war.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article appearing in the Boston Herald May 7 relating to T. Bertram King, Director of the Loan Guarantee Section of the Veterans' Administration; a letter from the East Boston Social Centers Council; a letter from the Jewish War Veterans of the United States; and a resolution adopted by the Board of Aldermen of the City of Chelsea, Mass., all endorsing the Taft-Ellender-Wagner general housing bill, and all of which I agree with.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include in each statements and excerpts.

Mr. LYLE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a brilliant speech by my illustrious predecessor.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Connecticut?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. JACKSON of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article appearing in Plain Talk.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that today, following any special orders heretofore entered, I may be permitted to address the House for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 52]

Bates, Mass.	Gifford	O'Toole
Bell	Gregory	Ploeser
Bland	Gwynne, Iowa	Powell
Bulwinkle	Harness, Ind.	Preston
Camp	Hart	St. George
Canfield	Hartley	Scoblick
Chapman	Hinshaw	Scott,
Chiperfield	Jones, Wash.	Hugh D. Jr.
Clements	Kearns	Sheppard
D'Alesandro	Kelley	Simpson, Pa.
Dawson, Ill.	McDowell	Smith, Maine
Dawson, Utah	McGarvey	Taylor
Dingell	Macy	Thomas, N. J.
Dirksen	Mansfield, Tex.	Tibbott
Domegoux	Meade, Ky.	Vinson
Elliot	Miller, Nebr.	West
Ellsworth	Mitchell	Wolverton
Fenton	Morrison	
Fuller	O'Hara	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 376 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ABERNETHY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. MACKINNON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in five instances and include two resolutions adopted by the Minnesota Legislature, two editorials, and a telegram.

Mr. BEALL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial appearing in the Cumberland News.

Mr. VAN ZANDT asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD concerning the accomplishments of the American submarine during World War II.

Mr. LEWIS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I intend to make in the Committee of the Whole today and include three editorials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRAHAM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial relating to his late colleague, Charles L. Gerlach.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I intend to make in the Committee of the Whole today and include certain tables and documents.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend the remarks I intend to make in the Committee of the Whole today and include certain newspaper clippings and other data.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. FEIGHAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a resolution.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to correct an error in the use of a name which appeared recently in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in an extension of remarks under my name.

On page A2096 of the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD under date of April 29, 1947, in extension of remarks by me in reference to the solicitation of former American prisoners of war by some Washington attorneys, the name of Mr. George B. Martin was inadvertently and unintentionally confused with another attorney by the name of Harold H. Martin.

There is no evidence which would indicate that Mr. George B. Martin is or has been identified, on his own initiative or with a group, in soliciting the handling of claims which have been or may be filed against the Government of Japan by former American prisoners of war.

In fairness to Mr. George B. Martin I want to make it clear that his name was confused with that of another attorney by the name of Martin and that my remarks of April 29, 1947, does not apply to Mr. George B. Martin.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2616, with Mr. CASE of South Dakota in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday the Clerk had completed the reading of the first section of the bill.

The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 2, line 5, after "paragraph", insert a colon and the following: "Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S BIRTHDAY

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the fact that today is the sixty-third birthday of the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman. The policy on which he is now embarking is the most significant, probably, that America has ever undertaken. It is going to do one of two

things: It is going to make Harry Truman one of the great men of all history, if he follows through and cleans out communism in this country, or if he fails to do that, if he fails to follow through, it will probably have exactly the opposite effect.

Christian civilization and atheistic communism cannot long continue the way we are going. I wish you would look at the Washington Post of this morning. I feel like dubbing that publication the American Pravda. On the front page it has the picture of a Communist propagandist who went out here and insulted the students at Western High School on yesterday. On another page it has an advertisement of a Communist meeting here tonight. This Communist meeting is brought here for the purpose of trying to intimidate the Congress of the United States.

The measure now before the House, which President Truman has recommended, definitely lines him up on the side of those of us who have been fighting this Communist menace for years. If he will just follow through and help us to drive this pernicious influence from American soil, he will have saved our Christian civilization, and as I said, will go down in history as one of the great leaders of all time.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, what I have to say in connection with the subject matter of my remarks is said without rancor or ill feeling, but I believe it is my duty to bring to the attention of the House and to explain to my colleagues who requested time yesterday just what the situation was when debate was closed. It was the understanding that the opposition was to have 3 hours. At the beginning of the session on yesterday, the clerk of our committee advised me that on the majority side we were entitled to 51 minutes and from the minority side we were entitled to 73 minutes, and he suggested that I submit the names of those who were to speak in opposition. I submitted those lists to both the majority and minority leaders. The majority leader fulfilled his obligation under that agreement explicitly. The opposition received 51 minutes from the majority side. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] refused to recognize the list that I submitted to him, and when the time had expired there were still 19 minutes due to the opposition.

I call your attention to the fact that as the debate closed the distinguished former Speaker and the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] were both given, I believe, 18 minutes of time. There was no time for the opposition. The House should know that because I believe an agreement has been violated, contrary to the understanding between the parties.

I make that explanation because there were six or seven men on our side who wanted to speak and who had no opportunity to do so.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. I know the gentleman did not intend to say that the minority side did not recognize any of the men on his list because I am sure he will recall that some were.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I did not say that, my distinguished friend.

Mr. JARMAN. I am sorry I misunderstood the gentleman.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. You did recognize the opposition to the extent of some 48 minutes, but that still left us 19 minutes in the hole.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. EATON. I understand that the gentleman absolves the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Yes, indeed; I said you fulfilled your agreement explicitly.

Mr. EATON. I sincerely thank the gentleman for that bill of health.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I hope that as debate now proceeds under the 5-minute rule there is going to be no effort to shut off the opposition. Hardly a man who stood in the well of this House has failed to call attention to the seriousness of this situation. Even under the rule only 9 hours is allowed to debate this important problem. In the past we have spent as much as 20 hours on other matters which were only half as important as this. So I am hopeful, Mr. Chairman, that we can have plenty of time under the 5-minute rule.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. I regret very much there was a misunderstanding yesterday but the misunderstanding came about in this manner: Anyone who came to me from the opposition, I granted time. I was looking for people on the opposition in order to give them time. The mistake I made, if it was a mistake, was that I thought everyone had to come to me and asked for time, and I gave them time. Let me say to the gentleman that I had given out all of my time when I came to this table yesterday morning. Shortly after that the gentleman sent a list around and I told him that was not the way I understood the agreement. I am very sorry that I did not have the names the gentleman had on his list, but I had no more time. I gave the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] 20 minutes. I certainly would not have given him 20 minutes had I known you wanted time for other speakers. I just want to say, if there was a mistake made, I yielded to everyone on this side who came to me and asked for time. I did not know the gentleman had a list over there.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I wish to make this statement:

The gentleman fully understands, of course, the difficulty the chairman has in trying to give time to the very large number on our side who wish to speak. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that the House owes it to the gentleman from Wisconsin and those associated with him in their attitude toward this bill that he have this time now. I therefore ask unanimous consent, Mr. Chairman, that the Committee at this time grant the gentleman the 19 minutes for use as he sees fit.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, with all due deference to my distinguished chairman, I think that is out of order, and that we should proceed under the 5-minute rule. This is water over the dam. I would like to say to the distinguished minority leader that we want to be fair, but you did recognize the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO], the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLFIELD], the gentleman from Utah [Mr. GRANGER], and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS], and we still had 19 minutes coming.

Mr. BLOOM. I am sorry; that was not my understanding.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. HALLECK. Of course, it is always unfortunate that in the affairs of the House of Representatives any misunderstanding in respect to time should arise. However, it seems to have arisen on this occasion, as it has on other occasions during the time I have been here.

I would like to make this suggestion to the gentleman: As far as I know, there is no inclination to push this measure through without full and adequate time under the 5-minute rule for discussion of the various proposals and amendments that will be made, and opportunity afforded Members to speak on the measure as they see fit.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time be extended for 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. I know of no reason why consideration of the bill in the Committee cannot proceed through the day and through tomorrow, if that is necessary, in order that Members may have full and complete opportunity to present their views on this very important matter, while at the same time we make reasonable progress in consideration and final action on the bill.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I thank the distinguished gentleman. I would like to suggest to my leader, however, that in this matter of time, the Rules Committee should fix the limitations and fix the conditions when situations like this arise.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield back the remainder of my time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, while the House is considering the very important request of the President for a \$400,000,000 loan to Greece and Turkey, it is necessary that we of the Congress carefully inquire into all aspects of the Middle East situation, and particularly the current financial condition of Greece, the principal recipient of the proposed aid. It is particularly important that the Greek Government be required, as a condition of the pending loan, to tax every available source of income. For this purpose I want to call to the attention of the Congress a situation permitting Greek nationals living in the United States to evade taxes, which I believe should be corrected.

There are living in the United States a considerable number of Greek nationals engaged in business who are not subject to income taxation by any country under present law. The Greek Government does not tax its citizens living abroad. Apparently the United States Government is unable to do so, in many instances, because of present loopholes in the Federal income-tax laws. It is only just and right that these Greek nationals should be required to make tax contributions for the governmental services and benefits which they enjoy while living in our country.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. I yield.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I might also add that the Greek Government does not even tax its citizens at home.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. I am not dealing with that matter now, I am dealing with those Greek nationals who are living in the United States.

Also, at a time when their country is in a very precarious financial condition and is asking the people of the United States for help, these Greek citizens should bear their share of the burden. Mr. Maximos, the Prime Minister of Greece, has expressed his country's willingness to fully cooperate with the United States and to work toward correcting any inequities which exist at this time. I believe both Governments will be not only willing but anxious to correct this tax situation, which has heretofore been overlooked.

At this time I would like to tell you gentlemen about the aspect of this situation, with which I am most familiar. The tax evasion I have described is especially noteworthy in the field of shipping. Greek shipowners, before the war, operated very extensively under the Panamanian flag, through Panamanian corporations which they owned and controlled. Substantial tonnage was also operated under the Greek flag. Under a series of international treaties made

pursuant to section 212 of the Internal Revenue Code, the United States has for many years exempted the income of Panamanian, Greek, and other foreign shipowners from taxation within this country, in return for reciprocal exemptions from taxation to American shipowners on profits earned from activities outside the United States. These international agreements were intended to avoid the danger of double taxation, but they have been misused so as to provide the equivalent of tax exemption. This abuse should be stopped. Thus, in the case of Greek shipowners operating under Greek and Panamanian flags, these exemptions have operated as one-way streets. The Greek shipowners were exempted from taxes otherwise payable to the United States, although American shipowners received no benefits, because no taxes would have been levied in Greece or Panama. Moreover, through the device of Panamanian operation and residence outside of Greece, Greek-owned vessels, in many cases, escaped requisition by Greece during the war. They were brought into the Allied shipping pool only after the United States and Panama became belligerents.

From the information I have received, it is apparent that wealthy Greek shipowners are now reinvesting their war-swollen profits, upon which no taxes have ever been paid to any government, in ships purchased from the Maritime Commission under the Ships Sales Act. Approximately 100 of these ships are planned for operation under the Greek flag and I believe that a similar number have been or will be purchased for operation under the Panamanian flag. Because of the low wages and other reduced operating costs, owners of these Greek and Panamanian vessels are now earning fabulous profits. Many of these owners reside in the United States. Panama has no income tax law. I believe that, except for trivial amounts, these shipowners have successfully evaded payment of taxes to the United States as well as to their own impoverished homeland. Profits earned by Panamanian corporations are allowed to accumulate to the credit of the corporations. These funds ultimately are withdrawn in the form of loans which are, in reality, disguised dividends, or are reinvested in additional tonnage or are otherwise transferred to safe custody of the beneficial owners without payment of an income tax thereon.

To be fair, I regret that I must state, while the subject is being discussed, that in some cases it appears that American citizens have attempted to use Panamanian corporations in order to escape payment of taxes to our Government. I appreciate that there may be sound operating reasons for operation of some ships under the Panamanian flag, but it is apparent that, in certain cases, the American shipowners practiced this device primarily to avoid payment of taxes to our country. This abuse should be corrected also.

I am confident that millions of dollars of tax revenue will result from the imposition of taxes upon the amassed

wealth of those Greek millionaires and the inflated income of those Greek citizens now residing in New York and other cities. If we are to provide relief, we must make it our business to see to it that the beneficiaries of our relief exercise the maximum degree of self-help. We must insist upon their doing all in their power to help themselves. Greece should be required to enforce democratic responsibilities upon its citizens as a condition of our loan to them. Particularly I refer to the responsibility to finance their government to the utmost of their ability, which is especially vital during this critical period.

I am writing today to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue asking that an investigation of this matter be made immediately, that any violations of existing tax laws by these people be immediately stopped and prosecuted, and that if such tax avoidance is deemed legal under existing statutes, desirable amendments be recommended.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. FULTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, yesterday there was an exchange between myself and the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO], which occurred over the policy of the Russian Government in agreeing unilaterally with the Yugoslav Government for the transfer of material for the Yugoslav Army and for the giving of long-term credits to the Yugoslav Government such as we are intending to give here to Greece and Turkey. I will read that exchange from the RECORD because it concerns a cablegram to the Department of State dated June 11, 1946, a copy of which was not available on the floor at the time.

The essence of the debate was that the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] unbelievably said that if such a cablegram or telegram had come into the State Department giving the fact that Russia had taken unilateral action first with one of her satellites, Yugoslavia, in 1946, he then would condemn Russia. So I am here to nail that down and have the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] publicly on this floor condemn Russia, which I think is a real gain for the American people. I will read the exchange that occurred on page 4852, referring to this cablegram:

Mr. MARCANTONIO. May I say to the gentleman that this is the first I have heard of it. I cannot account for the accuracy of that report.

Mr. FULTON. The gentleman may accept it as accurate, because I will produce the cablegram to the State Department.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. However, assuming the statement to be correct, then I say that that action as well as this action should be handled through the United Nations.

Mr. FULTON. So the gentleman now disapproves the action of Russia on June 11, 1946; is that correct?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I disapprove the action of any country that takes unilateral action on any matter that involves the peace of the world.

Mr. FULTON. Including Russia?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Including Russia, the United States, Turkey, Greece, or any other nation in the world.

Mr. FULTON. Then if I am right in my statement that we did receive such a cablegram from Yugoslavia, the gentleman condemns Russia just as he condemns the United States right here, does he not?

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I do.

Mr. FULTON. That is very interesting.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think any action should go through the United Nations when that action affects the peace of the world.

I hold in my hand from the State Department a copy of that cablegram dated June 11, 1946, received by the State Department at 3:10 p. m. on that day. It is addressed to the Secretary of State from Moscow and states among other things, and I will not read the entire cablegram:

Questions were reviewed of interest to both sides in regard to Yugoslav treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation of April 11, 1945, and full agreement was achieved on all questions involving economic collaboration, trade, supply of material to Yugoslav army, and close cultural and political collaboration.

Watch particularly what Russia does with the situation right in this same area; yet you find a lot of people here complaining, among them some Republicans, that we are the first country to step outside the United Nations and take unilateral action. This is clearly wrong because the next paragraph I shall quote, shows it:

Government, U. S. S. R. agreed to supply Yugoslav army with arms, munitions, et cetera, on conditions long term credit, and also to assist in reestablishment Yugoslavia's own war industry.

I believe that ties the gentleman down. For once the gentleman from New York is siding with the American Government and is not agreeing with every action that Russia has taken. This, in my opinion, is a great advance in this Congress.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia, my colleague on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. KEE. Who signed that telegram?

Mr. FULTON. It is signed by "Smith" and it is also captioned "Repeated Belgrade as 29."

The cablegram designation for our State Department is No. 3953 Plain Moscow, 1834, eleventh.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlemen from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEE. Is the telegram signed by General Smith, our Ambassador to Russia?

Mr. FULTON. That is correct, by our own Ambassador.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the able gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Was there not another agreement made with the present Government of Poland?

Mr. FULTON. There are other unilateral agreements by the Soviet Government with various satellite countries. That is correct.

Mr. McCORMACK. The Council not so many weeks ago made that charge, and in support of it quoted excerpts from newspapers in Poland and the Soviet Union.

Mr. FULTON. So that is the second action taken by Russia, unilaterally, outside the United Nations' sphere, and on the very type of subject matter that we are proposing today concerning Greece and Turkey.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. Is it not true that over a period of time since VJ-day we have supplied South American countries with war materials, and nobody has ever complained?

Mr. FULTON. That is right.

Mr. JACKSON of Washington. There was nothing ever said about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has again expired.

Mr. WHITTINGTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, during the course of this debate we have heard praise of the insurgents and the guerrillas in the hills of northern Greece and Macedonia, but the fact of the matter is that these insurgents are under the domination of the Soviet Union. We admired the courage of Benedict Arnold as long as he led the Revolutionary forces to victory, but as a traitor he was despised by America and rejected by England. The classic speeches of Demosthenes 2,300 years ago in denunciation of the aggression of Macedonia are applicable in 1947. His orations made him immortal, but his cries and warnings were in vain. He saw that the forces of aggression were threatening Greece from Macedonia and as 2,300 years ago the master of Macedonia, Alexander, invaded and destroyed Athens, and from Athens proceeded to the conquest of the world; so today Russia with her communism the master of the insurgent forces in Macedonia is threatening to engulf not only Greece, not only Turkey, but the entire world.

We have heard something about the selfish rich of Athens collaborating with the Germans, and about the tax evaders among the wealthy Greeks temporarily in the United States. Unfortunately, we have tax evaders in our own country, and unfortunately in the cities of the South and the cities of the North there are the selfish rich. I have no respect for those who put the dollar above their country, and I despise the tax evaders, whether they reside in the United States or in Greece. The purpose here is aid to Greece and Turkey. Let us keep to the main issue.

If there is one nation more than another that is sympathetic with the struggles for freedom and for liberty in

countries great and small, that nation is the United States.

I shudder to think what would have been the fate of the colonists had it not been for the aid and assistance extended to them by France. I know that the forces of selfishness are ever present. When Washington and his ragged and barefoot heroes were at Valley Forge, I know that the rich Tories were in Philadelphia giving aid and comfort to the British, but I also know that another Philadelphian, Benjamin Franklin, was at that very time in France pleading for the cause of the Colonies.

The Governments of Greece and Turkey are not perfect. They have their problems. Greece has been invaded, her cities destroyed, her highways obliterated, and her industry wrecked. Reforms will not be easy; rehabilitation will be difficult.

The government in Greece is a coalition government. It represents the best that the majority could agree upon. The first lesson in democracy that patriots must learn is that the majority must rule. The insurgents in northern Greece must abide by the will of the majority.

One small nation after another has been absorbed and is today under the power of Soviet Russia. If a helping and powerful hand had been extended, these nations might be free today.

While communism is marching on, other nations and other countries, especially the small nations of the world are looking to the United States for help and for assistance and for leadership. If we fail them they too may succumb to the threat of communism.

In this momentous hour, I cannot remain silent. I urge the passage of the pending bill.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The United Nations has its weakness; it is in process of organization and perfection. The proposed bill does not bypass the United Nations. Its representatives in Macedonia have been rebuffed. The United Nations has been prevented from aiding freedom in Greece by the refusal of the communistic forces in control in the hills of Macedonia and in the neighboring satellite countries under the dominion of Russia to cooperate. Moreover, Russia has veto power, and the veto power and policy of Russia have prevented successful conferences for peace and a successful functioning by the United Nations.

THE OBJECTIVES

I extend to say the objective of the bill is to promote peace to enable countries to work out their own destiny without infiltration or domination by any outside power. Peace is jeopardized whenever a totalitarian regime is imposed upon free peoples, either by conquest or infiltration, either by direct or indirect aggression.

During World War II the Greeks fought valiantly against the enemies of the United States and the Soviet Union. Greece was wrecked by invasion. The Greek Government has charged before the United Nations that insurgents receive supplies from neighboring countries under the dominion of Russia.

Sometimes we are prone to criticize Turkey for failing to enter World War II. The fact is that Turkey rendered invaluable assistance. She prevented Germany from not only obtaining possession of the Dardanelles, but from conquering Cairo and thus advancing through Egypt and north Africa.

On March 12, 1947, while Secretary of State George C. Marshall was doing his best to secure a successful peace in Moscow, President Truman appeared before the Senate and the House and announced that a grave situation confronted the world, and that our responsibility required us to aid Greece and Turkey to prevent the spread of communism.

APPEASEMENT

We tried appeasement with Japan in Manchuria and China, and it failed. We tried appeasement with Mussolini in Ethiopia and with Hitler at Munich, and appeasement failed, as appeasement always will. We have been patient with Russia. We have seen one peace conference after another fail because of Russian opposition. The program of Russia is to delay, absorb, and dominate. Russia has absorbed one country after another while delaying peace in disregard of her obligations to the United Nations. Today Bulgaria and Yugoslavia on the border of Greece are a threat to the gateways to the Orient. If Russia takes Greece and Turkey, she is fast on her way to conquer India and China.

THE ISSUE

The issue is whether freedom or communism is to obtain. The issue is whether the Americanism of the United States or the communism of the Soviet Union is to obtain in the world.

SOBER THINKING

Our way is not easy, but our duty is plain. We must be patient with Greece and Turkey as we have been with Russia. We are dealing with a government in Greece and a government in Turkey that are not perfect. We might as well admit that we have our limitations in the United States. We must display both faith and patience. We must be firm. We must not be any more satisfied with conditions that obtain in Athens than we are with conditions that obtain in some American cities. The road to freedom and to peace is always hard. Aggression must always be resisted. We have been most generous. Russia has been bluffing. It is time to call her hand. The President of the United States, Secretary Marshall, and their advisors, both Democratic and Republican, urge the passage of the pending bill. The responsibility is great. The cost will be high. We have much to lose but much more to gain. Russia must understand once and for all that appeasement is no part of our foreign policy, and that all governments, great and small, in their own way, without aggression, infiltration, or domination, must be permitted to work out their own destiny.

OBJECTIONS

It has been asserted that the funds advanced under the bill might be used in paying loans of Greece and Turkey to other governments. This objection has

been fully met by the express terms of the bill.

It has been next suggested that the whole matter be referred to the United Nations. I have already answered this objection. At present the United Nations is without the power or the funds to render the aid needed. Moreover, Russia has plainly indicated that her veto power would be asserted.

Again it is urged that the program will lead to war. We have tried to make one agreement after the other with Russia. The bill does not provide for combat forces. Russia is out to get all that she can, but she does not want war. At least she does not want it now. Her plan may be for war in the future, but she does not want it now. The program is to prevent war.

FOREIGN POLICY

The United States has endeavored in every way to get along with Russia. The proposed program is unprecedented. The time has come for the United States to say what it means and mean what it says. We now mean business. There is a point beyond which the United States will not retreat.

There is no partisanship in our foreign policy. It is supported by Republicans and Democrats alike. Republican Senators and Republican leadership cooperated with Democratic Senators and Democratic advisers in the recent Moscow Conference just as the chairman and ranking member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the other body have previously cooperated with former Secretary of State Byrnes. Previous conferences have failed because of the refusal of Russia to agree.

All nations must be able to work out their destiny free from coercion. Governments have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will in violation of the Yalta agreement in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. One small country after the other has come under the influence of the Soviet Union.

The small nations must have assistance if they are to survive. They are looking to the United States of America. It is time for action. They must have the assistance of the United States if they are to work out their own destiny.

There are two ways of life. The choice must be free. One way is based upon the will of the majority. The other is based upon the will of the minority being forcibly imposed upon the majority. One way of life is communism. The other is freedom, which is synonymous with Americanism. The tree of freedom cannot grow in the soil of communism. The seeds of totalitarianism are nurtured by misery and want. They grow in the soil of poverty and strife. They reach their maturity when hope for freedom has died. Free people in the free countries of the world look to the United States for aid in maintaining their freedom. The proposal does involve risk. It may involve war, but the best way to promote peace is to be prepared for war. If we fail to assert and maintain our leadership in the struggles for peace, we will not only jeopardize the welfare and the future of the United States, but we will endanger the peace of the world.

(Mr. WHITTINGTON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last four words.

(Mr. MERROW asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I hope this measure passes without crippling amendments. The strategic and political aspects of the issue which we have been discussing here for several days are all important. In the first place, Soviet Union has a foreign policy of expansion and of spreading communism wherever and whenever possible, with the ultimate goal of world domination. The security of the United States of America is at stake. We must never lose sight of this fact. In the first place, Turkey and Greece are the outposts against the spread of communism in the Mediterranean area; in fact, the military aspects of this measure are more significant in many ways than the relief aspects as far as the security of the United States is concerned.

What will happen if we do not extend aid to Greece and what will happen if we do not extend aid to Turkey and protect the strategic Dardanelles? In the first place, Greece will fall under the domination of the Soviet Union. Turkey will probably yield to the demands that are being made by Moscow. The whole Middle East would then be in danger.

When I was in Iran over a year ago the members of the Parliament in that country said the ultimate object of the Soviet Union is the annexation of Iran so that Russia may have access to the oil of the Persian Gulf. I have heard a great deal said about oil in connection with this issue, and some say they do not like the smell of oil. I like the smell of oil, and I will tell you why. It is necessary to our economy in peace, and it is crucial in time of war. Our automobiles run by oil, our houses are heated by oil. Oil is essential to every man, woman, and child in this modern world. If the Middle East goes, the Soviet Union will press westward, and finally the western gateway of the Mediterranean will come under the control of Moscow. The Mediterranean Sea will become a Soviet lake, and then definitely the security of the United States will become imperiled. We can either deny this aid to Greece and Turkey or we can give it. If we deny it, it means that we intend to retreat from our present position of world leadership.

I am amused to hear some say that we cannot afford this policy. Can we not afford to maintain our place of leadership? If this great country cannot do this, then it means that we must retreat, and it means that the center of political gravity will shift from the city of Washington to Moscow, an eventuality which I for one will oppose to the end. If this program is going to cost \$400,000,000 or if it costs 10 times that much to stop the march of communism in the Mediterranean area, it will, in my opinion, be money well invested.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman please tell us how the appropriation of \$400,000,000 will stop communism.

Mr. MERROW. Well, sir, this is the first step, and if it requires more money, I, for one, am willing to vote it.

Nobody can predict with accuracy, the future. No person possesses omniscience, but certainly if \$400,000,000 cannot stop communism in the Mediterranean, let us appropriate enough money to do this job. Let us call the bluff of the Soviet Union and we will soon find out whether or not Mr. Stalin wants to fight. I believe he will stop short of that point where the United States of America and Great Britain are willing to take a stand.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. In other words, we are on our way, but we do not know where we are going.

Mr. MERROW. Do you know what the future is going to be in 2 or 10 years from now?

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. BREHM. Again, I ask the gentleman a question which I asked a week or so ago. If \$400,000,000 or 10 times that amount fails to stop it, then does the gentleman advocate going to war in order to stop communism?

Mr. MERROW. I will say to the gentleman if that becomes necessary to protect the United States we probably will go to war. We did not want to do anything when Mr. Hitler took the Rhineland and walked all over Europe, but finally we sent millions of our boys to Europe and spent billions of dollars. Let us not forget recent history. Firm and resolute action before Nazi Germany occupied the Rhineland in 1936 or before the many other annexations of territory by Germany would have, in my opinion, avoided the Second World War.

Mr. BREHM. Then, why not save the \$400,000,000 and go to war right now and get the thing over with?

Mr. MERROW. Are you willing to do that?

Mr. BREHM. I would be willing to do that if it is to be our policy to stop communism—let us stop it and let us quit bluffing.

Mr. MERROW. I want to call Russia's bluff immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. In view of the large number of Members who want to speak, the Chair desires to state the policy that the Chair will try to follow in recognizing Members. Inasmuch as the Chair does not know whether Members intend to speak for or against the bill, the Chair will follow the principle of alternating between the majority side and the minority side.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, there is now pending a committee amendment to which, I believe, there is no opposition. Pro forma amendments to strike out the last word could well be deferred until the committee amendment is acted upon. Would it be in order to dispose of the committee amendment and then proceed with the pro forma amendments?

The CHAIRMAN. If it is the will of the Committee, the Chair will put the question on the first committee amendment.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, if that is done, will it in any way prevent the Members from speaking for 5 minutes in discussing this bill under the 5-minute rule?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that that is hardly a parliamentary inquiry, but will answer the gentleman by saying that the matter of recognition of Members to speak will proceed on the basis of Members being recognized if they seek recognition. Beyond that, it will be the policy of the Chair, or at least the policy of the Member now occupying the chair, to alternate recognition between the majority and minority sides.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, all I am interested in is that the Members will not be deprived of speaking on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the control of the Committee and not in the control of the Chair.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent in order that the Committee may have clearly in mind what we are voting on that the Clerk may read the committee amendment again.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 2, line 5, after the word "paragraph", insert the following: "Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: On page 2, line 15, strike out the word "and."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment on page 2, line 20: Strike out the word "countries", and insert "countries; and

"(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this act."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which is on the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. DOUGLAS: Insert after (4) (A) after the word "information", page 2, line 19: "Except atomic weapons, fissionable material, atomic source materials or information relating to atomic energy or any of the foregoing other than as may be permitted in any general international agreement."

(Mrs. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, section 1 of this bill describes in broad and essentially unlimited categories the kinds of assistance which the President of the United States is authorized to give to the Governments of Greece and Turkey. If you will turn to section 3 (c), line 6 through line 12, to 3 (d), you will see that we are not talking about International Harvester machines. Since there are no limitations on the types of weapons or information which may be transferred, I call your attention to the fact that the President is thereby, in his discretion, empowered to furnish atomic bombs, fissionable material, atomic source materials or information concerning any of the foregoing to either Greece or Turkey or both.

In pointing this out, I need not emphasize that no reflection of any kind on the President or on his purposes is intended. On the contrary, I believe the President himself has the right to ask Congress to be meticulously precise as to its wishes in this matter. The authorization to give weapons must be at least as definite as an appropriation bill. Since the House is not in the habit of giving funds without specifying both the exact amounts and the purposes for which each amount is to be used, there is no justification for vagueness or carelessness in saying whether or not Congress intends to authorize the President to give atomic bombs or top secret information to the Governments of Greece and Turkey.

Nor can we escape responsibility by saying, "Oh, all that has been taken care of by the Atomic Energy Act." I have been advised by most competent legal authorities that the Atomic Energy Act itself does not prohibit the President, in his constitutional role as Commander in Chief, from transferring, as he may deem essential to the national defense, such weapons, substances, or information to any foreign country.

It is frightening to think that this bill, as now written, authorized the transfer to two such governments as those of Greece and Turkey, weapons, materials and information incorporating what Congress has repeatedly and excitedly declared to be the most vital element in the bastion of our security.

If there were a bill before you to give atomic bombs to Britain, I believe you would reject it out of hand. Surely materials and information which cannot be shared even with Britain and Canada—who participated in and contributed to all phases of our atomic energy development and therefore have a claim to such fruits, apart from the fact that they really know our secrets anyway—must not be entrusted to Balkan governments which are neither, to say the least, stable nor dependable.

Months were spent in determining whether the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission had sufficiently demonstrated his loyalty to our form of government, whether he sufficiently understood the principles of democracy, to make him a fit person to guard our bombs and our knowledge. We have not spent 5 minutes inquiring into the beliefs of

King Paul of Greece to whom under this bill, the President would have the authority to hand over anything or everything related to atomic energy.

Of course, the President may be relied upon to do nothing which would, in his opinion, jeopardize the common defense. Yet he should be instructed and backed up by a clear statement from Congress covering the point. For the subject of atomic bombs has been injected both in the hearings of this bill and in the debate on the floor.

On this issue, therefore, I offer an amendment which in no way impairs the authority of the President to furnish assistance except that it prohibits the transfer to Greece and Turkey of atomic weapons, fissionable materials—the main ingredient of the bombs, source materials from which these ingredients are derived and information relating to any of the foregoing or to the production of atomic energy so long as such information is held in secrecy classification by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to compliment the gentlewoman from California on the drawing of her amendment. It is well drawn, but it puts us in a peculiar quandary when it comes to deciding how to vote on it. It might well be called a Henry Wallace amendment because it is one of those amendments which if you vote against it means you might want to send atomic bombs over there, but if you vote for it you as much as say you do not trust the President of the United States because he might send them over unless he is restrained.

As for myself I wish to say directly that while I am a Republican I have full faith and confidence in the Government of the United States of America and I have full faith and confidence in the man who is the President of the United States of America, who represents me as well as everyone here in this room, Harry Truman.

Let us simply put this amendment on the basis of confidence. If Henry Wallace has no confidence in Harry Truman and the Government of the United States, maybe some of us do. If therefore you wish to vote a lack of confidence in the President's exercising his emergency powers that still remain to him, then vote to make a certain area of the world consisting of Greece and Turkey to be under a limitation of our power and our foreign policy. Our power and foreign policy are based not only on the population here but on our strength.

We in the United States are trying to get an agreement internationally over the control of atomic energy and its use, and for the control of atomic weapons. We should not have any restraint on us when we go in and deal openly and broadly before the United Nations for such an agreement. I hope you will not tie the hands of the American Government which represents you by any such amendment, and I hope you will not throw a cloud on the President by implying that he might use such a thing unless we do something to control him and tie his hands.

Further than that, if you add this limitation, we lawyers of the House know that when you start outlining things that you will not send, it means that you will send everything else. Under this reasoning it means that you would send all the supersonics, all the jet planes, all our long-range guns, it even means that you would go into chemical warfare and send over disease germs to spread over countries. I do not want to be taken as saying that I agree to that.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. I concur absolutely in the argument made by the gentleman from Pennsylvania. It is not a question of who is President. If we had anyone else as President I would thoroughly agree with the gentleman and his argument.

Mr. FULTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. McCORMACK. We have complete confidence in the President so far as matters concerning foreign affairs are concerned and the exercise of judgment in those matters. I am sorry that the distinguished gentlewoman from California has offered the amendment. I join with the gentleman in his able argument and strongly urge that the amendment be defeated.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina, my distinguished colleague on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. RICHARDS. Is it not a fact also that the atomic-energy law prohibits this Government from giving any information in regard to atomic energy to a foreign power without authority from the Congress?

Mr. FULTON. That is exactly correct, and this amendment again tends to cast a doubt upon Mr. Lilienthal and the Atomic Energy Commission now handling the matter in secret for this Government.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. If this bill is passed, then adoption of the pending amendment would merely be giving encouragement to Communist Russia to continue her aggression and her undermining of the United States of America?

Mr. FULTON. That is right. It contains, in essence, the same principle as the old Neutrality Act. We were going to make ourselves impotent and powerless in certain parts, which would let the forces we are trying to stop operate freely.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentlewoman from California.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I would like to correct the gentleman from Pennsylvania, for whom I have such very great regard.

Mr. FULTON. That is returned.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. The President as Commander in Chief is permitted under

the Constitution in the defense of our country and would be permitted to send atomic energy or information about atomic bombs. As I said before, this is not a reflection on the President.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. This, of course, is no reflection upon the President.

Mr. FULTON. Why is it not a reflection upon him?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. The question of atomic bombs has been interjected into the hearings and into the debate on the floor of the House. This bill is being passed in the hope that it will aid our program for peace, and it should not be passed with the idea abroad that this is an atomic-bomb bill.

Mr. FULTON. May I answer the gentlewoman from California? If this is no reflection upon the President of the United States, she then infers that the President of the United States would not send atomic bombs anyhow in his own discretion. If he would not send them anyhow, then the particular amendment becomes useless.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Not at all.

Mr. FULTON. Because then it is a mere, idle gesture, and this bill is no idle gesture. If, on the other hand, it might be construed either here or abroad to be a condemnation or a tying of the hands of the President of the United States, the amendment should be voted down. So the gentlewoman is in a dilemma and must choose whether her amendment is merely useless or a lack of confidence in the President.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman spoke about following the President. I wonder if he recalls a former President on one occasion telling the Congress that he had more information on foreign affairs and knew more about foreign affairs than the Congress did, and that the Congress should leave the question to him and he would keep us out of war. Shortly thereafter we found ourselves in war. Does the gentleman remember that?

Mr. FULTON. I do, and may I make a short answer on that. It will be recalled that the President of the United States under the Constitution of our Government is given full and free power over our foreign policy. We in Congress can consult, advise, and implement his foreign policy, but whoever he is, I am going to take his judgment. I take the judgment of the Congress on declaring war. Of course, the Congress and not the President declares war.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has again expired.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, this seems to me to be a good amendment.

Now, the gentleman just suggested that he had full faith and confidence in the President, and I will say to him that I believe he does not have any more faith than I have in the President, generally speaking, but I believe he is just a little bit in error, because the committee itself put a provision in the bill indicating that they wanted some safeguards on what the President could do. I believe one Member speaking yesterday called attention to this fact, and in the bill itself the committee put in this provision:

Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The committee itself wanted a safeguard in there, and to say they have full faith and confidence, that the President may have just any free hand to do what he wants to do, I believe, is begging the question just a little bit.

Now, I can see nothing wrong in that because I am telling you that in the action we propose to take today—and I oppose this bill in its essence—we are scaring the people of the world to death, and you can say all you want to. We are scaring the people about this matter.

Somebody said communism is on the march in Europe. I say that communism is on the retreat in Europe, and it is; and as the world begins to recover, it will retreat more. What about Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, and Switzerland? You hear nothing about communism in those countries. Why? Because the leaders there are evidently giving their people good government, and communism grows and spreads where there is squalor, where there is degradation, where there is confusion; and wherever you find democracy and good government, communism cannot grow.

Gentlemen, when we give good government to our people communism will not grow here. You cannot destroy a false political philosophy or a false religion by bullets. It is impossible. It is like a ghost. You cannot shoot a ghost, because it has no tangibility. There is nothing corporeal about it. You cannot hit a ghost, you cannot see it. It is intangible, and you cannot kill the things that are in the minds of people by bullets and force. We can and we will stop Russia or any nation, or any group of nations, that might come against us by force. We will do it. But we cannot stop communism by force. We will merely spread it by such use. The way to defeat an erroneous philosophy is to give those who accept it a true one—a better one to take its place.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. ABERNETHY. The gentleman has stated that communism is on the decline in Russia and other countries that he named.

Mr. MORRIS. I beg your pardon. I did not say in Russia. I said in Europe.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Well, where in Europe?

Mr. MORRIS. All right, where in Europe? Did you not know and does not every sensible person know that—

Mr. ABERNETHY. I said where?

Mr. MORRIS. Just a moment. The gentleman asked me. Let me answer it. Did you not know, and does not every sensible person know, that when we helped Russia defeat Germany that we were of necessity giving some impetus to communism? Every sensible person knows what happened. And just as soon as we did that, and Germany was defeated, communism took a big impetus temporarily. I say to you there is less communism in Europe than there was immediately following the war, and everybody knows it that has any judgment about the matter.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I was very much impressed by the gentleman's philosophy that bullets have no effectiveness in stopping ideas. I just wondered what a glorious thing it would be if the gentleman would deliver that speech on the floor of the Legislature in Oklahoma City, in view of what happened on yesterday.

Mr. MORRIS. The gentleman may have a point there, but that is a little bit too direct an action for us to take at this time, I believe.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. MORRIS. I yield.

Mr. ABERNETHY. As I interpreted the gentleman's answer to my question a moment ago, he would say, then, that it was a calamity that we defeated Germany?

Mr. MORRIS. No; I did not say that, but those who are on the other side have been implying that all the time. That is just what they have been implying. Those who are supporting this bill have been leaving that implication all the time. They seem to be suggesting that we created a worse Frankenstein than we had before.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. HOFFMAN. After the gentleman makes that speech down in Oklahoma City, will he go up into South Dakota and make it there?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, if the occasion arises I will make it there, too.

Let me leave this final thought: For something like a hundred years as I recall it the best brains and the best minds and the best hearts and the best people in Europe said that Christianity and Mohammedanism could not live in the

same world. They had about five or six wars, and they, those of the Christian faith, made crusades to the Holy Land to rescue the Holy Land from the so-called infidels, the Mohammedians, and they fought and killed each other, and each side became just as barbaric as the other; as people generally do in war, but they finally decided that they could both live in the same world, and so can we if we will just keep our feet on the ground and not lose our heads.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

(Mr. RICH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, my colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] said a while ago that this bill is no gesture. The bill states in its title that it is to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey and continues, in subsection 1, "By rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise." Every Member of Congress knows that this is not a loan nor credit, but it is a gift of \$400,000,000. We were told to go to the aid—I say aid—of Greece and Turkey, but from listening to the debate every Member here and all the people of this country ought to realize this is for no other purpose than to build up an army in Greece and Turkey and to give them everything that is possible in the way of aid and assistance in fighting anyone who wants to take the Dardanelles. It is a war measure. That is the meat in the coconut. It is also for the purpose of protecting the oil interests in the East. These are the only two things for which this bill is intended, and the American public should know it by this time.

A WAR BILL

If you want to go to war again pass this legislation. I do not want to go to war, and I do not want America to go to war. I am opposed to the bill in its present form. I say to you it is a war bill in a camouflaged style.

It was only last week that we on the Committee on Rules discovered it after the Committee on Foreign Affairs came in and gave us that information.

What does this bill do? It provides for this \$400,000,000 which should have been referred to the Committee on Appropriations to see whether we have \$400,000,000 for this purpose—for armament; build up our own armed forces. Furthermore, this bill should have been reported to the Committee on Armed Forces of the Congress rather than to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It never should have come here from the Committee on Foreign Affairs. They administer tariffs, armed forces, and agriculture.

Let us analyze this a little. We have been here for the last few weeks with the Committee on Appropriations trying to cut down the expenses of Government. We cut out from the Department of Interior appropriations some \$150,000,000 that they wanted to use for reclamation and for the parks of this country and for fish hatcheries and other things that the American people want. But, no, we would not give them that.

Here we are today, however, asking for \$400,000,000 to be given to the President of the United States to go over to Turkey and Greece and build up a great army for Greece and Turkey to fight some other foreign country. Oh, call it an indirect war bill and you name it correctly.

Gentlemen, as sure as you are knee high to a grasshopper, let me tell you that I believe that army we are building up over there is just as liable to be used against us as it is to be used against Russia. I am afraid of it, and I do not want any part of it. If you are after Russia, say so, and stop fooling the American people. You are not fooling Russia.

You may think you are going over there now and start in on a policy that this country never thought or dreamed of a few years ago, to build up armies in those two countries, but how soon are we going to be asked to build them up in every other country in the world. Why, it is the most ridiculous and preposterous idea that I have ever heard proposed. Thank God it is not a party measure, because if my party—the Republican Party—were proposing a thing like this I would think they were screwy. This can be named the Truman bill.

This country is now in debt to the extent of \$257,720,000,000 as of May 5. That is the greatest debt that any country on the face of the earth ever dreamed that they would owe. Four hundred million dollars may mean \$40,000,000,000 before you get through with it. Forty billion dollars, added to the \$257,000,000,000, is enough to wreck this country financially. If you carry this country of ours down financially you will wreck it. No nation that is not financially strong is weak.

I am telling you Members that there is nobody in this Chamber who knows what \$400,000,000 is. You have been so used to squandering the money of the taxpayers of this country that you are just simply cockeyed. You do not know what \$400,000,000 is in volume. I want to tell you that you ought to get down to a little bit of arithmetic. Ten cents make a dime and 10 dimes make a dollar. Let us get back to the old fundamental principles that we were taught when we went to school and which we understand. Let us get a little common sense. Let us return this bill back to the committee and do something different than what we are trying to do here. You are taking America into a third world war. You know it; so do I. Let the American people in on it, and see what they think about it. America wants no more war in Europe. We had enough of that. No. 1 under Wilson, No. 2 under Roosevelt, No. 3 now under Truman. It is time to stop it. Do it now. Vote this bill down.

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. KILDAY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment. I hope we will be able to consider it on its merits and on the basis of how it affects the legislation we are considering. As the gentleman from Pennsylvania

said, it might be difficult to vote against an amendment which indicates that it is to protect the atomic secrets, but is that what this amendment proposes to do?

As you know, the Atomic Energy Control Act was handled by the Committee Military Affairs of the House. We spent many weeks on it. It is a very complicated measure and one that received very careful consideration. Under the existing law, all matters relating to fissionable material and atomic energy are placed in the custody of the Atomic Energy Commission. That Commission is prohibited by existing law from disclosing to a foreign nation the secrets with reference to atomic energy until such time as the Congress, by concurrent resolution, shall find that all of the secrets, and our interest in them, are fully protected.

The gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] argues that that does not control the President of the United States as Commander in Chief. Perhaps that is true, but it is equally true that we cannot in this bill control the powers of the President of the United States as Commander in Chief. His powers as Commander in Chief come to him under the Constitution. We cannot in this legislation restrict or abridge the powers which the President has.

I think the danger in this lies in the fact that, under the well-known and generally understood rule of statutory construction—the expression that one excludes all others—if we now adopt an amendment to this bill which would provide that fissionable material and atomic-energy information shall not be delivered to Greece and Turkey, the logical statutory construction is it may be delivered to every other nation in the world. So, in order to avoid a very highly probable construction that the adoption of this amendment would exclude Greece and Turkey from receiving atomic information and permit every other nation in the world to receive that information, I think it is highly important that the amendment be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] has expired.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words.

Mr. Chairman, as I have listened to practically all phases of this debate, I think this bill could very appropriately be called a bill to give the Members of Congress an opportunity to crawl on the anti-Communist bandwagon. This bill, stripped of all of its artificiality, is nothing more nor less than subterfuge of the lowest rank. It makes my stomach turn to have Members of Congress rise in the well of the House and speak of this bill as a protector of human rights and liberties. The same individuals who are such loud proponents of this bill are the same individuals who accepted the crimes of Yalta, Potsdam, and Tehran with silence. The matter of freedom and liberty did not concern them then. So let us reason this thing out, concretely and specifically. Let me ask you this simple, profound question: If Greece, which is now involved in nothing more than a family quarrel, civil war—if Greece were located in South America,

would we be here today voting an aid bill for Greece? Of course we would not. Their freedom and liberty then would not be of concern to the Members of this Congress.

Let us take the case of Turkey. Suppose Turkey were located in Africa instead of where it is, do you suppose for 1 minute we would be here passing an authorization bill to help the people of Turkey? Of course not. How in the name of common sense, then, can anyone talk about freedom and liberty and talk about Turkey in the same breath? Has anyone here ever heard of the philosophy of government that is exemplified by the Turks ever being on the side of the United States of America in the entire history of the existence of their country or our country?

I remember when I was a little boy, in 1915, how I left the farm on behalf of my father and we went from one farm to another and I was collecting dimes and pennies and nickles and dollars for the relief of the starving Armenians. That was in 1915 when the Turks massacred and slaughtered in cold blood, 2,000,000 Armenian people. Their only solution of the Armenian problem, was to slaughter the Armenians. Never have they been a democracy. Never have they fought on the side of democracy. And here you are going to pass a bill to aid the Turks in order to defend freedom and liberty. Stripped of all of its artificiality, as I said in the beginning, many Members of Congress and many leaders in the United States of America and our State Department are on the hot seat. They went over to Yalta and Potsdam and Tehran and they appeased. They handed over Finland and Lithuania and Latvia and Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania to the Communists. Do I hear the hearts of any of those men who are interested in freedom and liberty for the Turks and the Greeks, do I hear their hearts bleed over the enslavement of those people that our country delivered to the hands of the Communists?

Do I see hearts bleeding about freedom and liberty for those countries? Not once do I see it.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. Does the gentleman agree with the gentleman from Oklahoma that communism is playing out in those countries?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Well, yes. I will read you the last axiom from the Communist manifesto. You are not going to stop communism or ban communism through any such stupid bill as this. You have got to do something else to stop it. Listen to this. This is an axiom from the Communist manifesto:

Communism will be vigorous and united only as long as it is feeding on the properties of others. When the Communist comes to the place where it can no longer feed on the "host," it must feed on itself and die.

If it had not been for the United States of America dishing out \$2,000,000,000 since the war ended to finance communism in Europe, you would not have the threat of communism in Greece and Turkey today; you would not have it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

By unanimous consent, the pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, certainly there is no one who has been more disappointed, and I might say disgusted, with Russia's disinclination until a few days ago to indulge in discussion of a final settlement of lend-lease matters than I have; in fact, I have been considerably disgusted with Russia's conduct since the end of the war generally, as most of you have. There has, however, been a misapprehension about that lend-lease matter. I intended to try to clear it up yesterday, but when I came here and saw the long list of requests for time that the ranking minority member had, including requests from opponents as well as proponents of the bill, I did not even mention it to him.

It will be recalled, particularly by the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, that in the original lend-lease agreements there was nothing said about time or amount of payment. That was all left to a general settlement after the war. The time came, however, when we could foresee the end of the war and realized that when it came there would doubtless be in the lend-lease pipe line many heavy-industry articles which, though valuable indeed for war purposes if they reached the recipient countries during the war, would be equally valuable to their economy after the war. Under section 3 (c) of the Lend-Lease Act, therefore, the United States entered into agreements with all lend-lease recipient countries, including Russia, to the effect that as to whatever was in the pipe line when the end of the war came the recipient country could either cancel her orders therefor or tell us to conclude the manufacture of the material and agree to pay for it, generally over a 30-year period and in the case of Russia at 2% percent interest. In other words, it was very much to the advantage of the United States to enter into those agreements.

When the end of the war came in the case of Russia there was in the pipe lines considerably more than \$250,000,000 worth of goods. Russia canceled the orders for much of it and told us as to the \$250,000,000: "We would like for you to continue the manufacture of those goods and we will pay you in 30 years for them 100 percent with 2% percent interest." We agreed to that. Two hundred and thirty-three million dollars of this \$250,000,000 had been shipped to Russia before discontinuance of shipments at the end of December, leaving \$17,000,000 only. Now as to that \$17,000,000, some on the floor have labored under the misapprehension that it is entirely oil refining machinery. Some of it is oil refining machinery; some of it is railroad equipment for Russia's wide-gauge railroads. It was all built to Russia's specifications and would not be worth anything to us except for junk. Now, as to the oil refining machinery there are a number of parts for oil plants in this \$17,000,000. The big bulk of the plants have already been shipped. If

you ask why there are parts remaining, I call attention not only to the difficulties of transportation recently but I also call attention to the cars you see running around Washington with wooden bumpers and I ask, What good to us would those wooden bumpers be? What good to us would be parts of oil gages or of oil refining plants which we could do nothing with but junk if we did not send them to Russia? Not only is it a solemn contract that we entered into but it is a solemn contract for the best interests of this country which has been fulfilled 93.2 percent. I do not believe my colleagues, with that knowledge of the situation, will entertain any objection to our country carrying out its agreement with Russia, whether we like its form of government, whether we wish that form of government to spread out over the United States or not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment close in 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending Douglas amendment close in 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last six words.

Mr. Chairman, let me indulge upon the committee in a bit of ancient history. Many centuries ago Greece was the cradle of democracy. I believe that over the whole period of the history of humanity Greece has emerged as the only genuine democracy known to the world.

You will recall when any great questions were being decided by the ancient Greek legislature the populace would gather ostracons on the beaches before Athens and cast them on the various issues. The pile of ostracons which was the largest decided the question. The lawmakers were then directed by the people to vote as they had expressed themselves and as the people wanted them to.

That was purer democracy than we have today, for no representative in this House can be so certain of the feelings of his constituents as were the Greeks of old. The land which gave us our concept of government ought to receive our help when her own freedom is threatened.

Greece today—and I think I speak with all accuracy—is in jeopardy. The cradle of democracy is being overturned by forces in the Old World with which Americanism is at odds. I say the time has come when the American Nation must take a stand in the interest of downtrodden peoples like the Greeks.

A century and a half have passed since those Barbary pirates swept the

Mediterranean clear of American seamen. You will also remember the inspiring tales recorded that our leaders of that time raised up and cried, "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute."

Today, Mr. Chairman, I say that the issue is again presenting itself. When a decade ago the hosts of Adolf Hitler swarmed over Europe and crushed innocent and helpless peoples under their heels, the American Nation rallied, and we joined forces against the Nazi oppressors and wiped them off the face of the earth. Now, it is obvious that there are other "isms" and other oppressors raising their gargantuan heads, their ugly visages, and threatening the peace of the world and the future of our generation. The time has come again for us to take a definite stand. It is our duty to protect the underprivileged and the unfortunate members of the human race. They, too, no matter how small, no matter how humble, must be able to assert themselves in the great family of nations so that freedom, liberty, and equality will be perpetuated throughout the entire world.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. MERROW. I am very glad to hear the gentleman say that we should take a definite stand. I want to ask this: In the gentleman's opinion, if Greece comes under the control of Moscow, will that not make Russia a Mediterranean power and imperil the security of the United States?

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. I can answer that in this way: That America has never retreated. We have never surrendered our position in international affairs, and I do not think that now is the time to begin. I think that the only recourse we have is to see that the seven seas and the lands all over the globe are made as free as possible. It is our bounden duty and our responsibility to see that the freedom the Constitution of the United States personifies and guarantees should be preserved, not only here but wherever the forces of oppression have raised their heads.

I say that the question is here before us. We have debated at great length on this question and it is time we come to a decision on it. I hope that we decide wisely and that we will be able to chart a course of action which will preserve representative government and freedom throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last seven words.

Mr. Chairman, in common with a lot of other Members of this House I spent about 4 years in the Army. One of the discouraging things is that many of these young fellows have risen here in the last 2 days and spoken about their disillusionment that now that we have won the war we are facing another series of disillusionments. But that is one of those things that cannot be helped. When you get rid of one tyrant, one dictator, if an-

other one raises his head that issue has to be met head on.

In common with a lot of these same fellows who have spoken here who have served overseas, I was overseas, in Belgium, France, England, Luxemburg, and Germany, for 2 years. The only difference between my situation and theirs, I expect, is that due to the type of work in which I was engaged I had a chance to go into an average of 15 or 20 French, Belgian, and Luxemburg homes each day. Some days I would go into the home of a baron or a count, and the next day I would be in the home of a peasant who was wearing wooden shoes. Having the curiosity I have, I studied and tried to find out everything I could about the very thing we are debating here today. After having watched the way the Communists work in France, Belgium, and the other countries over there, I say to you that we all know the same pattern and techniques of infiltration will be followed and is being followed in Greece and in Turkey, and it is being followed in this country. To those who are not afraid of the threat of communism which is facing this country I say this: It has been mentioned here that the countries that do not want communism are not having it. They mention Belgium, Denmark, and other countries. Those countries are not in the same position that the war-devastated countries are such as Greece, Italy, and part of France, because when the Germans retreated, as any soldier will tell you, although Belgium, Denmark, and those places suffered through the occupation, the Germans did not take their livestock away, they did not tear up the railroads, they did not leave the forces there that make for communism such as we have in Greece, Italy, and other Balkan countries.

Some Members have raised the question here of the cost of this policy. When this subject was recently mentioned by one Member of this House another Member said, "Thank God no bombs fell on this country." One gentleman over here, thinking he was making a wise remark, stated "that a bombshell fell on the Treasury of the United States to the tune of \$400,000,000." When you start talking like that, do not think for 1 minute that a bombshell did not fall in the hearts of thousands of mothers and fathers, wives and sweethearts in this country when they got those terse messages from the War Department which said that their sons or their husbands were killed in action. We cannot think in terms of dollars in this matter.

I am going to support this bill, I do not care whether it costs \$400,000,000 or \$4,000,000,000, as long as it will stop the mad rush of communism that is sweeping over Europe, the Middle East, and is making inroads in this country. We should spend any amount of dollars that is needed to stop this insidious thing. I think this business of dollars and cents is one of the most false arguments that can be propounded here on the floor, because if you have more incidents in this country such as went on out here at Western High School, in Washington,

D. C., the day before yesterday—and God knows how many have gone on in this country that we do not know about because other students have not been sufficiently trained to see what is happening under their very noses—we are not going to have a United States Treasury here some day, when this force of communism reaches Greece and Turkey and marches on into the Middle East and reaches Iraq and Iran and the oil fields over there. Some of the people speaking for this bill seem to be afraid to talk about oil. When the Russians get into Iran and Iraq, when they get the oil fields there, they are going to be in a position to wage war for a hundred years. It will not be like Hitler's Germany, when we landed on D-day and when Patton executed the break-through in France, when the reason we were able to go through there was that Hitler ran out of high-octane gasoline. If Communist Russia gets those oil fields, it will have all the oil it needs to wage war, and it will get them if it can go into Greece and Turkey; and it will be able to go in there in 24 hours if we do not give those countries some form of relief.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I call attention to the fact that not only is the Near East in danger but if the Communists take over Greece, Italy is gone.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. That is right.

Mr. McCORMACK. There are millions of Americans of Italian blood who are hoping that Italy will be saved. If the Communists go into those countries, the chances of Poland's being reclaimed will be gone for many generations. It is amazing how some people overlook the responsibility they owe to the land of birth of their forebears.

(Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, we Americans seem to have the greatest national faculty of embarking upon a program and then placing upon our own hands manacles and handcuffs which render it impossible to carry the program through effectively. As I said here yesterday, there will be a number of restricting amendments offered on the floor, amendments which have not the intent or the purpose of rendering it possible to carry this program through to a successful conclusion, but amendments which have instead the purpose of destroying the successful application of this proposed legislation. In proposing the support of this legislation I do not do so with a bleeding heart, as was indicated broadly by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski] in commenting on this bill. My heart does not bleed for the people of Greece or the people of Turkey, but my heart is very much concerned over the Red tide of aggression which is sweeping over the earth. I am deeply

concerned about whether or not \$400,000,000 will do this job. But until we stop counting the cost of this program in terms of dollars and start counting the cost in human lives and freedom if we do not carry through, we shall continue our policy of shrinking back from the stark realities of life today.

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield.

Mr. SMATHERS. Do you know of any standard by which you can measure a man's life or his leg or his arm in terms of money?

Mr. JACKSON of California. Those are abstract things, and I agree perfectly that you cannot measure those things in terms of dollars and cents. There are higher values in life—values that cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. Among those things are freedom and basic rights.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. The gentleman did not mean to say that the intent of the bill was to deliver the atomic bomb to Greece or Turkey, did he?

Mr. JACKSON of California. No; I did not make that statement, or even infer it.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. No; I thought you were speaking on the amendment, and I was led to believe that that is what you are implying.

Mr. JACKSON of California. No, indeed; that is not my intention.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Does not this bill provide that we shall do whatever is necessary with no limitations?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I believe that is the intent of the bill and if that is not the intent of the bill, then we are stultifying ourselves so that we cannot hope to achieve our purpose.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. JACKSON of California. In conclusion, I can only offer the suggestion that almost every amendment that will be here offered has been considered in its entirety by the members of the committee. Very little new will be offered on the floor of this House today in the way of amendments. We have heard most of the arguments pro and con. We have heard scores of witnesses and taken hundreds of thousands of words of testimony.

Again, I suggest to the committee that if you want this program to succeed—if you want to try to make an effort here and now to stop this type of international aggression, then you support this legislation without major amendment. If you want to see it fail, if you want to see us going into this project without any chance of winning through, then you will support many stultifying amendments that will be offered from the floor.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield.

Mr. BREHM. The gentleman made the statement that all amendments that will be offered have been considered in the committee. I have an amendment which I propose to offer which was not considered by the committee.

Mr. JACKSON of California. I beg your pardon if I am in error on that point. I should say, almost all of the amendments have been considered in the committee.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JACKSON of California. I yield.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Does the gentleman assume that he has thought of all of the possibilities and that he has all of the wisdom and all of the light that might come upon a question of this great importance?

Mr. JACKSON of California. No; I can assure the gentleman that was not my intention. However, I think if all the alleged wisdom on both sides of the issue was not heard by the committee it was because the other experts did not show up to be heard, because we have had more authorities on both sides of this question than I even imagined existed.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, on this matter of amendments I want to suggest that I do not think the bill before us is any sacred cow nor do I think that it is the arc of the covenant and that anyone who touches it will fall over dead. I do not think that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has all of the wisdom of this House. Let us be frank about it. Our committee has heard in executive session our two ambassadors and certain military officers and representatives of the Army and Navy. I think we do have knowledge superior to many of the Members on the floor on many phases of this matter. On the other hand, it seems to me that we have to consider amendments on their merits, to write the best piece of legislation we can. For instance, I disagree with some of my colleagues on the pending amendment. I think the pending amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] is an amendment that cannot hurt the bill, because if there is any conceivable possibility that the President of the United States would give our atomic information to Greece or Turkey, that possibility should be barred.

Remember, this bill starts out by saying, "Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law"; so that the power given in this bill amends former legislation. On the other hand, if this amendment is defeated, I cannot conceive of the President furnishing any atomic information or atomic energy information to the Greeks or to the Turks. I think the gentlewoman from California is going to propose shortly two amendments which I consider very, very bad. I am therefore going to oppose them when the time comes. It seems to me we have to keep our eye on what we want to do here and consider these amendments on their merits and not vote them up or down because of any preconceptions or prejudices. I urge that you give such attention as we deserve to the members of the com-

mittee who heard the testimony. Some of my colleagues differ with me on this particular amendment, but the important thing is to bear in mind the very important amendments which will be offered, which are destructive of the program, and which will be offered later. I hope that neither the proponents nor the opponents will waste their energy on amendments that are not too important one way or the other.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. HAYS. I think the gentleman has made a very fair statement regarding his position and that of the committee. From my point of view, the committee did an excellent job. I think when the Vandenberg amendment was added, about all the repair work that could be done was done. But does not the gentleman from Ohio think that the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] advanced a valid argument? That is, the implication that under the amendment of the gentlewoman from California the information could be made available to others and not to Greece and Turkey?

Mr. VORYS. That is an argument that should be weighed. I simply want to say that on this amendment I cannot conceive of the President failing to carry out exactly what is contained in this amendment. Therefore, whether it is in the bill or not seems to me not of any great importance. On the other hand, I recognize the great wisdom of some of those who have spoken on this matter. My only plea was that we consider these amendments on their merits. I beg of the committee to give to us on the Foreign Affairs Committee, who have had greater opportunity to learn some information which cannot be of record, such consideration as we deserve. At the same time I do not want to have the question of whether this bill goes through untouched by amendments, be the question that determines whether or not we have a sound foreign policy. That is all I had in mind.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VORYS. I yield.

Mr. GAVIN. In view of the fact that the gentleman is of the opinion that the committee has produced a very fine bill and that the committee seemingly has a greater grasp or knowledge of this entire subject matter than most of the membership of the House, and in view of the fact that the gentleman has spoken any number of times, I wonder if the committee would not permit us, who have not had such an opportunity, to take a few minutes to express ourselves as the debate goes on.

Mr. VORYS. This is the second time I have opened my mouth in this debate, but I agree with the gentleman that all should have an opportunity to express themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] has expired.

(Mr. MORRIS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I do not see how any Member can support this amendment, whether he is for this bill or against it. This measure is going to pass. If it is going to pass, then we certainly ought not to begin to appease Russia in advance.

I am the only man in either House of Congress who has stated openly that he was in favor of breaking relations with Communist Russia. Do not kid yourselves, they are already making war upon us.

I think this amendment would tie the hands of the President of the United States and give comfort, if not aid, to Russia in case of a conflict for which they are preparing.

I have been fighting this battle against communism for many years. I have taken more punishment, more abuse, than any man in either House of Congress.

This is the first time a President of the United States has come out on our side, and I am not willing to tie the hands of Harry Truman, because I know that if we get into war, if it is necessary to use the atomic bomb we will use it. Let me disillusion the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS]. If he thinks communism is on the wane in either Europe or in this country he ought to attend the hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities. He ought to have heard the testimony of Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, the other day. He ought to have heard the testimony of Mr. Bullitt. We asked Mr. Bullitt, our former Ambassador to Russia, what would happen in the event Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not have it. He said that it would already have been dropped on the United States.

Let me say to the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS], that I read into the Record the statement of the leader of the Communist Party who is going to speak in Washington tonight. You speak about its being on the way here, it is marching right up to your very door. I read into the Record where he said time and time again that they were for a world revolution overthrowing all governments and making communism the dominant power of the world, he said, they were just as sure to take you over as the world stands.

And, he said: "When that day comes it will not be a Government of the United States but it will be a Soviet government and behind that government will stand the Red army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Do not deceive yourselves. Let me say to the gentleman from Oklahoma that they are working all over this country, and it was no accident that this tool of Russia went to Western High School here in Washington day before yesterday and for 55 minutes poured into the ears of those children anti-American doctrines and arguments that were so shocking that the students got up and walked out.

Let me say to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'KONSKI] what I said before: I have never agreed to and have never been satisfied with seeing Poland,

the home of Kosciusko, turned over to the ruthless bunch of lawless brutes who are now destroying the Christian people of Poland.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Does the gentleman feel that there is nothing for us to worry about so far as communism is concerned in this country?

Mr. RANKIN. I was going to get to that point. I am glad the gentleman asked that question. Of course it is here, threatening the security of this country. I am going to call on the President of the United States to join us in driving communism from American soil. The President is my friend. He is a man I can talk to. He is the most human individual I have ever seen in the Presidency of the United States. But let me tell you this, he is a Christian gentleman, a deep-water Baptist, if you want to know the truth, the only Baptist that has ever been President of the United States. Oh, no. I know that you are going to say that Harding was a Baptist. I understand he was a Baptist only by marriage.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, let me impress upon you that if the Communists take over this country if there will be no Baptists in Missouri, there will be no Methodists in Mississippi, or Presbyterians in Iowa, there will be no Catholics in Louisiana or New York, there will be no Episcopalians in Virginia, because when the Communists take over all Christian churches will be closed. It is written in every Russian booklet today that "religion is the opiate of the people." Communism is out to destroy Christianity and everything that is built on Christian principles.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. May I remind the gentleman of the fact that 2 weeks ago the President said we need not worry about that; it is a bugaboo here, that is all.

Mr. RANKIN. I have some doubt whether the President made that statement. May I say that the President of the United States realizes the danger that civilization is in today, and this amendment will not help him to meet that danger.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. The gentleman referred to remarks made by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'KONSKI] about what had happened in Poland. Is it not a fact that what happened in Poland and what is happening

in the rest of eastern Europe points out the necessity for this legislation?

Mr. RANKIN. That is exactly what the Communists want to do in the United States, and they say so in every Communist convention where they know we have no one listening in.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Does the gentleman think that the Government of the United States of America can afford to finance those who are fighting communism, and at the same time finance those who are in favor of communism?

Mr. RANKIN. No; and I voted against aid to the ones who are fighting on the side of communism.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Does the gentleman know that our Treasury Department today is buying every ounce of gold that the Russian Government produces?

Mr. RANKIN. No.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And we are paying them \$36 an ounce for it.

Mr. RANKIN. May I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin that the Christian people of Poland are looking to the Christian people of the rest of the world for protection, and they will get it through this bill a great deal quicker than they would by our placating or appeasing Communist Russia. Communism and Christianity cannot live in the same atmosphere; communism and human liberty cannot continue to exist on the same soil.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has again expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last 10 words.

(Mr. JOHNSON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, for 5 years I have been in Congress listening to security problems presented before the Military Affairs Committee and the Committee on the Armed Services. While I cannot add anything to what has been said on this particular problem, I think I approach it from a different viewpoint and with a different attitude than many of the speakers who have talked here today, yesterday, and the day before.

In my opinion, this is a problem in international and national security. To understand what the security situation of the world is today, I suggest that every one of you take a look at a globe and you will find that from 30 degrees north latitude, up over the Pole, is the area of the world in which we have so-called civilization. That is also the area in which all the trouble spots of the world are contained. That is the area in which all the wars of the last three or four centuries have been germinated. Due to rapid air transit we can get from one part of the world north of 30 degrees north latitude to any other in the same area in one trip. The rapid airplanes of today can go from any major point in the particular part of the world in which trouble may start to another point in

the same area, and with modern weapons can destroy any city or other congested area therein.

We have a situation that in the event there is a major difference between us and a great power there is the possibility of us being attacked on any day and any hour. You know that the destructive capacity of weapons has stepped up so tremendously that we can truthfully say today that an army or an armed force has the possibility of destroying every nation in the world; in fact, modern wars come without warning, and they come to every household in the country. There is no longer any front any more. The whole nation is the battleground. Therefore, in contemplating these problems and listening to experts on all kinds, it is my considered conviction that there is only one true security system which fits the world of today. That security system is one that is based on law, one that is based on order, one that is based on a vehicle whereby the controversies of great nations can be settled in some orderly, peaceful way. In my opinion this problem before us today brings in focus the matter of trying to foster and develop the idea of peaceful settlement of controversies. If we do not find some way to handle the matter by peace, by some method of adjudication, the world, in my opinion, is doomed to destruction.

Why do I say that what we have before us today focuses that particular question? This is the reason for it: During the war, and in fact for many years before the war, but especially during the war, our leaders contemplated that when this war ended they would find some way to bind the world together, to settle their problems in some lawful, Christian way other than by mass murder, which we call war. The result was that the Allied leaders made certain agreements, and one of those agreements that we have before us today, was that a country which had been devastated, like Greece and others, should have the right to hold a free election and select the kind of government it wants. That meant they were to have the kind of a government they wanted, irrespective of its kind.

Now, what do we have? Greece exercised that right. The record in this case shows that 85 percent of the people selected the government they now have. We may not like that type, but that was their selection. Now we find that one of the great powers, that agreed to that proposition, is by infiltration, by encouraging brigands and bands, is robbing that particular country of her right to select and have the government that she wants and which she by a free election selected. I say now is the time to find out by a firm, aggressive, frank attitude and statement whether Russia intends to comply with her agreement, and to allow Greece to have the government of her choice, or is she trying to destroy that right by creating turmoil and revolution in Greece?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Now is the time, right here and today, to find out whether Russia intends to abide by this preliminary agreement so we will know whether she will abide by the agreements we may make hereafter. She is talking about limiting armaments, doing away with the atomic bomb, and various things of that kind, indicating that she also wants a peaceful world, and if we can find out now by the action proposed in this bill, which we can, whether she will respect agreements, we will know how to talk to her and deal with her in the future?

I tell you that if Russia and America cannot get together in a solemn agreement to stop this mass murder that we call war, we are living in a very dismal world and a very gloomy outlook for our children.

I have traveled around the world. I have talked to doughboys and sailors in all parts of the world, and the one thing they told me above all others was this: "Mr. JOHNSON, you and your friends must find a way to avoid future wars, to keep faith with the eleven or twelve million men who fought this war and with our comrades that died and were wounded." We have to find some way to establish a world of peace through agreement, through peaceful methods. If we take a firm stand today, we will find a way to make an accord with Russia, as well as stop her onrush down through the Mediterranean and over the rest of the world. This is the test. Are we going to take a chance? Are we willing to sacrifice? Are we willing to pledge our honor and our money and our men that we will take a stand for liberty and for adherence to solemn agreements solemnly made, to the end that in the future our children and grandchildren may have and will have a peaceful world?

The passage of this bill will do that. It will let the world know that we are demanding that those with whom we agreed stand by their commitments, the same as we are doing. It will give hope to the nations involved that we will protect their right to a free choice of the government under which they are to live and protect their right to sovereign integrity after they have made their choice.

It will let the world know that we hold sacred commitments to protect small countries. It will notify our Allies that every country is entitled to its autonomy and that its right to a free and independent life shall not be nullified. In other words, we want agreements to be kept and observed, be they preliminary ones or final agreements. The basis of law is that contracts are sacred. If we can establish that now, then we may move forward to the hope of a world of peace. Drifting, temporizing, evading responsibility and leadership, and rather doing the expedient rather than the right thing, will bring us turmoil and even disaster. If we take our stand firmly now, it will result in a show-down, and my prediction is that it will lead ultimately to accord with Russia and to peace that will be lasting.

That is why I hope this bill gets an overwhelming vote of approval.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and rise in opposition to the amendment now pending. I think it would be a serious mistake to adopt that amendment at the present time in view of the consideration we have given the matter. As we all know, the Seventy-ninth Congress passed Public Law 585, which is the law that controls the use and the handling of atomic energy and of fissionable materials, together with information of a confidential nature regarding them. That law before enactment was considered by the House Committee on Military Affairs, it was considered by a special committee of the United States Senate over a long period of time, it was considered by both the House and the Senate over a long period of time, and then it went to a committee of conference. We worked long and carefully in framing the bill, especially in framing the penal clauses of the bill. I think to amend by indirection that statute—and that is what this amendment would do—is a serious mistake.

I fully agree with my colleague the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] when he refers to the fact that on page 13 of that statute under the heading of "Control of information" there is a prohibition which we placed in the law against any information covering atomic energy being delivered to a foreign power without first obtaining the passage of a concurrent resolution from Congress. I think that alone makes this amendment repetitious and unnecessary.

But I go further, Mr. Chairman, and say this: On that same page of that act we find 14 or 15 prohibitions against the use of atomic energy and against the dissemination of information covering fissionable materials. We find that these prohibitions are couched in most careful and exact language. This Congress attempted to make the unlawful disclosure of atomic information to foreign powers one of the most serious crimes known to the penal statute books of America. It is a crime which may be punished by death and, in the event lesser punishment is desired, he may be punished by long years of imprisonment as much as life imprisonment, and the imposition of thousands of dollars in fines.

Mr. ELSTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BROOKS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. ELSTON. Is it not a fact that the same act on page 9, section 5, subsection 7 (d) makes provision that the Commission shall not distribute any fissionable material to any foreign government?

Mr. BROOKS. I thank the gentleman for his valuable contribution. Those provisions of the law as we passed them in the last session of Congress make this amendment useless and repetitious. As I said, I think when we are dealing with the lives of people and with crimes which may be punished by death, we ought to be very careful before enacting amendments to any such a law by indirection.

I am not worried about what the President of the United States may do in this case. I am not worried about what

this commission controlling atomic energy may do. I am certainly not worried about what we may do to the Communists in Russia to stop this propaganda that has been spread all over the world for the last 20 years. They say that the best way to kill a snake is by stomping it on the head. I believe that is right. That is the reason why I rise at this time against this amendment, and I hope the Committee will not adopt it.

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened here with a great deal of interest during the last 7 days. I am greatly confused as to what this proposal is all about. What I would like to have made clear to me is: What is our foreign policy? What is the policy of our State Department? As I said the other day, is it to remove this communistic threat or is it to protect the oil fields of Iraq, Iran, and Arabia, or is it to protect the Dardanelles, or is it to protect Greece? Just what are we trying to do in venturing into Greece and Turkey.

We hear talk constantly about the threat of communism. Yet the other day in the Senate debate Senator BYRD said:

Out of the \$16,000,000,000 the sum of \$1,525,000,000 has been or will be given to Russia and her satellites. Again, I ask, can we nourish communism with our left hand and crush communism with our right? Our expenditures and commitments to Russia and her satellite nations since July 1, 1945, are as follows: Russia, \$203,000,000; Poland, \$463,000,000; Czechoslovakia, \$202,000,000; Finland, \$92,000,000; Hungary, \$18,000,000; Yugoslavia, \$296,000,000.

Certainly, no one will question whether Yugoslavia is a satellite of Russia.

More than 10 percent of this amount was not distributed as of March 1, 1947, but is being daily expended.

I cannot understand this talk about \$400,000,000 to remove the threat of communism in Greece, and yet we are pitching hundreds of millions of dollars into Russia through her satellite nations.

Senator BYRD continues:

In view of the fact that our program abroad, which already amounts to nearly \$16,000,000,000 since the war, it cannot be said that we are doing nothing. We are doing all and more than can be expected today within the framework of the United Nations. We have met every obligation that has been imposed upon us by the United Nations.

And in answer to a question by a distinguished member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs about oil, he says this:

Right today, the State Department is urging Congress to approve \$17,000,000 to Russia for the purchase of machinery to develop new processes for aviation gasoline, which will result in strengthening communism, and yet at the same time the State Department requests Congress to approve \$400,000,000 to resist communistic aggression in Greece and Turkey.

Now, what is this all about anyway? I cannot understand. We dish out hundreds of millions to Russia on the one hand to assist them and hundreds of millions on the other hand to stop them. Somebody ought to clear the air as to what is our foreign policy. Where are we headed for? American people have a right to know. Is this our first step in

imperialism? Is this an attempt to put a turban on Uncle Sam? As I said the other day:

It appears to be a step in the direction of imperialism. Imperialism is a policy of extending the domain or control of a nation. It is the kind of policy that this Nation has always avoided, and Uncle Sam has never yet tried to gain sovereignty over any other nation, and I do not want to see him attempt it now.

From all the talk you would think it appears to be a very critical situation, and yet the bill for the purpose of aid to Greece. I would like to know just what it is all about, and if some member of the distinguished Foreign Affairs Committee can tell me what our foreign policy is to be, I certainly will be pleased to hear from him.

I yield back the remainder of my time, Mr. Chairman.

(Mr. GAVIN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from North Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, many long years ago Aeschylus, the tragic poet of Greece, said: "He hears but half who hears one party only." During the course of this debate, we have certainly heard more than one party. Many members of both parties have spoken. In this debate we have heard both sides of the important proposition fully and ably discussed. This has been one of the best debates I have ever had the privilege of hearing during my membership in this House. We have had the privilege of hearing many excellent speeches. As I have listened to the debate, I have been very much impressed by the sincerity of each of the speakers. I accord sincerity to all who have spoken. During the course of the debate, however, I have been reminded of one brief sentence uttered by Paul as he stood on Mars-Hill, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious." The distinguished gentleman who has just addressed us appears to be somewhat superstitious and rather suspicious. He still wonders about the foreign policy of our Nation. I believe that for once in the life of this Nation our foreign policy is easily understood and that above all it is now forthright and fearless. I believe that our foreign policy is clearly understood even by the man on the street. I am somewhat surprised to hear Members of Congress stand in this Chamber and express wonder and ask many questions concerning the foreign policy of our Republic. I believe that the foreign policy of our Nation is now generally known by our people.

Today is the second anniversary of victory in Europe. The great conflict which ended 2 years ago today was cruel and costly. In the air, on the land, on the sea, and under the sea, gallant men won great victories; yet today the documents of peace have not been written. In the First World War gallant men won great victories, but the fruits of victory were lost. Woodrow Wilson, our great

and beloved statesman, came back from France with high hopes for world peace, only to die of a broken heart mid the ruined fruits of victories which were won on the fields of carnage and at great cost in blood and treasure. In the First World War men thought that civilization had learned the supreme lesson, but they were mistaken and millions died in vain. While it seems that we must always deal with great uncertainties, it at least appears reasonable to believe that had our Nation followed the admonition and advice of the great Wilson the world would not have been cursed with the cruel conflict which ended in Europe 2 years ago today. We are now wondering whether the fruits of the last great victory will be lost. We are wondering whether those who have been liberated from the yoke of oppression and from the cruel heels of tyranny shall again be immediately enslaved by a bloodless conquest which is sweeping across the earth. One needs only to look at a map to know and to understand what is happening in the world. Shall those who have been liberated be denied the blessings of free government and unfettered elections? Shall the Yalta agreement be a mere "scrap of paper" and a fraud on the people of the world? Shall we abandon the fight for freedom and break faith with those who have so recently died on the altars of freedom? The governing authorities of some nations even now respect only strength—they respect power and despise weakness. If we are to remain strong and powerful, we must at all times be fearlessly frank and eminently fair in our dealings with our own people and with the peoples of the world. I do not like unilateral trading and star-chamber sessions. I agree with Woodrow Wilson that the policy of our Nation should be at all times "open covenants openly arrived at." Can we study recent history and fail to know that we are still living in a world of secret covenants secretly arrived at? Certainly we are not here dealing with an important matter in secrecy. Our policy and our program have been openly announced and loudly proclaimed. We are not engaged in unilateral trading. We are about to make a loan to nations in distress, and nothing we are about to do is incompatible with the letter or the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. The purpose of this loan is known throughout the world, and no nation has a right to challenge us or to question our motives.

Men of great prominence and Members of this House of great influence have stated that America is embarking upon a program of imperialism. Every act in the history of our Nation belies that statement. Certainly Greece and Turkey know and understand the history and the ambitions of America. Neither the people of Greece nor of Turkey question our motives nor fear the consequences of our generosity. Both countries have asked for our help and assistance. If Greece, the very cradle of democracy, should fall, Turkey could not stand alone, and with Turkey would go Italy, and with Italy, would go Europe. If we are to deny this aid and assistance to either Greece or Turkey, we might as well strike out the enacting clause.

While there was no doubt in my mind as to this important proposition, my convictions were fortified during a recent visit to both Greece and Turkey. As you know, I was a member of the delegation of the American Congress which attended the first postwar meeting of the Inter-parliamentary Union which met in Cairo, Egypt, Monday, April 7. The delegation was headed by Senator ALBEN W. BARKLEY and was composed of four Members of the Senate and six Members of this House, equally divided between the members of the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. In returning from Cairo, the delegation had an opportunity to visit Ankara, the new capital of Turkey, and Istanbul, the ancient city of Constantinople; and in Greece we visited the ancient city of Athens. At each place we conferred with members of our own Diplomatic Corps, with ordinary citizens, with members of the press, and with high Government officials of both countries. We had conferences with the Foreign Minister and the Prime Minister of Turkey, and in our conferences with both officials and with members of the press, members of our delegation propounded questions in an effort to obtain, in a short space of time, as much information as possible. We stated at every conference that we were not there for the purpose of answering questions but rather for the purpose of asking questions. I do not believe that any delegation could have obtained more information in the short time at our disposal.

Easter Monday morning I was in Greece. I stood at the Acropolis in the ancient city of Athens and looked down on Mars-Hill on the very spot where Paul stood when he spoke to the men of Athens, and I was conscious of the fact that though I was standing upon the ruins of Greece I was in the land of democracy and among people who loved freedom. In addition to talking with many Greeks, with members of the press, and with diplomats, we conferred with with the Foreign Minister, with the Prime Minister, and with King Paul, and Queen Frederika. I hold no brief for any Greek who in any way collaborated with the Nazis. While I know a little something about the heritage of both King and Queen, I frankly confess that I know very little about their attitudes or action during the recent war. I do not, however, hesitate to say to this House that I believe that King Paul and Queen Frederika are both personally popular and that the Government of Greece is now generally popular. I do not hesitate to express the belief that both Turkey and Greece will fight to the last man in the defense of their territories and in the defense of the integrity of their governments. I believe that every man in our delegation, Republicans and Democrats alike, believes that the people of Turkey hate and despise communism and that the Government of Greece today is even more popular than it was at the time of the death of the late King George. The new King has a pleasing and dynamic personality and is more popular than was his deceased brother. He has at his side Queen Frederika with whose great sim-

plcity and sincerity all of us were impressed. They are both social minded and have taken an active interest in the welfare of the underprivileged boys and girls of Greece. They appear to be anxious to pull their broken nation together and to lead it in the pathways of peace and progress.

The CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I believe that every member of our delegation was very favorably impressed with the attitude of every Greek official with whom we conferred. We were told by our own diplomats of a little incident which might give us an idea of the attitude of the present Queen of Greece. This incident was verified by the Queen herself who discussed it with us freely. She had been advised that the Communists were holding a meeting in some part of Greece. She insisted upon attending the meeting. She said that if they were Communists there must be some reason for it, for they would not be Communists unless they had grievances or causes, and she wanted to know the facts. When she insisted, she was told that it was not the proper thing for her to do, but she was determined to attend the meeting. She went to the meeting and gave them a chance to speak to her, and she in turn addressed them. She told them of her great interest in their problems and of how anxious she was to better their lives. When she had finished her speech was loudly applauded, and she was taken upon the shoulders of those there assembled as evidence of their approval of her attitude and conduct. This incident occurred just before she became Queen. Now both she and King Paul are in a position to vindicate themselves before the people of Greece and before the people of the world. They both seem to realize that they now have a great opportunity to serve the people of their country; yet, they both also seem to appreciate the difficulties to be encountered and the weaknesses of their government when surrounded by the strength of other powerful nations. After all, we must confess that it takes a little courage for a frail woman to go from the home of royalty to a meeting of distressed and complaining citizens or subjects and to discuss with them their plight and their problems.

In the brief space of time allotted to me, I shall not attempt to discuss the many issues involved in this proposition. We know that it may be fraught with dangerous consequences. The future is uncharted. We must have faith, although we know that at this moment our ship of state is sailing on uncertain seas and may even come upon the rocks. I have great mental comfort and satisfaction in the knowledge of the fact that I am doing what I sincerely believe to be right in voting to grant this aid to the

devastated and war-torn country of Greece and to the burdened and distressed people of Turkey. The people of Turkey might not fight communism merely because of their love for America, but I believe that they will fight to the last man for the integrity and freedom of their own nation, and I further believe that both the Turks and the Greeks will prove worthy of the confidence we are about to place in them by granting them this loan.

If our foreign policy is to stop communism, we had better stop it in the Black Sea, at the Bosphorus, in the Sea of Marmora, or at the Dardanelles, or at some place far distant from our own shores. Here we are dealing with a vital spot in this world. These helpless people will be easy prey to communism without the aid and assistance which we are here about to give them.

Our brave men fought for freedom, and to the institutions of freedom we are devoted. If we fought for freedom, are we not at least willing to try to keep men free?

Byron once wrote a poem which is an inspiration to those who have looked so recently upon the land of Greece:

The mountains look on Marathon
And Marathon looks on the sea;
And musing there an hour alone
I dream'd that Greece might still be free.
For standing on the Persians' grave
I could not deem myself a slave.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has again expired.

(Mr. COOLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last 12 words.

(Mr. KEATING asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, in this momentous debate, so far reaching in its implications, sincere and conscientious legislators on both sides of the aisle are to be found arrayed in opposition. Here is no place for bitterness, for recriminations, for name calling—least of all, for attempt at political advantage. A great responsibility faces each one of us. We must each meet it squarely and unflinchingly.

It is true that the distinguished members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who have held 17 meetings on this bill and listened to volumes of testimony, are deserving not only of our gratitude for a conscientious job well done, but also, it seems to me, to a rather unusual degree of our confidence in the conclusions at which they have arrived. With only 1 negative vote they have urged the speedy enactment of this legislation. Their searching investigation, however, does not relieve us of our duty to study and analyze this great question.

The principal objections to this measure, at least those which have troubled me the most, are these:

First, it is said that this is a step which will lead to war. If I felt for one moment that such would be the effect of my affirmative vote, I could never support this bill. One who has actually seen the unspeakable carnage and devastation of

armed conflict, hates war, and loves peace with an unmatched passion. Although great uncertainty beclouds the future, no matter what our action here may be, it is my considered judgment that our extension of this aid to these two countries in our effort to thwart the disruption of their internal economy and their seizure by minority groups inspired by outside pressures, is the most important step, at the moment, which we can take looking toward international peace and stability. It must be apparent by now that plain speaking, backed up by forthright action is the only language which some of the nations with whom we deal seem to understand. A policy of appeasement, a querulous, weak-kneed attitude, will never work. Strength is what they understand and what they respect. Therefore, it seems to me, that such a demonstration of our firm resolve to assist those independent countries which stand in the way of further expansionist aggression is the mightiest blow we can today strike for peace.

Second, it is said this procedure bypasses the United Nations. This argument is made, not alone by those with ulterior motives for whom it is purely an alibi, but by many sincere critics of the program. To the extent that these opponents say that steps should have been taken before, or simultaneously with the submission of this matter to the Congress, to present it to the United Nations, I am in agreement. That step was taken after we were asked to act. How much better it would have been to have done so before. Of course, it would have been futile as it is now for two reasons: One, because the United Nations has not yet the funds nor is it yet functioning to meet such a situation as is here presented, and two, any such action as that here contemplated would be blocked by the veto of a single power.

It is exceedingly important, however, that we do nothing to undermine and everything to strengthen the United Nations. Such an organization is our only hope for a permanent and enduring peace. I have on many occasions said, and I reiterate it now, that I believe wholeheartedly in the principles of this international organization and yield to no one in my fervent desire to see it work. It is my hope that the action which we take in Greece and Turkey will be limited to that which would have the approval of the United Nations if that organization were presently set up to function.

In this bill as originally drawn, I was greatly worried about this proposition. I am not at all sure that I could have supported the measure as originally recommended by the President. It seems to me, however, that by the amendment which is now a part of this bill, whereby the President is directed to cease the program of aid to these countries at any time when he is notified by the United Nations that the continuance of such assistance is deemed unnecessary or undesirable, as to which this country waives any right of veto, effectively takes care of any objection that the United Nations is being ignored or in any way bypassed. True, one country alone cannot, through sinister motives, prevent the continuance

of this aid, but if a majority of the nations of the world, which have associated themselves together in this international organization, determine that we do not need to or should not go further, and they so notify us, we must stop. Although that is to some degree a surrender of a measure of sovereignty, in this world now so compact and so interdependent, we should not complain of this restriction on our unfettered action. This amendment completely negatives any claim that we in this country stand for unilateral, as opposed to joint and mutual action.

Third, it is contended that we cannot afford this expenditure. My answer to that is we cannot afford not to extend this aid. True, we must maintain a sound domestic economy. We are committed to reduction in the expenses of government. I have supported measures to that end. I shall continue to do so. But I cannot believe that our national economy and stability hangs by so tenuous a thread that the expenditure here contemplated will bring upon us the disaster which some have pictured. If my original thesis is correct, that this is an important step toward peace, as I devoutly pray and firmly believe it is, it is certainly peace at a modest price. Measured alone in dollars and cents, it represents an expenditure of approximately \$1 for every \$850 spent by this country winning World War II. That does not mean, of course, that we can do this thing 850 times without ruining our country, any more than we could go through another war without the same result, but these figures should serve to give us a perspective toward the problem we are now facing. No one can say with certainty that this plan will succeed, but it does seem to me far from accurate to depict this program as a fatal blow at the vital and vigorous economy of our Nation.

Fourth, it is said that we should not use our resources to bolster up or strengthen reactionary undemocratic foreign governments. I hold no brief for the regimes now in control of either Greece or Turkey. They are far from perfect. They, by no means, represent the choice of leaders or governmental systems whom freedom-loving Americans would voluntarily select. Our representatives should insist, as I believe they have a right to do, without being charged with improper interference in the internal affairs of another nation, upon a clear demonstration that the governments of those countries are the choice of a clear majority of the people. But the reason I am for this bill is not because it helps Greece and Turkey, but because it helps the United States. It is unfortunate that the only vehicle through which this aid, extended in our own enlightened self-interest, can be accomplished, is not more to our liking, but we must operate with the tools which we have, fortified by the very substantial provisions for our protection incorporated in section 3 of this bill, requiring free access to United States observers to assure the effective utilization of our assistance, permission to representatives of the press and radio to report fully, prohibition against

transfer without consent of any article or disclosure of any information to one not an agent of the government concerned, prohibition against the use of any such financial aid to make payment on any loan made by any other foreign power, and an injunction upon each government concerned that it must give full and continuous publicity as to the scope and progress of our economic assistance. These are all assurances which the governments of Greece and Turkey must give, and in default or breach of which our aid shall be withdrawn.

Finally, it is contended that this measure represents a committal of this Nation to a policy of imperialistic expansion which is contrary to and violative of American tradition. Only a tiny minority in this country voices this objection, to only an infinitesimal fraction of whom I am willing to concede sincerity of motive. This is the argument of those who see so much to condemn in the United States and so much to commend in the Soviet Union. We have no territorial ambitions. No thinking American seeks to establish an empire beyond the seas. Never in all history has any nation interested herself in the welfare of the peoples and stability of the governments of foreign areas with loftier motives or more unselfish purposes. Our only self-serving objective is the creation in this world, whose oneness daily becomes more and more apparent with dramatic clarity, of a universal condition of peace, tranquillity, and security wherein all peoples may live together in mutual friendliness, forbearance, and tolerance. To ascribe to the proponents of this legislation an aim at world domination by an imperialistic United States is a figment of wild imagination and a creature of subversive rationalization.

I have discussed and attempted to point out the weaknesses in the principal objections to this bill because they are admittedly troublesome and because any one of them, if firmly entrenched in a Member's mind, is sufficient cause to justify him in a negative vote. Again I say this is not an easy decision, but from those who oppose the program I ask a constructive alternative. Somewhere, some time, we must check the forces of expanding aggression, the existence of which no thinking person can deny. We can do it now in Greece and Turkey, or we can do it later, at some other place; indeed, we can wait until those forces threaten our own shores. I, for one, prefer to take a position now. Not one of militancy, but of firmness and determination. In that course lies our greatest hope for peace.

By this bill we will buy time, time to put our own house in order and root out or at least subject to the pitiless glare of publicity those elements in our domestic economy and our own Government who would disrupt and destroy our way of life to substitute another, time to build a United Nations organization which can effectively function in like crises, time to establish and fortify with adequate safeguards the international control of atomic energy, time, I pray to God, for nations to become more acutely aware

of the utter futility of armed struggle and the necessity, if we are to survive, for the establishment of a practical, workable, enforceable program of international disarmament.

My conviction that this measure should pass will lead me not only to vote for it but to vote against crippling amendments which would undermine the program. That is not to say that I shall support none of the amendments which may be offered. One which I intend to offer or to support, if offered by some other Member, and which I have been hopeful might have the support of the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who have so diligently and faithfully studied this problem, would limit the number of military and naval personnel in either Greece or Turkey to 100. The witnesses who appeared before the committee testified that it was contemplated to send not more than 70 to Greece and probably a lesser number to Turkey. The limitation I propose gives an adequate leeway. The adoption of such an amendment would serve to show to the world, if our protestations have not carried conviction, that there is no intention, under any circumstances, to send combat forces into these countries. We all concede, I believe, that such a policy would be fraught with perilous possibilities. We must permit no loophole whereby the military minded might, under any circumstances, take a step to involve this Nation so deeply that it could not, with honor, extricate itself short of war. We, as a Congress, must not, by indirection, delegate our responsibility in that regard.

Finally, when all is said and done, we are faced today not with a theoretical problem but with a fact. Our President has announced to the world, whether we agree with him or not, that he is asking the Congress to meet, at this time and in a specific place, a direct and definite threat to the peace and security of the world. He has stated that on the 12th day of March our policy of appeasement is at an end. For this Congress to repudiate him and the statement which has echoed around the globe would be a declaration that we are a divided nation would be an open invitation to further aggressive tactics and would be, in my judgment, a devastating blow, not to the President, not to the Democratic Party, but to the position of world leadership whose mantle is now ours, and to the future peace, security, and well-being of every man, woman, and child who proudly claims this great Nation as his own.

[From the Washington Post]

ATTENTION TO REALITIES

Members of the House who are still arguing that the protection of Greek and Turkish independence should be left to the United Nations might well ponder events since the proclamation of the Truman doctrine. Secretary Marshall has asked them to bear in mind the failure of the Moscow Conference. This failure demonstrated that the Russians are betting that the drift they are inducing will wind up in a catastrophe which will expand the area of communism. Encouragement of drift is to be seen in other matters which await Russia's participation. For instance, look at what is happening to the UN's European Commission. This was set up belatedly to study European reconstruction, and got under way only after

Russia's satellites, alarmed over the end of UNRRA, pushed Russia into it. It is meeting currently in Geneva. A wrangle is going on there on the perpetuation of the bodies which are the only means available for holding Europe together as an economic entity. The immediate subject of argument is the transport organization. According to the New York Times' correspondent, Russia is seeking to kill it. The inference cannot be resisted that Russia is seeking to use the European Commission, not to put Europe to work, but to prevent other people from doing so.

As we have said several times already, the United Nations has neither the finance nor the police to do what is required in the Near East. The recent report of the military staff committee of the United Nations makes for doubt, indeed, whether the UN as at present organized will ever be in such a position. It is this committee that was intended to put force at the disposal of the world organization. But a wide area of disagreement between Russia and the west is reported by the military staff committee. The Russians are revealed as not ready to contribute a contingent or a base to the United Nations on a permanent basis for the purpose of building up a unit which could be trained as a United Nations unit for police work. They object even to interchange of military information. Distrust of world organization could not be better demonstrated than in this military staff report. The United Nations is thus being hogtied from acting as anything more than a hortatory body. In these circumstances, if we were to leave it to the United Nations to attend to the Greek and Turkish requests for aid, we should, in fact, be making the idlest of idle gestures. It would be dangerous living for this Nation to trust an organization which is not able to develop any teeth or any authority to look after our national security, for that is what is involved in the Greco-Turkish bill.

Nor can we even rely upon the United Nations to do the elementary job of finding out the facts. The Balkan committee of the United Nations has had a trying time in investigating the border situation in Greece. It is now in Geneva engaged in writing its report. In early April the Post wrote of the need to keep the border under observation, and on April 18 the Security Council authorized the Balkan committee to return a subcommittee for that purpose. Now comes the news that Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania will not work with this subcommittee. Albania refuses even to recognize it. Yet, in the face of this progressive sabotage of the United Nations, some Americans are still taken in by Muscovite charges that, in responding to Greek and Turkish requests for economic and military aid (the pattern of which, incidentally, has been set in Russia's own pacts with her satellites), we should, in some mysterious way, be bypassing the United Nations. We hope the House in the vote on Greco-Turkish aid will have the wisdom that comes from attention to realities, and think of it as self-aid.

[From the New York Times]

A CHALLENGE TO UN

A serious challenge to the authority of the United Nations has come from three of Russia's Balkan satellites—Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania. These countries have served notice on the Balkans Investigating Commission, created by the Security Council to investigate violations of the Greek border, that they will refuse to work with the Commission's subsidiary group authorized by the Security Council to continue surveillance of the border until the Council can act, and will in particular bar this group from their territories, where the border violations originate. Albania, which has been playing hide-and-

seek with the United Nations, says that it refuses even to recognize the subsidiary group.

The issue arose as a result of the Security Council's adoption on April 18 of an American proposal to the effect that, pending a new decision by the Council, the Investigating Commission, now drafting its report in Geneva, "shall maintain in the area concerned a subsidiary group composed of a representative of each of the members of the Commission to continue to fulfill such functions as the Commission may prescribe in accordance with its terms of reference." The Commission's terms of reference, as laid down in the Security Council's resolution of December 19, 1946, explicitly authorized it to conduct its investigation in such territory in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia as the Commission considered necessary, and to call upon the governments, officials, and nationals of those countries for relevant information. Despite this, Yugoslavia now takes the lead in barring all further surveillance beyond the Greek frontier.

Under article 25 of the United Nations Charter all members agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The Investigating Commission has promptly referred the Balkan challenge to the Council, and the Council's decision will go far toward determining its authority.

In this incident we have another answer to those who charge that in trying to aid Greece the United States is bypassing the United Nations. The bypassing is being done elsewhere. And the clear evidence of that fact should be taken to heart by every Congressman trying to make up his mind how to vote on the Greek-Turkish aid bill now before the House.

[From the Washington Evening Star of March 27, 1947]

OVERSELLING THE UN

The language of Trygve Lie's appeal for the submission of all international problems to the United Nations "even when the most vital national interests are at stake" was somewhat ambiguous. But if he intended what his statement has been interpreted to mean—namely, that the problem of aiding Greece and Turkey should have been submitted to the UN—then he has done a disservice to President Truman's effort in behalf of those countries and, perhaps more importantly, to the United Nations itself.

Mr. Lie, Secretary General of the UN, did not mention Greece or Turkey by name. He did say, however, that "the bedrock on which the United Nations can build solidly and securely for the future" is a readiness of members to resort to the UN and to live up to its "solemn principles and purposes."

From this language, two inferences can be drawn. One is that he was rebuking President Truman for moving directly to aid the governments of Greece and Turkey without recourse to the UN. And the other is that the UN would have been competent to deal with the problem if it had been dropped in its lap.

So far as the first point is concerned, there is not a great deal to be said except that its effect, if it has any effect, will be to hamper the effort which this Government is making to check the spread of Communist-dominated regimes into the eastern Mediterranean. If Mr. Lie believes that any useful purpose can be served by this, it can hardly be denied that he has the right to express himself. But the implication that submission of the case to the UN would have enabled that institution to "build solidly and securely for the future" is another matter.

The trouble with this is that the UN is not even remotely competent at this time to deal with an issue like that involved in the Greco-Turkish question. It has no funds for loans to either Government. It has no facilities for extending any kind of military

assistance to those Governments. And, most important of all, the Russian representative on the Security Council, by the exercise of his veto, could prevent the extension of any aid, even if the UN were capable of assisting.

For Mr. Lie to ignore these plain facts, and to talk at the same time about building solidly and securely for the future, is merely to play with words, for the strong probability is that submission of the question to the UN, far from strengthening that agency, would tend to wreck it.

One of the troubles with the UN today is that it has been "oversold." Through the medium of loose statements many people have acquired a grossly exaggerated notion of the contribution to peace and security which the organization is capable of making at this time. The danger of this is that when the truth becomes generally known there will be cynical reaction in this country that will seriously undermine American support for the UN. This is something that Mr. Lie and others, who seem disposed to overplay their hands, would do well to keep in mind.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I did not spend Easter Sunday as did the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY] hobnobbing with Greek Royalists. I believe his sincerity but I do know, however, that there have been various official reports concerning the very corrupt and undemocratic Government of Greece, and I do happen to know that Fredericka, the present Queen of Greece, consort of Paul, was a Nazi, a direct descendant of Kaiser Wilhelm. She is not going to change overnight, and I am not going to take my impressions about the Greek Government from royalty and others having royalty opinions in the city of Athens. He talked to officials and even the press but all of them probably held to their prejudices and bias in favor of the royal couple. I would rather go into the very heart of Greece and talk to the peasants and get their reactions as to the bribery and the corruption and the coercion that exists in the Greek Government.

But, aside from that, my inclination has been to vote for this bill, but I had grave doubts as to the wishes of my constituents. I received many conflicting reports in the form of telegrams, letters and verbal communications, and I determined to take a poll. I secured from the Board of Elections of New York City an exact list of all the voters of my district, and I sent to every election precinct or district 150 ballots. In all, I sent out 24,000 ballots to my district on which was printed the following:

I favor financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey. I do not favor financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

The constituent was asked to check one of the two questions, affix his signature, and address, and mail back the ballot to me. Not more than one questionnaire or ballot was sent to each family.

I have received in my office thus far almost 5,000 returns; over 20 percent. I have spoken to direct-mail advertisers, and they tell me that is a very excellent return. The result of the poll showed that my constituents oppose decidedly military and financial aid to Greece and Turkey. For every return indicating

approval of such aid there are three cards indicating disapproval; in other words, my district is opposed to this loan in the ratio of 3 to 1.

It is interesting to note that in hundreds of instances the vote is in favor of financial, but not military aid. Others favored such aid provided it was channelled through and controlled by the United Nations. Hundreds wished to eliminate Turkey from the terms of the bill. Hundreds of others opposed the aid because of the autocratic governments of Turkey and Greece.

The following conclusions are inescapable:

The preponderant majority of my constituents do not favor financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

They would favor it if only financial aid were advanced, if it were channelled through and controlled by the United Nations, and if Greece and Turkey were truly democratic countries.

The poll was taken without any advance publicity. Pressure groups could not have exercised any undue influence because the greatest number of returns came in the first few days after mailing. The vote was consistently 3 to 1 against the loan throughout the daily count. That ratio did not vary.

I was put to considerable expense to conduct this poll. I deemed it worth while, however. My district is just as intelligent as the district of any other Member. My people are just as alert and awake. I desire to represent my people. That is my duty. Despite the preponderance of view against the bill, I tried to argue with many of my constituents, I tried to change their view but could not. They are my last court of resort. Their view must prevail against my inclination to support the administration especially when opposition is on a 3-to-1 basis.

If the imbalance had been say 1 to 1½, or even 1 to 2, I would have allowed my tendency to vote for this bill to bear the weight in favor of the aid, but I cannot buck up against a tide of 3 to 1 against that aid. Therefore, unless the amendments to be offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] are carried, I must perforce vote against the bill.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, after the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] is disposed of, I expect to offer a series of amendments, the first amendment on removing the military provisions of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I am revolted by the sham and hypocrisy of the so-called Greek-Turkish aid program. The American people feel a warm and generous sympathy for the courageous Greeks who drove the Nazi invaders from their soil and who have suffered so much both at the hands of foreign oppressors and domestic tyrants. But the administration is using those sympathies to drum up support for a program which will not help the brave Greeks so much as it will give aid and comfort to their oppressors. If the Greeks are starving—and I have no doubt they are—why is the major

portion of the appropriation destined for military purposes rather than relief? If our goal is the economic rehabilitation of Greece, surely this requires a long-term and well-thought-out program, a program in which other nations as well as ourselves should participate. Instead, we propose to put weapons in the hands of the Naziphile Greek Government, to shoot down those very Greeks who were most militant in resisting the Axis forces, who endured incredible hardship while their King luxuriated in Claridge's Hotel in London. I have misgivings even about the smaller sum which is destined for relief. In the past relief for Greece has been gobbled up by the rich men of Athens, protected by an archaic system of taxation and foreign-exchange laws which permit them to send all their wealth out of the country for safekeeping. It is for the benefit of these rich idlers that American taxpayers are being mulcted.

And what of this noble impartiality which with the same hand lavishes gifts upon Greece and upon Greece's traditional enemies the Turks, persecutors of Greek Christians as well as Jews for thousands of years? If the Turks are suffering anything, it is indigestion over the swollen profits they amassed during the war by gouging the Allies for every ton of wheat and every pound of chrome. I tell you it is absurd and odious for us to pretend that we are helping to establish democracy and prosperity in Europe when we ally ourselves with the craven and corrupt Greek monarchy, and give generous gifts to Turkish war profiteers.

It is true, Mr. Chairman, that the Greek people are in great need. But they are not going to be helped by sending them guns and tanks. There have been too many guns and tanks in Greece already. The corrupt Greek monarchy has been maintained in power by guns and tanks—by British guns and tanks and by American lend-lease guns and tanks in the hands of the British. When the British took over in Athens they were ruthless in their determination that any opposition to the monarchy—a monarchy that served the interests of the British—should be suppressed. Greeks were forbidden to hold public meetings. Newspapers could not be published without British permission and British censorship of their contents. A curfew was proclaimed between 7 p. m. and 7 a. m.—no Greeks were allowed on the streets of Athens between those hours.

An American in Athens in late 1944 has reported an example of just how this curfew was enforced. A little Greek vendor of odds and ends—some cigarettes, bits of wire, shoe laces, and other trifles which were very precious and rare in Nazi-pillaged Athens—had an orange crate on the corner opposite the hotel in which the UNRRA mission was billeted. A customer stopped about 5 minutes to 7 p. m. The American watched the transaction from the window of the Acropole Palace Hotel to see the bushels of drachma notes change hands. One hundred billion drachmas equaled about 1½ cents in American money. There were few one hundred billion notes and

payments were made in millions, one billion, five billion and such notes. The counting of fistfuls of paper took time. The customer left with his cigarettes about 7. At 7:03 the little Greek tradesman was busy packing his stock into his orange crate when a British patrol car came by. There was no questioning. There was no arrest. The patrol turned its machine gun on this "law-violator" and riddled his body with bullets. In the spot where he had tried to make his meager living was a pool of blood and bits of flesh scattered over the pavement. This was British enforcement of "law and order" in the early stages. The repression by the British grew more widespread as time went on.

I say, Mr. Chairman, that there have already been too many American guns in the hands of the British and in the hands of the Greek monarchy imposed by the British. I say, Mr. Chairman, that the United States should have no part in bolstering up a corrupt monarchy which could not last 5 minutes in Greece without outside help. I say that if we are going to ship relief to Greece let us ship relief and not guns.

Mr. Chairman, I want to say further that if we do send relief to Greece we should see that it gets to the Greek people, and not to the royalist clique. What happened to the foodstuffs which the United States sent to Greece? What happened was that they were sold for fancy prices to the few wealthy Greeks around the King and his circle, and the people of Greece continued to die in the streets.

American members of the UNRRA mission have reported that the only place that they saw lend-lease food from the United States was at royalist cocktail parties. Chicago sausages, California sardines, American cheese were lavishly served at cocktail parties while the people of Greece wasted away from starvation.

The Greek monarchy helped to finance itself by the sale of American food at exorbitant prices. The Greek Government does not believe in taxes. To this day it raises a large part of its revenue through the sale of relief supplies—supplies for which the people of the United States have taxed themselves to give to the poor of Greece.

I say, Mr. Chairman, that we should not send guns to Greece. I say that if we send food we should see that it gets into the hands of the people who need it and not into the hands of a corrupt monarchy.

I have heard many Members who are in favor of this speak of Greek freedom and Greek democracy. There is no democracy in Greece. The gentleman from North Carolina spoke of visiting the ruling princes of Turkey and Greece. He saw the wrong people.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman made the statement that the delegation went to Athens and conferred with the wrong people. Can he think of anyone better to confer with than our own diplomatic corps who were there at the time and with the press, including representatives of the American press, and with the officers of the Greek Government and citizens of Greece? We were only there a short time. I am not attempting to speak as an authority on Greek affairs.

Mr. BENDER. Will my friend tell me how long he was in Greece?

Mr. COOLEY. We were there 2 days and nights. We conferred with these people and did not waste a minute in our effort to obtain information.

Mr. BENDER. Did the gentleman confer with any of the poor people of Greece who are starving?

Mr. COOLEY. Yes; we certainly did. We spoke to representatives of the poor people. The gentleman seems to be objecting to the fact that we accepted an invitation from the King and Queen of Greece. I regret that the gentleman was not along with us because I think he would have accepted the same invitation.

Mr. BENDER. Frankly, I am glad I was not because I am not given to dining and winning with royalty. I am just an ordinary citizen from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Does not this projected program in effect set the United States up as the dictator of Greece?

Mr. BENDER. The gentleman states a fact.

You know when we go into this business we are like the fellow who was going into the rabbit business on a very small scale. But the rabbits would not cooperate and pretty soon he was in a big business. That is exactly what we are doing here.

The gentleman from New York spoke of \$400,000,000. This is just the beginning. When Britain pulls out of India next year, we will have 400,000,000 Indians on our hands. God only knows what that policy will result in. When the French come in next year with their hands out, and the British come in again before this year is up for more money, then we are in the same position as the fellow who wanted to go into the rabbit business on a very small scale. You cannot operate on a small scale and our economy cannot stand the impact of the cost of this.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. BUFFETT. The proponents of this program are not honest enough and do not dare to come here and tell us the whole story for they know it would be defeated. Is that not correct?

Mr. BENDER. They know that, and they would not come here and ask us at one time to provide all the money that is required.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, we have had very illuminating debate on this first amendment. I am wondering if we cannot make an arrangement to come to an end on this one amendment. I want to give everybody a chance to speak but there will be plenty of opportunity on other amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman submit a request at this time?

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest to the gentleman that I think the debate on the amendment is over, so long as the Members know there is no stopping of debate on the section. It seems to me the Chair might put the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will state that the pending amendment is the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. REED of New York. May the amendment be read?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will again report the amendment.

There being no objection, the Clerk again reported the amendment offered by Mrs. DOUGLAS.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I understand the Red Cross bill is on the Speaker's desk for signature.

I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 2616, had come to no resolution thereon.

SENATE ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled bill of the Senate of the following title:

S. 591. An act to amend the act of January 5, 1905, to incorporate the American National Red Cross.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2616.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2616, with Mr. CASE of South Dakota in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. BENDER and Mrs. DOUGLAS rose.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose does the gentlewoman from California rise?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. DOUGLAS: On page 2, line 24, insert the following additional clause:

"Provided, however, That none of the aid herein authorized for Turkey shall be furnished until the President shall have advised the Congress that the United States has requested the appropriate agency of the United Nations to inquire into conditions in Turkey and to take such action, if any, as may be necessary to safeguard the national integrity of Turkey, and that the United Nations has failed within 1 year after the enactment hereof to take action which in the President's judgment is adequate for that purpose."

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, it is proposed in this bill to provide assistance to Greece and Turkey. It seems perfectly obvious that the conditions prevailing in these two countries are not the same. Greece is in the midst of civil conflict, Turkey is not.

Facts have been presented to the committee to show that Greece is in extreme need of aid. The facts show that Turkey is not in imminent economic peril or in dire need of outside assistance. Turkey at the beginning of the war had somewhere around \$45,000,000 in gold. Her total gold and foreign exchange resources today stand at \$245,000,000. Of this \$227,000,000 is in gold.

When we talk about aid to Turkey we are talking about military aid. There is no evidence that economic aid is needed in Turkey or that the Government of the United States expects to extend economic aid to her. We are falling into the ancient error, it seems to me, of preparing for war without attending the issues which create war.

The amendment which I now offer is motivated by my unshakable conviction that military assistance to Turkey is a problem for the consideration of the United Nations and not for the consideration of any single country or group of countries however unselfish and benevolent their intentions.

The Vandenberg amendment reflects our grave uneasiness and doubt in embarking upon a foreign policy of military assistance to Turkey in the absence of sufficient evidence made available to the American people or Members of Congress justifying the widely publicized conclusion that Turkey is imperiled by outside pressures.

What are the facts to buttress our position committing the Nation to so grave a step? I do not say there are no facts; I say that we have not yet learned those facts. I say, too, that the United Nations alone is in a position to make an impartial examination into all the truth of Turkey's claims and to make the facts available.

What I propose in my amendment is wholly consistent with the purposes underlying Senator VANDENBERG's amendment. It goes further, however, in that instead of saying that the United States will do so-and-so unless the United Nations at some later date says "No," my amendment says that the United States will not do so unless the United Nations fails to take action within a specified period of time. There is a vast difference between steaming ahead on our own subject to countermanding orders from the United Nations and giving the United Nations in the first instance precisely the kind of responsibility it was set up to discharge.

I urge taking the question of Turkey to the United Nations. Let me remind you that the reason we propose giving military aid to Turkey is to help Turkey maintain her army so that she can resist outside pressures. I say we should bring the matter of outside pressures on Turkey before the Security Council which was set up to establish and maintain the peace of the world.

Russia has no right to bring the kind of pressure against Turkey which requires Turkey to maintain an army she cannot afford. If she is doing so she should be called to account. And she should be called to account for her actions before the nations of the world.

I am not against aid to Turkey, if the reasons for aid are clearly spelled out before the world's tribunal, the United Nations.

What we are doing if we give military aid to Turkey, is to say to Russia, "Here is 10 cents on the dollar, we will put down the other 90 cents if it is needed." We say further, "We are backing the national integrity of Turkey and that Russia had better not bring undue pressure upon her in the settlement of the Dardanelles question," because it is the Dardanelles we are talking about in this bill in its relation to Turkey.

Mr. Chairman, we can express our interest in the Dardanelles just as well in the Security Council of the United Nations or in the General Assembly of the United Nations as we can by giving Turkey money to maintain her army and not forfeit the moral leadership that is ours and ought to be ours in the world. We run no risk by carrying the alleged Turkish problem to the United Nations. If Russian forces rolled over the Turkish border we would be at war. The sum of \$100,000,000 which we propose to give to the Turkish Army in this bill would accomplish nothing. The Turkish Army could not stop the Russian Army.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Is my understanding correct that if the question were taken to the Security Council it must be by an unanimous vote of the Big Five?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, answering the gentleman from Massachusetts, I say "No." Neither in the Security Council nor in the General Assembly can the discussion of any subject be barred. The only time that the veto works is when direct action must be taken by the Security Council. The United Nations forced the Russian troops to leave Iran with no more power than they have now. If the Russians rolled over the border of Turkey, I would say to the gentleman from Massachusetts we are in war.

We have an interest in the Dardanelles. I do not question that interest, but we can express that interest as well in the Security Council or in the General Assembly of the United Nations as by giving aid to the Turkish Army. We should work through the world organization which we helped create, and in which, I am convinced, lies the one hope of peace for the world. We can always do what we propose to do here if the United Nations fails to act.

My amendment provides that the President shall instruct the United States delegate to the United Nations to request the United Nations to study conditions in Turkey and to evaluate the contentions of the Turkish Government insofar as they purport to show that the national integrity of Turkey is threatened by pressures from outside sources.

No group is better qualified to judge the Turkish position and to weight the reality underlying Turkey's alleged fears than the United Nations. For such purposes was the United Nations established and only if it discharges these functions vigorously and with the full cooperation of the United States can the world preserve the hope of lasting peace.

The amendment allows a period of 1 year during which the President of the United States is to get this train of actions under way. If within that time the United Nations acts, presumably the President will await its report before deciding on the next step. If, on the other hand, the United Nations signifies that it is unwilling or unable to accede to our request, the President upon advising Congress of the fact is thereafter at liberty, within his discretion, to furnish such military assistance to Turkey as is authorized in the bill before us.

One final word. The issue in the Turkish question is the problem of the future of the Dardanelles. At Yalta and at Tehran the United States and Great Britain solemnly pledged their assistance to the U. S. S. R. in bringing about a revision of the Montreux Convention, which gives Turkey its present stranglehold on the straits. The problem has not been settled; not even fully considered or debated formally among the interested powers. It will not be settled—on the contrary it can only be complicated and confounded by unilateral action on our part. It can only be settled by the United Nations since it is a problem of vital concern to the peace of the world. The amendment I propose seeks this solution. Let it be arrived at by a world tribunal prepared to examine and evaluate competing claims to get at the facts and to do equity. Let the United Nations decide and let the United States be the leader in championing this course.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

(Mrs. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute to the amendment offered by the gentleman from California.

The Clerk read as follows:

Page 2, line 24, after paragraph 5, insert "Provided, however, That the President, not-

withstanding the assistance furnished to any country hereunder, is directed to initiate proceedings, unless such proceedings have theretofore already been instituted to bring to the attention of the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations, any situation which threatens the territorial integrity or political independence of any country assisted hereunder and makes necessary the maintenance of fully mobilized forces by such country."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, it is the purpose of my amendment at this moment to juxtapose the choice before the committee and that is the reason this is brought up as a substitute for the amendment offered by the gentleman from California. My amendment says that we shall aid Greece and Turkey now, but simultaneously with such aid the President shall take the action provided by the Charter of the United Nations in cases where a situation exists likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and this is exactly such a situation. The gentleman's amendment proposes that we shall wait a year, giving the Security Council an opportunity to decide this issue before we do anything. Obviously, if we wait until that time, we will be defeating the purpose of this particular legislation.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Not wait 1 year; wait 6 months.

Mr. JAVITS. I beg the gentleman's pardon.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I think it is very necessary that the Committee understand clearly the difference between the approach the gentleman from California is making to this question and the approach being made by the gentleman from New York. They both seem to do the same thing, and both seem to be something that this Committee endorses and supports, and that is to bring in at the proper time and in the proper manner the United Nations to determine the extent of these outside pressures being exerted upon the Turkish border, and to determine whether or not the United Nations is able to carry out its mandate and its authority to correct that kind of disturbance. But I believe that we should support the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York as a substitute because it does provide now that we go right ahead, as we are expected to do under the present proposal, and make this relief available, and that puts a few extra teeth into the Vandenberg amendment by assuring the world that we propose to go before the United Nations and call attention to these outside pressures, and solicit the support of right-minded people throughout the world to bring those pressures to an end. It in no wise cripples the purpose of the basic legislation but it does bring the United Nations in specifically as the Vandenberg amendment would do it more generally.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the gentleman. May I point out that there is a doctrine in this legislation. The legislation itself, insofar as Greece and Turkey are concerned, it has been clearly shown, is a stopgap. It is designed to stop a situation which it is said cannot be controlled in any other way. But the doctrine that is in this bill is the Vandenberg doctrine. What is that doctrine? It is that while we keep the situation in the world from deteriorating further we at the same time, though we are the greatest and most powerful nation on earth, subject ourselves to the judgments of the United Nations. We demonstrate in this way our faith in the United Nations and our will to make it the strongest force for peace among the nations. The League of Nations was wrecked because no powerful nation would accept as binding upon itself the judgments of the League. We must not repeat that mistake.

The Vandenberg amendment is a condition subsequent, in other words, it says that when the United Nations asks us to stop assisting any country because it is unnecessary or undesirable we will do so. But this amendment is a condition precedent because we say at the same time that we go in and do something which we have to do, which there is no one else to do, we invite you, the United Nations, to consider our action, the situation which brought it about, and what can be done to deal with that situation. That is the purpose of my amendment, and I believe it is part and parcel with the Vandenberg doctrine.

May I call the attention of the Committee to the provisions of the United Charter itself which envisage this very situation. Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4 of the United Nations Charter, read as follows:

3. All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. JAVITS. We are coming to the aid of Greece and Turkey because we say there are threats to their territorial integrity or political independence. Those are exactly matters with which the Charter charges the United Nations, and therefore under this amendment we have both lines of action going forward together. We stop deterioration of the international situation which cannot be stopped now in any other fashion, and at the same time we subordinate ourselves to the judgment and activities of the United Nations by asking it to proceed in the same situation. This has already been done in Greece. The charges by Greece that her northern neighbors,

Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, have invaded her northern border are under investigation by a United Nations Commission. The same thing has not been done in Turkey. If the external pressures on Turkey are too subtle for detection by the United Nations, then those pressures are too subtle for detection by the United States. Therefore, the United States should agree that there are external pressures that may be considered by the United Nations, while the United States comes forward with the material means by which the condition of the countries it proposes to assist can be stopped from further deterioration now.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I want to compliment the gentleman on his amendment. As I understand it, what it does is to take away the curse of unilateral action and bring about a more multilateral action on the part of this country in connection, insofar as possible, with the United Nations.

Mr. JAVITS. I thank the gentleman. That is exactly my intention.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. But we do proceed without referring it to the United Nations.

Mr. JAVITS. I beg the gentleman's pardon; we refer it to the United Nations and proceed at the same time.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. In that respect, is it not a good argument from the standpoint of Russia to say that we are the aggressors?

Mr. JAVITS. No, sir, because we submit ourselves to the mandate of the United Nations. How can an aggressor submit himself to the United Nations and still be considered an aggressor?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I understood the gentleman to say that we proceed according to this act and at the same time we place this entire matter in the Security Council of the United Nations.

Mr. JAVITS. Or the General Assembly.

Mr. BLOOM. The Security Council, according to the Charter, is the only part of the United Nations that has a right to proceed in this manner. There must be some danger. This matter we are proceeding on now is an internal matter. It has nothing to do with an outside danger, like the border episodes that exist today in Greece. Nothing like that exists in Turkey. You cannot at the same time proceed under the legislation we have before us now and ask the Security Council of the United Nations to proceed. That is impossible, because as soon as we go to the United Nations and ask them to proceed with reference to Turkey, then we are a party to it. If we make a complaint to the United Nations that the peace and security of

the world is threatened by the actions in Turkey, we are destroying everything.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for two additional minutes. I should like to have this cleared up.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Turkey has requested of the United States that we go in and help it at this time. If we say to the United Nations as to Turkey, "This is not a unilateral agreement at all you take this in your Security Council and act upon it there," we are destroying everything we are trying to do for Turkey.

Mr. JAVITS. There are two difficulties in the argument just made. One is that the President of the United States came here and invoked our aid for Turkey specifically on the ground that Turkey was being submitted to such external pressures as to imperil her integrity and political independence. External pressures, as I said before in my argument, cannot be so subtle that they can be detected only by the United States and not by the United Nations.

The question is also raised as to whether the United Nations could act. The United Nations charter itself settles that question. It draws a clear distinction between disputes to which the gentleman referred and situations. Article 34 states:

The Security Council may investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

May I also call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the General Assembly may consider such a matter, for article 10 states:

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter.

Also article 11, paragraph 2, states:

The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations.

One further very important point—in the General Assembly there is no veto power. If the United States proceeds in the General Assembly, the veto power of any great power raises no difficulty.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. With reference to the external difficulties of Turkey, they are merely this: That the Turkish Govern-

ment has been compelled for years to keep a large army on the border because it is threatened, not on the border by Russia, but far away from the border, and Turkey is always afraid that Russia is going to come down into Turkey. That is why she has been put to this tremendous expense to keep this large standing army on the border for years.

Now, you differentiate between the General Assembly and the Security Council. If you want to do anything at all, you cannot go into the General Assembly with this. You must go into the Security Council. If we go into the Security Council and it is at the request of the Government of the United States, we foreclose ourselves from voting in the Security Council on this measure.

Then, you will have to get the other three powers in the Security Council to vote; otherwise, you are foreclosed yourself. Therefore, Russia will come in and beat you because you have no voice in it at all in the Security Council.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to deal with the points that the gentleman has raised. We must remember that USSR has demanded from Turkey the right to fortify the Dardanelles jointly with Turkey. There are constant radio broadcasts into Turkey from the U. S. S. R. keeping Turkey on the anxious seat in this war of nerves. Those are the very reasons we are going to render assistance. The United Nations Charter in the articles I read enables the United States to proceed before the General Assembly if it does not want to go before the Security Council on these issues.

May I also point out that the Vandenberg amendment, waives any effect of the veto in the Security Council on the action of the United Nations regarding this assistance program.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may proceed for 2 additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. BREHM. Was this amendment presented in the full committee that the gentleman is now offering and, if so, was any disposition made of it?

Mr. JAVITS. The amendment which has been here presented was presented in a different form carrying the same idea, however, before the committee. The committee at that time by a division rejected it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, may I say with reference to the Dardanelles, to which the gentleman has referred, that that is an entirely different question. In the dispute about the Dardanelles, Russia is the only nation that is concerned with the dispute who has not even replied to any suggestion which might be made with reference to the Dardanelles. Russia does want to go into the Dardanelles in one way. She wants to have her forts and men there.

When she gets that, she will be in Turkey. Then, it will be too late to think of any legislation of any kind and you are beaten. There isn't any question about the Dardanelles situation. The gentleman is wrong. He knows that Russia is the only nation that has not yet suggested any statement or any kind of condition on which the Dardanelles should be operated in the future; and that is a positive fact.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, it would appear to me that the founders of the United Nations, would favor very much, the proposition that the United Nations should on the application of the United States, as a most devoted follower of the United Nations act on this proposal.

Everything that has been said here indicates that there is external pressure on Turkey; and that is the only reason we are assisting. It cannot be economic difficulty in Turkey, as the gentlewoman from California so eloquently explained. The only reason we are going forward with this bill at all as to Turkey is on account of external pressure on her. If that is the reason and if the pressures are not so subtle that we can detect them, then they are not so subtle that the United Nations can fail to detect them.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] has expired.

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute to the substitute offered by the gentleman from New York.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will advise the gentleman there is one substitute amendment pending. Another substitute may not be offered until that is disposed of.

Mr. BENDER. May I offer an amendment to the substitute?

The CHAIRMAN. An amendment to the substitute may be offered but not another substitute.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

At last we have come to the meat of this whole situation. That is, do you want to proceed as outlined by the United Nations? Do you want to use the procedures and the facilities of the United Nations and make a multilateral approach to this problem, or do you want to make a unilateral approach? It all boils down to that. When all of the scare of communism, all of the cry that Turkey is in economic distress is cleared away, that is all there is to it. We know that Turkey's gold supply has gone up during the war from \$45,000,000 to \$245,000,000. She has got rich during the war by sitting still and not playing with either side, in spite of some of the things that have been said. She remained neutral and it was a profitable enterprise for Turkey. Now we come to the crux of the situation. Do we believe all the glittering pledges and promises that we made in the United Nations? Do we stand for the principles of collective security, or are we ready now to throw the United Nations in the ditch, and, by omitting to send to her this problem, say we are

ready to go on our own and guarantee the sovereignty and integrity of every nation in the world, beginning first with Greece and Turkey and then going on to Korea, Indonesia, India, and on and on? Are we, a Nation of 140,000,000 people, to take over the great burden of policing the world, or would we like to have some help from the 47 nations or the 51 nations which have been supporting us in the United Nations? This is not the first problem that has been put up to the United Nations. Let me call to your attention the fact that there have been four. Lebanon-Syria was one problem. A complaint was made that the British and French troops were remaining in the country, contrary to the Charter agreement.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. No; I cannot yield. Mr. Byrnes presented a resolution expressing confidence that British and French troops would withdraw, and in May they were withdrawn.

In Indonesia there was another complaint which the Council, after consideration, decided against investigating.

In Spain there was another complaint, with a like result.

In Iran there was a complaint that Russian troops had not withdrawn from Iran, and in April Mr. Byrnes presented a resolution to the Security Council asking Russia to withdraw, and on May 6, according to the report of the Iranian Government, Russian troops withdrew from Iran.

So we have four precedents of serious international situations arising. Those situations were referred to the Security Council. Action was taken on them. This is the second anniversary of the United Nations. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] helped to write those principles—those principles of multilateral approach to the problems of the world; of collective security. And you are departing from the sober principles written therein in this Greek- and Turkish-aid bill.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I have only 5 minutes.

This is the crux of the situation. Let us get down to it now. Do you believe in the United Nations? Do you want to support the principles of the United Nations? Or do you want to go alone?

I did not talk on the atomic-energy resolution. I am a member of the Joint Committee of the House and Senate on Atomic Energy. I do not want to talk on it now. I know, maybe, a little too much about it. I saw the explosions at Bikini. I visited the Japanese cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. I know that we have the bomb. I do not know whether Russia has it or not, or whether she will have it within a year's time or whether it will take longer.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's

time be extended for 2 minutes, that I may ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, I wish to know whether we will be allowed the same liberality when some of us come to speak in opposition?

The CHAIRMAN. That is a question the Chair cannot answer.

Mr. LEMKE. Very well. I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman from California is recognized for two additional minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. In the countries to which the gentleman referred I believe he stated troops were present. That is an entirely different situation from what we are debating here today. There are no foreign troops in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I am sorry but I cannot let the gentleman take all of my 2 minutes. There are certain conditions—

Mr. BLOOM. But I asked that the gentleman might have an additional minute that I might ask him a question.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. In each of the countries the gentleman mentioned there were foreign troops and that is why it came to the Security Council; but here there are no foreign troops involved.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Does the gentleman deny the fact that situations can be brought to the Security Council without the presence of troops in the respective countries?

Mr. BLOOM. But the gentleman did not say that. The gentleman is right, a member nation can bring anything it wants to the Security Council.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. All right; the gentleman has answered. That is all I asked the gentleman to answer.

Mr. BLOOM. But there is no similarity between those situations and the present one.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. There is a similarity in that an international situation arises at this point and when it arises any nation in the world can bring it to the attention of the Security Council. It does not have to be exactly the same situation. It can be brought to the Security Council by any member of the United Nations, and that is where it should be brought unless you want to embark upon a unilateral imperialistic program similar to the kind of program which has brought on every war in history. Here at last we have an opportunity to work through a United Nations Organization and approach these things in a multilateral way. We say the United Nations is impotent, it is too weak. Mr. Chairman, how is it going to get strong unless it is provided exercise?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the substitute.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that it be read in full.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER to the substitute offered by the gentleman from New York:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out "and Turkey."

On page 1, line 6, strike out "Their governments" and insert in lieu thereof "its government."

On page 1, line 9, strike out "these countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 6, strike out "or Turkey."

On page 2, lines 10 and 11, strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 18, strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 20, strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order against the amendment on the ground that it goes beyond the substitute.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to ask the gentleman from Ohio if the page references are to the substitute amendment or to the bill.

Mr. BENDER. They are references to the substitute amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the page references and line references describe the substitute amendment or what?

Mr. BENDER. They describe the substitute amendment as offered by the gentleman from New York to that part of the bill which has been read.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get this clear. We have a pending amendment and we have a substitute for that amendment. The gentleman from Ohio has offered an amendment to the substitute. The amendment consists of several references to pages and lines. Are those pages and lines a part of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] as a substitute?

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, they are part of the bill, which has already been read.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not constitute an amendment to the substitute and the Chair is constrained to sustain the point of order.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last several words.

Mr. Chairman, in connection with any legislation attempting directly or indirectly to have this bill channeled toward the United Nations, we have to realize if that is done, for all practical purposes this legislation and its effects and purposes will be defeated. As I view the situation, we are not bypassing the United Nations or its Charter.

The Charter of the United Nations does not authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Both Greece and Turkey have solicited our aid for the speedy recovery and independence of those small countries. President Truman in his message to the Congress specifically said we are not bypassing the United Nations.

Let me briefly review the history. On at least three occasions the Greek problem has been presented to the Security

Council, two times by Russia, when they claimed the British troops in Greece were a threat to peace, a charge which the Council rejected both times. It was presented again by the Greek Government on the ground that Russia's Balkan puppets—that is, certain Balkan states that are Russia's puppets—were waging an undeclared war against the Greek territory. On the latter charges a United Nations commission was appointed and they have been in Greece for some time. They have made investigations and they have made a report.

In connection with some remarks made by my friend from Ohio [Mr. BENDER], who would want to create the impression that the guerrillas are patriotic, fighting people, are not either Communists or controlled by the Communists, I call his attention to a report already made by the commission showing that the Communists in Greece were trained in Yugoslavia—that is the guerrillas—and also that the manual of arms which has been used by the Greek Communists or guerrillas was printed in the Greek language by the Russians in Moscow. My friend apparently has failed to keep in touch with current history.

The report also shows that the fighting along the northern border continued despite the presence of the United Nations commission in Greece.

We also must keep in mind that the Charter provides:

The members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

What is happening? There are Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland. We will not talk about Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. There is no more talk about their independence. I hope they will ultimately regain their independence. There are Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, admitting that from a military standpoint the latter has to gravitate to the East, but they belong to the West. We know what that means. We can interpret that language when we read it, coming from the head of that government.

Now, this threat against Greece. Greece and Turkey are like an apple, so geographically situated. You cut the apple in half. You cannot let one disintegrate and expect to save the other. You have to consider both parts together. You might just as well quit if you assist one and not the other. It is like cutting an apple in half and expect to save one-half against the forces of destruction.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. MURDOCK. A vital question in my mind is, Are we, by this, bypassing the United Nations Organization? Does the gentleman contend that we are not bypassing the United Nations by this measure?

Mr. McCORMACK. We are not.

Mr. MURDOCK. I do not want to discredit or bypass the United Nations by this move and want to make sure we are not doing so now. Does the President of the United States make that clear in his message to the Congress?

Mr. McCORMACK. Yes.

The historical facts support that position. Now, let me continue. Back of Greece, what is there? Italy. If Greece goes, Italy is gone. We might just as well face the facts. I am not anti anything. I am pro in what I believe. I am pro-American; I am pro-western civilization. I believe in a civilization that all who believe in a Supreme Being possess. That is what our civilization is. Whether Catholic, Protestant, or Jew, we have and believe in the western civilization and what it stands for.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. MORRIS. The question is this: Does not the gentleman know that the committee itself in its report says that some of these bands are bands that we armed during the other war? That is shown on page 2.

Mr. McCORMACK. That does not change the situation at all. That does not change at all one statement that I made concerning the United Nations Commission, because in that war, in the war against Hitler, we armed anybody who would or was fighting Hitler. We were crossing the bridge with anybody in order to lick the first enemy and the immediate devil. Now, let us face the situation.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. One gentlemen said awhile ago that the present King of Greece was pro-Fascist and was in England during the war. If he had been pro-Fascist he would never have been in England during the war.

Mr. McCORMACK. That is a frank observation worthy of consideration.

But, let us go further. If Greece goes, Italy goes. If Italy goes, Europe is gone. Now, we have to face these facts realistically. If we just sit back and remain inactive, then Russia, with its onrush of international communism, simply takes over country after country with its minority forces, militantly operating, by any means that they can employ to obtain control of a government, and when they do, they liquidate the decent elements within the government. Tito is in Yugoslavia, a step across the Adriatic from Italy. If Greece goes, Italy is bound to go. That means the control of the Mediterranean. If there is one thing we have learned from history it is that the country that controls the Mediterranean controls Europe, and the country that controls Europe controls Asia and Africa. History has indisputably portrayed that lesson to us based upon hard experience.

What are some of the reasons why we are not bypassing the United Nations? Neither the United Nations nor any of its related organizations are in position to render the kind of help required, and even in the time necessary. The United Nations has no military force to enforce any decisions made by the United Nations Organization. In the meantime, help cannot be given because the United Nations Organization and its agencies have no money and could not loan money to either Greece or Turkey until security was assured. That is one of the conditions precedent to an international agency's lending money to any government, that security must be assured before the nation can receive a loan.

When an emergency exists, and everyone who studied the facts knows that the United Nations cannot act to meet the emergency, by our extending emergency aid we are not only acting in our national interest but are helping to establish the conditions which alone can enable the United Nations to function at all.

The United Nations is pretty much like the Thirteen Colonies were under the Articles of Confederation; that is the way I view it. We have to strengthen it. The United Nations is more or less impotent now, and it is impotent due to one country's failing to cooperate with understanding.

We have no imperialistic designs. Not so long ago the Members who serve here and in the other Chamber passed a law giving the Philippines their independence. Most of the Members here now were here then. Certainly, the United States is not imperialistically inclined when we are the first great Nation in the history of man to give up voluntarily territory of which we were possessed.

We have to act affirmatively. The challenge is direct. It is a challenge to our way of life. Nation after nation is being taken over. The way it is going, we have reached our last line of defense from the angle of our civilization in Europe. We cannot afford to let Greece go. We cannot separate Turkey from Greece because of their geographical location. This involves Austria, it involves Germany. We know why the last conference at Moscow was a failure. They wanted to sap and destroy Austria economically. They would agree to Austria being a free nation, but it would not allow Austria any economic ability to maintain its freedom. The Russians have taken everything out of the area of Germany over which they have control, and they are now trying to sap the areas under the control of the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Chairman, I hope these amendments will be defeated.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to all the amendments and to make a statement which I have here to make.

Mr. Chairman, before this very illuminating debate ends, I should like to take a few moments to present my views of the foundation principles of the United Nations Organization and its relation to individual countries and to this particular problem. However, at this point

I have a communication of the utmost importance which I wish to read, bearing upon the amendments now before us.

Personally, I hope that all three of these amendments will be defeated, and that we will not festoon this legislation with all kinds of unworkable suggestions, all of them coming from high motives and a desire to settle the problem, but as a practical result lowering the efficiency of the legislation and making it more difficult to enforce than it is now.

I have here a communication from Senator Warren Austin, with whom I was associated during the preparation of this Charter, and who I think you will all agree with me is one of the soundest and sanest thinkers in this Nation. He has been appointed by our President to represent this Nation in the United Nations Organization as our chief ambassador.

Yesterday I sent him a telegram asking him if he did not consider it prejudicial to his official position if he would be willing to inform the House, in this time of confusion, of his views on the reference of this legislation to the United Nations. He said, in answer to my telegram:

NEW YORK, May 8, 1947.

HON. CHARLES A. EATON,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives.

In answer to your telegram:

In my opinion the United States program for aid to Greece and Turkey does not (repeat) not bypass the United Nations. On the contrary it would be a most essential act in support of the United Nations Charter and would advance the building of collective security under the United Nations.

The United States took the initiative in explaining the proposed United States program to the United Nations Security Council; my statements of March 28, 1947, and April 10, 1947, set forth in full the reasons necessitating the American-aid program and the relationship of this program to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

I informed the Security Council on behalf of the United States that the United States will immediately register with the United Nations for publication by the Secretary General copies of agreements connected with the execution of this program which may be entered into between Greece and the United States or between Turkey and the United States.

The Security Council, on the initiative of the United States, is already acting on that aspect of the Greek question with which it is now prepared to deal the conditions on the northern Greek frontiers.

No organ of the United Nations can at this time provide financial and military assistance to the Greek Government of the emergency character required.

The proposed American program will assist in restoring stability and security in Greece and maintaining them in Turkey. When stable conditions are restored in Greece it should be possible to provide such further financial and economic assistance as might then be required through the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and related specialized agencies.

WARREN R. AUSTIN.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, earlier today I asked the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] to yield to me for some questions. I asked him whether he was convinced that the enactment of this measure would not be bypassing the United Nations Organization and he gave me his

prompt and positive reply that this does not do so. He further called attention to the President's message to the effect that this move does not indicate our intention to side-step the United Nations. To me that was gratifying assurance, for I want our Nation and our Government to continue to foster, to support, and to utilize properly and fully this new international organization which we helped make.

Now that we have heard the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EARON], chairman of the committee, read the letter from Senator Austin, our representative in the United Nations, to the effect that this move is not contrary to or inconsistent with our solemn duty as a member nation to the United Nations, we may feel further assured. My feeling of confidence in General Marshall as Secretary of State and of Senator VANDENBERG as one of the builders of the long-hoped-for United Nations Organization deepens my assurance that they are not planning to do anything to the detriment of this young organization which is the hope of the world.

I have all along felt that the American Government made a colossal blunder when our Government repudiated the League of Nations a quarter century ago. It seemed certain to me then and still does seem certain that the power and influence of the United States was actively needed after the First World War to make the League of Nations effective, and we denied it then by our "act of omission." Destiny seems to have given America another chance to play her full and rightful part as befits her place in history. Opportunity did knock again and after a second terribly costly war we did join with more than 50 nations in organizing an international body to achieve justice and to prevent war. And now if before that babe is out of its swaddling clothes the Government of America repudiates it, not by an act of omission this time, but by a deliberate act of commission, it would be a far greater blunder than before. If the passage of this bill means that America is "Driving a dagger into the heart of the United Nations Organization", as has been claimed, I cannot support this move, for I am sure the American people do not approve anything that weakens, and will not permit anything that destroys the effectiveness of the United Nations Organization. America will not desert this hope. That is why I have sought the assurance we have just received.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] for the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment and the substitute be again reported by the Clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk again reported the amendments.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS].

The substitute amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. FISHER asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Chairman, I am supporting the pending bill to give aid and assistance to war-devastated Greece and some financial support to Turkey. These two countries are strategically located overlooking the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Turkey controls the Dardanelles. The independence of those two countries and their freedom from Russian domination are of vital importance to the future peace and security of the world.

We must not appease the Communists by bowing and scraping when our legitimate actions and policies are opposed by them. Those people recognize strength and firmness.

The passage of this bill will encourage free people in their resistance to the forces of communism. It will, in my opinion, be a deterrent of war and a promoter of peace. The appeasement of Japan and of Germany during recent years, so fresh on our minds now, led only to war. Let us profit from history, repudiate all evidence of isolationism on this subject and here uphold the Truman Doctrine as the symbol of hope and encouragement to free people to maintain their freedom and their national integrity.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, no legislative proposal ever submitted to the Congress since I became a Member on January 3, 1939, has caused me as much concern as the matter now before us; namely, a bill to implement President Truman's foreign policy as submitted to the Congress on March 12 of this year.

Not a day has gone by since President Truman addressed a joint session of the Senate and House that I have failed to devote some part of the day to thought or study of this proposal. I recognize the importance of the decision we will make here in the House this week.

Those who urge that we vote for an appropriation of \$400,000,000 for aid to Greece and Turkey have been quite frank in stating that this should not be considered as a loan. It will be an outright grant. Nor do the proponents any longer claim that it is a relief bill in the usual sense of the word "relief." It has been admitted that about 75 percent of this appropriation will be spent for military equipment and supplies. It is also admitted that we will provide military personnel to serve as advisers for the Greek and Turkish Armies.

This proposal came as a shock to me. It is such a radical departure from what I envisioned would be the United States foreign policy following VJ-day. I recognized then and now our responsibility to aid other nations who as a result of the war badly needed food, clothing, medical supplies, seed, fertilizer, and so forth. Recognizing this responsibility, I voted last week against the motion that prevailed to reduce the foreign relief appropriation from three hundred and fifty to two hundred million dollars. I wanted to lean over backward in my effort to support fully the efforts of our Government to render relief to the hungry people abroad. Greece will receive a large part of these relief funds.

I said a moment ago that this program is so different from what I thought we would work out through the United Nations Organization. It was my hope that we would unite with all other peace-loving nations of the world in a United Nations Organization, and one of the first objectives of the UN would be to prevent any country from interfering with the sovereignty of any of its neighbors.

Some argue in connection with this legislation that we are not bypassing the United Nations Organization. I just cannot understand that reasoning. We very definitely are embarking on a unilateral policy. No other member nation of the United Nations is participating with us in our effort to strengthen the armed forces of Greece and Turkey. We are going it alone, and the consequences will be ours alone.

It has been said during this debate that we must supply this military aid to Greece and Turkey to prevent the spread of communism. If that be the real reason for this appropriation, just how far will this program lead us and what will be its ultimate results. Are we going to provide funds to strengthen the armed forces of every nation in the world now threatened by the spread of communism? Certainly communism is a threat to France, to Italy, to Belgium, and even to the British Empire. Certainly no one will contend that we have the resources to make huge military grants to each of these powers.

I am not at all concerned by the charge that has been made that those who oppose this appropriation are alining themselves with Henry Wallace or that the opponents of this measure are sympathetic to Stalin's ambitions. In coming to a decision I have considered only the effect this foreign policy, if approved, will have on the future of the United States and on the United Nations' program as proposed in its Charter.

I have received a substantial number of letters on this Greek-Turkish aid proposition since President Truman first proposed it. With one exception, no one has written to me in favor of the whole program. Some urge "relief for Greece." Others propose that we send surplus military equipment to Greece and Turkey but no military personnel. Some favor aid to Greece but positively no aid or assistance for Turkey. Most of the people who have written to me and others with whom I have talked feel very

strongly that this whole matter should be handled by the United Nations.

If, as the proponents of this legislation say, the United Nations is not prepared or strong enough to take over this task, that organization could be strengthened. I cannot understand why the United States acting alone is stronger than the United States acting with even a majority of the nations making up the United Nations organization. No member of the Foreign Affairs Committee has as yet explained how Russia could make use of her veto power to prevent other member nations of the UN from acting to prevent Russian expansion. After all, was not the real purpose of the United Nations to maintain world peace through force if necessary?

Very little information has been given to us upon which we could base an intelligent decision. I finally decided to vote no on this proposition and in reaching that decision, I have followed the dictates of my own conscience, after using to the best of my ability the brain with which I have been endowed.

(Mr. MILLER of Connecticut asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Chairman, I rise today to continue the remarks I began yesterday but which I did not have time to complete.

We have heard a lot said about our foreign policy but I still do not know what our foreign policy is. I did not know during World War II what it was, nor did any of the men in my outfit, nor any of my six brothers with whom I served in the armed forces of the United States during World War II.

I expounded a foreign policy yesterday that is new to this House but one which I believe will work, that is that the United States maintain its armed forces so strong that we will be in a position where the other nations of this world will have to appease the United States of America.

Mr. Chairman, I have heard a number of Members on this floor talk about the League of Nations. I have heard a lot of people over the country say that if the United States had just joined the League of Nations after World War I we would have prevented World War II. I heard the distinguished minority leader last night insinuate that very same thing, that if we had only joined the League of Nations it would have prevented World War II.

Mr. Chairman, I refute the argument that if we had joined the League of Nations with 100,000 men, no Air Force, a scrapped and depleted Navy, that Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito would have listened to us; but I say to you that had we joined the League of Nations, built a great Air Force, maintained our military power, then the chances are we would have prevented World War II.

The United Nations will not work today unless the United States of America maintains its armed might; and I say that in times of modern warfare to talk about the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, one or two bombs would neutralize the Dardanelles, or Gibraltar, or the Panama Canal. The only force that we can make sure will preserve the peace and security of the United States of America, as I said yesterday, and repeat today because I sincerely believe it, and the past history of the world proves it—is an Air Force that can strike at any portion of the world, an Air Force capable of dropping and willing to drop any weapons known to modern man. Knowing that we will use these weapons the Russians, realists that they are, will listen, but they will listen to nothing else.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT: Page 2, line 11, after the words "in an advisory capacity only", strike out the semicolon, insert a comma and add the following: "Provided, however, That not more than 100 such personnel are to be utilized in either country at one time under the terms of this act without further authorization from Congress."

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is very clear. It simply is to put into legislative language the understanding that has been agreed upon informally between the War Department and the various committees of the House and the Senate which have been dealing with this particular legislation. Many of you have been worried, as many good Americans outside of Congress have been worried, lest this aid to Greece and Turkey take on the aspect of an expeditionary force. That is not the intention at all of the administration spokesmen who sponsored it.

We have received the most solemn assurance that human beings can give that that is not their intention, that the only purpose of military men being sent to either Greece or Turkey is to advise and to counsel so as to enable their military people to learn to use the types of weapon which they are going to buy from us or perhaps be given by us.

Mr. Chairman, I call attention to the hearings in this connection. If you will look at page 108 of the hearings and follow me as I read the testimony you will see what I am driving at. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] was interrogating Secretary Patterson about the size of this military contingent and Secretary Patterson stated:

Secretary PATTERSON. I would say anywhere from 10 to 40. That is our present estimate.

Then the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] proceeded:

Mr. VORYS. Does that cover both Greece and Turkey, the estimate of 10 to 40?

Secretary PATTERSON. That would only be in the case of Greece.

Mr. VORYS. I wonder about Turkey.

Secretary PATTERSON. In the case of Turkey, it would be comparable. We do not at all have the detailed knowledge in the case of Turkey that we have in the case of

Greece. I think I indicated that in my statement.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Secretary, following up the line of questioning identified by Mr. VORYS, I think it would be very comforting to the American public if we could put something into the legislation which would spell out the facts you have talked about today about a military mission.

The language is a little indefinite.

That is as to the matter of a limited number of military personnel. Then I asked him this direct question:

Mr. MUNDT. In order that Congress can have its part in shaping the legislation and our policy in Greece and Turkey, I have in mind an amendment to offer which would limit the size of the American military mission in each country to a maximum of 100, which would be over twice the number that you would say would be required. Would you have any objection to that kind of clarifying amendment?

Secretary PATTERSON. No, sir.

The Secretary says specifically he has no objection to that kind of limiting amendment. I appeal to you now as Members of a body having coordinate responsibility of government, along with the executive department, to measure up to your joint responsibility and write into this legislation those facts and understandings and agreements which the executive departments have given us in connection with this bill. Most of you have made campaign statements registering your desire to stop blank check legislating by Congress. Well the time has now come to do something about those statements. By writing in a number limitation such as I propose we measure up to our responsibilities and we retain added congressional control of both our foreign and domestic policies.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Was the amendment which the gentleman is now offering offered in committee?

Mr. MUNDT. It was discussed in committee, but I think it was not offered.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman quoted Secretary Patterson. Is it not a fact that later on in the testimony the Secretary said that he thought it would be unwise, and that he made a mistake when he said he did not see any objection to limiting the number?

Mr. MUNDT. If the gentleman can find such testimony in the hearings, I will be happy to have him read it to the House. I am unable to find such testimony.

Mr. RICHARDS. Did not the Secretary later on change his position?

Mr. MUNDT. If the gentleman can find anything in the hearings to indicate that, let him read it. I cannot find it there.

Let me point this out. I feel this way about this amendment. The War Department comes to us frequently as it does to the Committee on Appropriations and says, "We want some money to run the Department." I do not think we should give them an unstipulated

amount simply because we have confidence in the War Department, as we all have. I think the Congress has the responsibility to place limitations on that amount, and I think we have the responsibility to place limitations on the amount of power which we vacate as a legislative body. We are vacating some authority in this bill necessarily, and I am simply asking that we limit the amount of power that we vacate in this matter of sending military personnel abroad in this bill to 100 men to each of the countries, because Secretary Patterson has said those are all the men that he intends to use; twice as many as he intends to use, in fact. Let us therefore put in writing as a part of this legislation this limitation which can always be changed should necessity arise by subsequent action by the Congress.

My plea is simply against writing blank-check legislation unnecessarily. It is a bad habit to get into and we should avoid it when we can. We have an opportunity to do so now. I urge your support for this clarifying amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I rise mainly in order to propound a question or two to the author of the amendment, if I may have his attention.

Is the gentleman sure that this amendment was not considered and voted down in committee?

Mr. MUNDT. I am not sure. I say, it was discussed in committee. I do not recall that it was voted down, because the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] offered a substitute, and I am not sure that either of them were voted on. It may have been.

Mr. JARMAN. Is the gentleman sure that Secretary Patterson did not later on say that he made a mistake when he said, "No."

Mr. MUNDT. I am not sure about any mistake Mr. Patterson may or may not have made. I am only sure about what appears in the printed record, and I am sure he has not said anything on the Senate side or the House side to contradict that.

Mr. JARMAN. But the gentleman is not sure that he did not hear him say that?

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly am sure that I have not heard that he did not have any objection to any kind of limitation exceeding 100 men.

Mr. JARMAN. But the gentleman is sure that he did not hear him say later on that he was opposed to it, is he?

Mr. MUNDT. I do not know what the gentleman is driving at. I ask the gentleman from Alabama the same question I asked the gentleman from South Carolina, if he has any reason to think there is other testimony in the record, let him read it to the Committee. Here is the sworn testimony of the Secretary on page 108.

Mr. JARMAN. I will answer that by saying we had many executive sessions.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that the specific question was asked of the Secretary in executive session and the Secretary said that he did make that statement in the opening meeting at the time, but that he wanted to change his mind, and he said that he would prefer not to have the number of people limited in the bill. That was in executive session. That is why it is not in the record.

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the able gentleman from California.

Mr. JACKSON of California. My remembrance of the Secretary's testimony is that his original agreement upon the size of the mission in Greece and Turkey would be predicated upon whether or not the mission now there, the British mission, would remain, but I very definitely remember, and I agree with the gentleman, that the Secretary said it would be most unwise, in the second hearing, to tie the hands of his Department or of the Navy Department in reference to this point.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman very much. I ask my colleagues of the House, please, do not tie the hands of our departments in an important matter such as this, in view of the testimony we have about it here today.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. MERROW. May I say that in my opinion this is a crippling amendment. If we have any confidence left in the President of the United States and in the State Department and in General Marshall, we should not put this amendment into this bill.

Mr. JARMAN. I thoroughly agree with the gentleman who is one of the ablest members of our committee, and I might add that we should not do so if we have any confidence in the Secretary of War, who is—well, I will not say what party he belongs to.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I was present at the hearings when the Secretary of War said he saw no objection to such an amendment limiting the number of military advisers to be sent to Greece and Turkey. Then, I was ill for a few days and missed some of the committee meetings, but I certainly did not hear until just now of the reported retraction of his statement. However, if the Secretary of War later came before the committee in executive session and asked that we not put any restriction of this sort in the bill, which would leave the door open to an expeditionary force, that is all the more reason, I think, why the amendment should be adopted.

I am for this bill. I have crusaded for 16 years against appeasement of any country expanding its territory by aggression. I spoke the best I could for this bill on yesterday and will again if I get a chance. But what I am for is our aiding free countries struggling to maintain their independence, by our sending over material assistance and selected officers

and men to review and screen the needs and requests and to see that the assistance we send is well used. I cannot for a moment support the bill if perchance by any stretch of interpretation of language it could permit an expeditionary force, or even a battalion of our armed forces to go into these countries either in addition to British troops or in substitution for British troops. If the day should come when that sort of thing is needed, I feel that those in charge must come again before the Congress and make their case. If they make a good case, Congress presumably would support it. But I cannot go along with any other interpretation, and I am constrained to support and urge the committee to adopt the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. KEE. The gentleman well knows that the bill provides that these military men we send over are to act in an advisory capacity only. By no means could that interpretation be stretched to mean combatants.

Mr. JUDD. Then, what possible objective can the gentleman have to putting into the bill that which would so enormously reassure the people of America. I think we would pick up a great many more votes here in the House of Representatives, if all were sure military personnel is to be limited to a definite number of officers and men for training and by no possible construction include, to use the gentleman's word, combatants.

Mr. KEE. The objection I have to it is this. The Secretary returned to the committee after he made the statement quoted by the gentleman from Minnesota and said it would be crippling to his Department if they wanted to send a few more advisory men, and asked us not to insert any limitation.

Mr. JUDD. Would the gentleman object to 200, then?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. It was stated at the time, if I remember correctly—this was in executive session; perhaps I should not say that—it was stated that if they thought of sending a battleship over there and they had more than a hundred men on that ship, according to the bill, they could not send the battleship over there.

Mr. JUDD. Certainly the gentleman is not suggesting that sending battleships would come under the authorization of this act. Of course, they could be sent by the Commander in Chief for visits under his present authority.

Mr. BLOOM. I do not mean for military purposes or for war purposes, but they could not go over there if it could be construed that they would send that many people on one ship.

Mr. JUDD. This reads "in an advisory capacity only." Surely we would not be sending over a battleship in an advisory capacity.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman was talking about combatant troops.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman is exactly right. I do not know exactly the attitude of the former chairman. He says, "I am telling you what happened in an executive session here or an executive session there." I believe an executive session is an executive session, so I am not going to discuss those matters. But let me say this: My amendment says, under the purposes of this act, limit it to 100. It has nothing to do with a battleship, because sending a battleship over there is something else. I am talking about the purposes of this act and the 100 limitation which Secretary Patterson said is twice as many men as he needs.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from South Carolina.

Mr. RICHARDS. I am not talking about battleships or soldiers being sent over there. That is not in the realm of possibility under this bill. What I wanted to ask the gentleman is this: Would it not be ridiculous to embark on a courageous policy such as is proposed here today and spend \$400,000,000 of the taxpayers' money under a limitation that only 100 military advisory personnel could be sent, and then tell the Secretary of War or the President that even if he deemed it necessary he could not send 150 men over there to see that that money was wisely spent?

Mr. JUDD. I will state to the gentleman that I am willing to amend the amendment to increase the limit to 200. I certainly do not want us to be crippled or hampered in doing well what we are authorizing. My point is that we must not authorize more than was told us or than we have told the House and the country is the purpose of this bill. It is to make our people sure that we will not under this bill be sending over any large groups. I know that we do not intend to do that, but a great many millions of Americans are more disturbed on this point than on any other.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that this amendment is just one more illustration of the feeling that a great many people have that if we only tie our own hands we are safe. I say this with considerable reluctance because I have a very high regard for the gentleman from South Dakota. He is a good friend of mine. But over the years in this country there seems to have been a feeling on the part of many fine citizens that we should be fearful of our own power and that, therefore, if we can shackle Uncle Sam we are really going to be able to have peace.

In the first place, the British mission in Greece—I do not have the exact figure before me—I believe numbers around four or five hundred. If they for some reason or other have to withdraw, under this amendment we could not provide the personnel to take their place.

I believe that the reason for this amendment is the fear that some incident may arise between some American in uniform and—some Greek guerrilla, perhaps—which would arouse in us back here a desire to pursue the matter with explosive consequences. I would just like to say that one of my oldest friends was a naval attaché in Warsaw, a colonel in the Marine Corps. He was murdered and I do not recall that there was much about it in the press.

I would like to say further that you do not avoid trouble by simply limiting the number of military personnel. A civilian can be a cause of disturbance just as readily as a man in uniform. I believe that the men in uniform that we have to worry about are not the Americans. I believe that it is time that we made our meaning entirely clear, and that if we are going to pass this measure we should not handicap those who are charged with its execution.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. BUSBEY. The gentleman spoke about shackling Uncle Sam. If this bill passes, do you think we are shackling Uncle Sam by giving \$400,000,000 under this program?

Mr. LODGE. I certainly do not.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LODGE. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. May I call the attention of my friends the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] and the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. Mundt] to the specific language of the bill, which is very plain and capable of only one construction. I quote:

by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries in an advisory capacity only.

Mr. LODGE. I am very glad that the gentleman from Massachusetts stressed that language.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LODGE. I am very glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. CHENOWETH. I got the implication from the gentleman's remarks, which I might add were very frank, that these forces that we are sending over might possibly replace the British who are there now numbering about 500, I believe.

Mr. LODGE. I am afraid I did not make myself clear. They are not forces. These are men we are sending over to screen military and naval demands and to act in an advisory capacity only, according to the language of the bill. The British have a large mission there, and it might become advisable or necessary, in view of the fact that most of the equipment will be ours, that the British retire some of their men and that we take their place.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Are the British there in an advisory capacity or in a shooting capacity? Are they armed or are they just advisers?

Mr. LODGE. The British mission is there in an advisory capacity. The British forces which consist, I believe, of a

brigade—about 10,000 men—are there for policing purposes.

Oh, the mission is there, naturally, not in a shooting capacity. The purpose of the mission is not to shoot. The purpose of a soldier is to shoot.

Mr. CHENOWETH. But if we go there we will shoot.

Mr. LODGE. No. I am talking about combat troops.

Mr. CHENOWETH. They will be armed, will they not?

Mr. LODGE. I beg the gentleman's pardon. I am afraid he has not quite got the distinction in mind.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LODGE. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Will not the gentleman agree that under the present language we could have an adviser in every company in the Greek Army or even in every squad?

Mr. LODGE. I suppose it would be impossible for any lawyer to draft a contract or a law that could not be abused by someone who wanted to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Judd to the amendment offered by Mr. Mundt: Strike out the figure "100" and insert the figure "200."

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to limit the proper activities of the President and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of Navy in carrying out this act which I feel involves what may ultimately be almost a life and death matter for the United States. I mean just that in all seriousness. But I cannot believe we ought to pass this piece of legislation without making crystal clear to every mother and father and citizen in the United States exactly what we are doing. I cannot believe, on the basis of any testimony I have heard, that they can rightly object to a limitation of 200 by the War Department and 200 by the Navy Department. That seems to me a generous estimate of what "a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only," could mean. So I hope that many who have been opposing this amendment to limit to 100 will accept it on the basis of 200. It seems to me it improves the bill.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. Yes; I yield.

Mr. RICH. This is the first time in my life I ever heard of any missionary advocating that this country send military men to try to Christianize people. I have never heard any missionary or a church advocate that we should send only a hundred or 200 armed men into any country to try to aid and assist them in a Christian way. I hope the gentleman will eliminate all armed men that we are talking about sending into Greece and Turkey, and send more missionaries and more medical missionaries over there.

Mr. JUDD. So far as I know no one has suggested we send military men to any country to try to Christianize people. We are suggesting that it is right and proper and sensible to send military men to threatened peoples to help them retain their independence instead of allowing them to be murdered or enslaved as people have been wherever Communists have taken over. It so happens that my own church has had missionaries and medical missionaries in Greece and Turkey for many decades. Does the gentleman think he can send missionaries to any people dominated by Russian communism? If the gentleman will examine the record of the person who is speaking, he will discover that all during the 1930's, when I was taking fragments of American scrap iron out of the bodies and brains of innocent Chinese men, women, and children, I was trying my best to get my country to adopt a policy of not helping an aggressor, a policy which would prevent murder of the people of Asia and of the United States. I am for this bill because I believe it will prevent, or greatly reduce, the murder of people in Europe and probably of Americans too. I think that is a worthy cause for a missionary, especially a missionary doctor, to support.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] has expired.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment and the amendment to the amendment.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] has just said this is a question of most vital importance to the welfare of our country. He is correct in that. But if his statement is true, why shackle the United States? If the amendment limiting the number of this kind of personnel to 100 is bad, then it follows that a limitation of 200 is bad. I think it would be unwise for the Congress of the United States to embark on a policy such as we propose here today, costing \$400,000,000, and then to say to the President of the United States and the Secretary of War, "You must go over there and carry out the purposes we have expressed in this legislation, but you are limited to 100 or 200 of a certain kind of personnel that it is absolutely necessary for us to have on the ground to make this program a success."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. The phraseology of the bill is "a limited number and in an advisory capacity only." These phrases have got to be considered together. "Limited" means the minimum number necessary to carry out the policies of this act.

Mr. RICHARDS. I hope this amendment and all amendments to it will be killed.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. The word "limited," to which the gentleman from Massachusetts refers, means absolutely nothing unless Congress exercises its right and authority and describes it in certain terms. "Limited" could mean 100,000 as

well as 100 or 200. It all depends on who is administering the act. We are defining the word "limited" as meaning not more than 200 to act in an advisory capacity.

I would remind the gentleman from Massachusetts that that is what the British say they are doing with 10,000 men in Greece, acting in an advisory capacity.

Mr. McCORMACK. I realize of course, that a logical argument can be made from that angle, but what does the gentleman have to say about the phrase "advisory capacity only?"

Mr. MUNDT. I say in answer to that that the British say their troops are over there solely in an advisory capacity, yet they have 10,000 of them there. I suppose they are advising the people to maintain law and order.

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield.

Mr. MONRONEY. The bill contemplates that part of the aid to be sent to Greece may be such things as airplanes and tanks.

Mr. RICHARDS. The gentleman is absolutely correct.

Mr. MONRONEY. Then, how can we expect to train these people in the use of this mechanized equipment with 100 men or 200 men? I do not think it can be done. We have got to have mechanics and servicemen.

Mr. RICHARDS. It is absurd to think so.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mrs. BOLTON. I was wondering if the gentleman had figured out in dollars and cents the cost of 100 or 200 or many more? And also I think it is important that this membership should know that we are not talking in the terms of the brigade of British soldiers that are there in camp, we are talking only in terms of permission.

Some of us have felt very deeply troubled because there was no limitation in this, because of some of the rumors that have been going about. I believe it is because of that that this amendment has been offered by the gentleman from South Dakota. If we could reassure the people of this country that what we are sending in to Greece is a mission, not troops; that it is a limited mission and that we do not propose to permit the situation to become such that the army could use the \$400,000,000 and nobody else get anything the people would feel better. The point and purpose of this proposal, as I see it, is not troops but it is economy of various kinds, bankers, specialists, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Carolina has expired.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the substitute amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that somebody is letting the cat out of the bag. One of the things which really concerns the people of America in

the consideration of this legislation is this question of military personnel. The bill says "a limited number of members of the military services." How many constitute "a limited number"? I think the best evidence on this point is to be found in the hearings before the committee at page 351 where the following statement is made:

Secretary Forrestal suggested before the committee that perhaps at the outset 3 or 4 naval officers and possibly 20 or 25 men would be sufficient for the limited purpose of advising the Greek authorities. Secretary Patterson indicated a rough estimate of approximately between 10 and 40 Army officers might be adequate for similar purposes.

They are only supposed to serve in an advisory capacity.

The Mundt amendment raises the figure to 100 men in Greece and 100 men in Turkey. In the substitute amendment presented by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] the figure is raised to 200. This is a limitation which the fathers and mothers of America want. I am sure that much of the correspondence Members of Congress have received on this bill is to the effect that the people of the country are generally in favor of giving relief to the starving women and children of Greece, but they are afraid of the military features of the bill.

I do not care whether you call members of the military services advisors or not. It is very easy under this loose language to have 15,000 or more advisors on the ground. It seems to me that the statements made by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, as to the number of men actually needed as advisers should bear great weight. The hearings specifically state the number they need. The amendments proposed therefore are generous indeed and we should write the limitations into the bill.

Mr. Chairman, in order to allay the fears of the fathers and mothers of America it is my firm conviction that a definite limitation as to the number of military personnel and advisors that are to go into Greece and Turkey, should be written into the bill. Therefore I shall support the Judd substitute and if that fails, I expect to support the original amendment proposed by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 5 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer a preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Preferential motion offered by Mr. BENDER: "Mr. BENDER moves that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the

House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken."

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, you have a demonstration of how hell will break loose in Greece and Turkey in the way hell has broken loose here in the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Apparently there is a difference of opinion as to what this person heard and what the other person heard. One thing I know is that day before yesterday the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] and a number of other gentleman were in my office at which time there was present a young lady who was employed by UNRRA in Greece and who was shot by British bullets in Greece.

You are going into a shooting business when you go into this thing. When you go into this on the \$400,000,000 basis, you are just beginning. For example, this story has been kept out of the newspapers, and so far there has been a successful attempt to keep it secret, but I understand that behind the walls of the State Department there is great excitement and frantic scurrying around over the report that American equipment for five full divisions of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Army in China has fallen into the hands of the Chinese Communist forces.

Yes, Mr. Chairman, I expect there is considerable agitation in the State Department. But this is just the sort of thing which we can expect under the Truman doctrine of sending military supplies to unrepresentative regimes on the theory of stopping communism.

All we will accomplish is to promote and prolong civil wars. Yes, we can send American materials of war to Greece and Turkey, to every trouble spot in the world—but we will wake up to find that the same thing is happening to it as is happening in China.

If this is the State Department's way of maintaining American prestige and security in the world—by dropping American taxpayers' money down the drain—I say it is a very poor way indeed.

This bill provides that two-thirds of the money is to be spent for military equipment to engage in civil war in Turkey and Greece. Now you are talking about sending 100 men or 200 men. What difference does it make? Hell will break loose just as hell is breaking loose on the floor of this House and in the Committee on Foreign Relations as the result of the controversy over this matter.

My friends, we are advocating that this thing be handled by the United Nations. That is not isolationism. I heard the distinguished gentleman from Texas last night make an eloquent appeal against isolationism. Well, it is isolationism to engage in this unilateral program of ours when we have the United Nations to work through. Why not refer this matter in just that way?

I say that we are not going to be rushed into immediate passage of this measure if we have to sit here all next week. I trust there are a sufficient number of persons on the floor of this House who are interested and wish to be heard. We have good amendments on the desk here. We have amendments that should

be considered in the manner in which we consider amendments on other measures.

This is the most important measure that we have had before us since I have been a Member of Congress during the past five terms. No other legislation has been as important as this. No other legislation will involve us in so much trouble, in so many heartaches, in so much bloodshed, as this measure will. I trust that we will consider this and not give this thing the bum's rush which obviously is attempted here in considering this amendment in 5 or 10 minutes. Let us take plenty of time. We can stay here from early morning until late at night. The majority leader said, "How about your amendments?" I said, "I am going to offer every one of them." He said, "Do you think we ought to meet in the morning at 10 o'clock?" I said, "You can meet at 9 o'clock and you can sit until midnight; you can meet on Saturday and you can meet on Monday and consider this thing the way it should be considered and not in a slipshod, haphazard manner."

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 15 minutes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. McCORMACK. My point of order is that on the pending amendment the period of debate is 10 minutes; 5 minutes for and 5 minutes against.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, if someone claims 5 minutes in opposition.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, if no member of the committee or anyone else desires to rise in opposition, I seek recognition.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, according to the rules defined by the distinguished gentleman, the point is well taken.

Mr. McCORMACK. I will not press the point of order.

Mr. EATON. I think the point of order is well taken.

Mr. RAYBURN. Why do we not vote on this amendment now?

Mr. EATON. Of course, that is what I want to do. Everybody understands what this does. It kills the bill. If we want to kill the bill, let us vote on it and decide now.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. VORYS) there were—ayes 37, noes 127.

So the motion was rejected.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEATING. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we cannot reach an agreement to limit debate on these amendments. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. BUSBEY. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I think it was generally understood that everyone was going to be given a chance to debate this bill and the amendments thereto. I wish the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs would not press his unanimous-consent request because I do not like to be in the position of objecting. I think every Member that is on his feet ought to have 5 minutes to speak on these amendments, because we are getting into the same situation here as we did before of turmoil, of everybody hollering to vote, vote, vote, and not listening to the debate. I think it would be a good thing under the conditions if the Committee rose.

Mr. HALLECK. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Chairman, I said earlier that there would be no effort made as we progressed here a reasonable period of time through today, and tomorrow, if necessary, to limit debate in the consideration of this measure. The gentleman from New Jersey indicated in connection with his request that debate be limited to 10 minutes on the pending amendment and all amendments thereto that he wondered how many wanted to speak. I am quite sure he would be perfectly willing to amend his request. It is not a motion, it is a request subject to objection. No one wants to force anyone to object. If those who want to speak will rise and so indicate, then the time can be adjusted.

Mr. McCORMACK. Is that on this amendment?

Mr. HALLECK. Yes; and the amendments thereto. That does not limit debate. If everyone who wants to speak will rise, I am quite sure the chairman will amend his request in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN. The request as it stands is for a limitation of 10 minutes. Does the gentleman from New Jersey care to amend his request?

Mr. EATON. I would be glad to do so. I want everybody to have a chance to have his say. How many wish to speak on this amendment and all amendments thereto?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will advise the gentleman that a tally by the Clerk shows 14 Members have arisen.

Mr. EATON. I withdraw my request, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of both the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] and the original amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT]. I have a like amendment at the Clerk's desk which would limit the military personnel in either country to 100. I mentioned that earlier in the debate today. It is not particularly material whether the number be fixed at 100 or 200, but certainly it seems to me there should be some limitation on the number of military forces which we send to these two countries.

The Secretary of War testified at page 108 of the record, in answer to a question by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] that anywhere from 10 to 40 military personnel is the present estimate in

Greece and a comparable number in Turkey. Following that, he was asked by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and I quote:

Mr. MUNDT. In order that Congress can have its part in shaping the legislation and our policy in Greece and Turkey, I have in mind an amendment to offer which would limit the size of the American military mission in each country to a maximum of 100, which would be over twice the number that you would say would be required. Would you have any objection to that kind of clarifying amendment?

Secretary PATTERSON. No, sir.

Now the point is made that on some other occasion, at some other place, he corrected this testimony and asked, in effect, for no limitation whatever on the size of the forces which we might send to these countries. I have the highest regard for our distinguished Secretary of War and am very anxious that none of my remarks should in any way be construed as critical of him. I am sure that he would be, as many of us would, the last one to take any step which would involve this country in armed conflict. He has been a fighting soldier and knows what war is. I realize, too, that considerations of security may require that not all of the testimony which was given before the Committee on Foreign Affairs shall be spread upon this record. It is only natural that the Secretary of War, in the discharge of his duties, should prefer to have complete and uncontrolled discretion.

If these amendments should fail I shall still vote for this bill for the reasons I have given earlier today. But it is my sincere hope that a majority will see the merit in the proposal which has here been made, for I cannot escape the feeling that we, as a Congress, are charged with a heavy responsibility to see to it that nothing is done to alter the essential character of the legislation which we are about to adopt.

No one from the distinguished committee which reports this bill, no one in the unanimous report of the parallel committee in the other body, has indicated to us that it is the intention to send any substantial numbers of American officers or men to either of these countries. The committee report, here, at the bottom of page 4, says:

Combat forces are not to be sent to Greece or Turkey. The military assistance provided in the bill is to consist only of arms and other supplies for the armed forces of Greece and Turkey. These supplies are to be provided on the basis of investigations and recommendations by small military missions sent out by the United States in an advisory capacity only. Testimony of Government witnesses indicates that the military mission to Greece would probably not exceed 40 and the naval mission would probably be less than 30. In the case of Turkey it is expected that the missions would not be larger.

It is in reliance upon these assurances, given to us in entire good faith, that many of us are supporting this measure. Those assurances, I know, will still hold good if these amendments are defeated. But it seems to me that we should, by the adoption of one of these amendments, make it crystal clear to the mothers and fathers and wives of the young men of this country that we have not embarked

upon a militaristic venture, that forces are not being sent to these countries to fight, that they are not shooting soldiers, but simply advisers to the appropriate authorities in these two countries.

The point is made by the gentleman from Massachusetts that the words "limited" and "advisory" in section 1, paragraph 3 of this bill should be accepted as sufficient indication of a limitation. I may say to the gentleman that during my service in the China-Burma-India theater we were supposed to have a limited number of military personnel in China for, if not advisory, at least, training purposes only. But that number ran into thousands and thousands of officers and men. For the most part, and with few exceptions, they were not there to fight a shooting war, but for advisory and training purposes of the Chinese Army. I know nothing of that kind is intended in this present measure. If it were, I would never support it. It would be a negation of the first point made in my remarks earlier today that this is a step toward peace and not toward war. But my point is that the people of this country are apprehensive and we should give them the assurance, by clear language, that no such purpose is envisioned by this legislation.

As I said before, I should not want to undermine this bill by supporting a crippling amendment. I do not consider these, Mr. Chairman, to be such. They seem to me to be clarifying provisions which should merit our favorable response.

I regret that I find myself in disagreement on this point with the distinguished chairman and majority of the members of this committee which has labored so assiduously over this bill. I could not be easy in my conscience, however, were I to oppose an amendment which simply, as I construe it, says that we mean by this bill to carry out exactly what the committee has told us in their report, nothing more and nothing less.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEATING. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. Does not the gentleman agree with me also that when a man of the responsible position of Secretary of War, not just in an offhand remark but through a discussion of several pages of hearings insisted that he does not expect to use over 40 or 50 men and says he does not object to a limitation of 100, certainly he would not object to a limitation of over 200. Yet, there are those who say they have heard whispers in the dark that he does object. There is still time before we vote to go to the telephone and call him and then tell the House in public that he wants no limitation. I do not think he is going to say that. Congress has a responsibility in this matter.

Mr. KEATING. May I say to the gentleman, if the Secretary does mean that, there is certainly no evidence before us to that effect, which I am sure he, as a distinguished former jurist, would agree we should have, to form the basis for any decision to oppose these amendments. In the absence of any such testimony, we should accept the record before us to

the effect that about 70 military and naval personnel in both these countries is the number contemplated.

Mr. MUNDT. The Senate committee brings out the same point. I think the country has the right to have the assurance of Congress that we are supporting the Secretary of War in his suggested limitation, but let us not have any more blank checks. They can become dangerous and expensive experiments.

Mr. KEATING. I agree with the gentleman entirely and thank him for his helpful comments.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York [Mr. KEATING] has expired.

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was granted permission to revise and extend the remarks previously made.)

[Mr. RIZLEY addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

(Mr. KEATING and Mr. HOEVEN asked and were given permission to revise and extend their remarks.)

Mr. PFEIFER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. PFEIFER. Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to granting military aid in any form. It will be a dangerous precedent. I do recommend, however, that any money spent in either country should be used to build schools, hospitals, missions, and so forth, and to feed the hungry.

I believe in relief and reconstruction.

I agree with Paul A. Porter, chief of the American Economic Mission to Greece, in that outside assistance is required for the survival of a democratic Greek state and we must make available funds for reconstruction and rehabilitation.

I have always favored a foreign policy of friendly relations with all countries and domination by none.

Why now this sudden anticommunistic action, when we permitted the division of Poland and the overrunning of the Balkans by the communistic forces, in fact, aided them; permitted placarding and the dissemination of material and propaganda in Italy so that in the last election the Communists polled 1,250,000 votes; informed the world through our action in the United Nations Assembly in that we condemn General Franco, who is the only man that has been and still is fighting communism?

Communism cannot be fought with money or bullets. It can be fought successfully only by feeding the people, sheltering the people, making them feel secure and free of fear and want.

I, therefore, Mr. Chairman, am not in favor of this bill due to its military-aid clause, and therefore will vote against it.

Mr. BRADLEY of California. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. BRADLEY of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRADLEY of California. Mr. Chairman, I have listened with great interest to the attempts to define what "advisory capacity" means from a military point of view. Let me tell you it is absolutely meaningless.

I have seen the preliminaries of two world wars in which this Nation has been engaged. I remember the maneuvering very well, as, being an adult in the naval service, I knew that I should be an active participant in them. Mr. Chairman, the present set-up is the same in substance as those which led up to World Wars I and II. In both cases we gave powers to the President which permitted him to get us into the war without the consent of the Congress. The Congress believes that it has the sole power to declare that a state of war exists for this Nation. It is merely fooling itself—suffering under a delusion—for in both of the two great world wars we have fought the Nation was in the war under Executive directives before the matter was put up to the Congress. The Congress was merely a rubber stamp; it only confirmed what was already a fact—that a state of war existed. Are we going to do that again by granting this blank-check authority in this bill? Are we going to allow the administration to maneuver us into a position from which there is no way out except war or backing water in the face of the world? Are we going to send unlimited military personnel to get us embroiled in European squabbles? I know that the bill says that military personnel shall act in "an advisory capacity only." But just what does that mean, anyhow? Are American military aviators sitting in the observers' seat alongside the pilot in a combat plane advisers or combatants? Are American naval officers on board a fighting ship which may be sunk by the enemy advisers or fighting personnel? You know the answer as well as I do. They are combatants, and there is no other way to look at it. They are just as much combatants as were the American Army aviators who were sent to China to fight against the Japanese while we were still neutral.

Military and civilian personnel occupy quite different places in the category of reasons for international trouble. Civilians can be expended without any great accounting therefor, but military personnel abroad are recognized as clear-cut representatives of the nation they serve. When the time comes that some of the "members of our military services" who are acting in "an advisory capacity only" are killed in combat with Soviet forces we shall howl for vengeance and the fighting part of the third world war will be right on our doorsteps.

Perhaps we think that the probable gains justify the risks we shall assume. In that event I have no criticism. My sole object is to bring the terrific risks of this bill to your attention.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRADLEY of California. Gladly.

Mr. McDONOUGH. The gentleman from Oklahoma made a statement to the

effect that the reaction in this country would be terrific if only one American were killed in this undertaking. Last summer when Yugoslavia shot down six of our American flyers, there was nothing done about it. They were not even brought before the International Court of Justice of the United Nations for an accountability of their actions. I doubt very much if there is going to be any arousing over this situation since we passed that incident over.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BRADLEY of California. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Is the gentleman satisfied if we are to take action to stop communism in Greece and Turkey that we ought to immediately take it from a military standpoint?

Mr. BRADLEY of California. I would not quite say that. I am very much distressed about where we are going from here, that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the requisite number of words.

Mr. Chairman, at the outset of my remarks I concede that the proposition to make these loans to Greece and Turkey is such that even the closest friends could differ about it.

I criticize no Member of the Congress for voting for this proposal, although I intend to vote against it for what, to me, appear compelling reasons.

We are given only two little glimpses, so to speak, of this whole proposition, the final pattern of which may be, and probably will be, a third world war. If this eventuates, we would have to fight alone and unaided. There is not a nation in all Europe which could or would engage in another war at this time to help us even though they were so inclined. This time they would expect us to do it all—finance it, fight it, and feed them while doing it. The result undoubtedly would be an impoverished America left depleted of its resources, insolvent, confused, and bewildered in a world of chaos.

The administration—and I refer, of course, to the executive branch of the Government—has not seen fit to be frank with us. They have not informed us as to what the whole of this new foreign policy is, or what it involves.

We are asked to extend loans which we must concede are military loans to be directed explicitly at preventing the expansion of Soviet despotism throughout Europe, Asia, and the Orient.

Mr. Chairman, there are a number of propositions on which the Congress and the American people are entitled to enlightenment before this proposal is voted on.

In the first place, is this the first step in a move to actually stop Russia, even though it may lead to another long and bloody war?

In the second place, if it is the first step in a move to force the iron curtain back to the borders of Russia, does anybody know what the total cost may be in blood and money? The American people have been told nothing about these two problems.

If this is a proposition to stop Soviet expansion in Europe, \$400,000,000 is a mere drop in the bucket, and when the demands of all other nations—if this program is embarked upon—have been met, the cost will not be hundreds of millions but many billions of dollars. If it is not to stop Russia, then we are embarking upon a course repugnant to every American tradition. Our reward will be the hatred and the enmity of those we seek to help. Finally, we will have to pay all the costs and do all the fighting, whether we stop Russia or not.

If we are going to stop Russia, what are we going to do about all the nations which are now behind the Stalin iron curtain—nations like Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, honest little Finland, Estonia, Russian-occupied Germany? The American people have been given no light on that question.

If we are going to make these loans to stop Russia, how much more are we going to have to lend to Great Britain? How many more billions are we to lend to France? How many more billions must we hand to Italy? How many more millions must we lend to China? What are we going to do about India? What are we going to do about Palestine?

To embark upon this program, even though we do not engage in war in the next 15 or 20 years, means the maintenance by the United States of America of a national defense stronger than that of any other war machine in the world, at an expense which would constitute a further crushing burden on our taxpayers for the next 10 generations. The administration has given us no light on that problem.

If we embark upon this new course, which constitutes a complete and radical departure from our traditional American policy, and furthermore, an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, are we prepared to finance all the countries of the world? Are we prepared to police with troops all the countries we would have to subjugate? On these grave questions the administration gives us no light.

If we embark upon this course, we will either hand over more multiplied billions of our money in gifts—they are not loans—to be administered by foreigners with the result that large portions of these hard-earned billions will be stolen, and that other portions will go to finance Soviet puppet governments in satellite states as has already been the case with UNRRA. Either this, or else we will have to police with special commissions of Americans, both military and civil, the expenditure of these billions in such countries. If we do that, then we shall have adopted the British colonial policy and an imperialistic technique whether we like it or whether we do not. The administration has given us no light on that subject.

Are we going to have to maintain a great standing Army, an extensive Navy, manned by American boys and girls under compulsory military service, in order to provide troops constantly to police the rest of the world while we shell out the money? The administration has given us no light on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

Mr. RAYBURN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not, of course, but I told several of our people that I thought the Committee was going to rise around 5:30. I spoke to the Speaker. I have not yet spoken to the majority leader or the Chairman of the Committee. I wonder what the majority leader would think about that.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RAYBURN. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. We tried to get some limitation on the debate simply for the purpose of determining how many wanted to speak. It was indicated that we might run as long as 70 minutes, and on that we concluded to go along and see what might develop. There are different opinions as to whether we might proceed to vote on this amendment if the time could be shortly concluded, but if it cannot, then certainly there should be no reason to hold the Committee late tonight, because I propose to have the Committee come in at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. RAYBURN. I think it would be a merciful thing that, when the gentleman from Michigan completes his 5 minutes, the Committee might rise.

Mr. HALLECK. I wonder if, pending that, we could reach an agreement on how many more want to speak.

Mr. RAYBURN. There were 14 a while ago.

Mr. BLOOM. There are three on this side that are not here at the moment.

Mr. HALLECK. Of course, the matter is under the control of the Chairman of the Committee, but if he sees fit to have the Committee rise at the conclusion of the speech by the gentleman from Michigan, certainly that would meet with my approval.

Mr. RAYBURN. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOODRUFF. Mr. Chairman, whatever the answer to these questions may be, I feel very deeply that the American people should be given at least all possible information, if not definite answers, before we, their representatives, are asked to vote to commit our Nation to this course.

Before taking this step, I believe we should again look at the money we ladled out in lend-lease while we sent our millions of troops into the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Pacific theaters of war, from which hundreds of thousands of them never returned.

I think we should remind the American people that previous experience tells us that these so-called loans are not loans at all: they are gifts. I think, furthermore, Mr. Chairman, the American people ought to be reminded that these loans are not just pieces of paper; they are not merely disks of metal. They represent our raw materials, which are rapidly disappearing; they represent the wealth, the real wealth; they represent

the toil and sweat and the energy, the very lifeblood of our American economic structure and of our American citizens: goods and services, manufactured goods, toil and sweat and energy and wealth pouring out of this country, never to return.

How long can the American people endure this constant drain upon their resources? The administration has given us no hint of the answer to that momentous question.

Mr. Chairman, how long can one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty million Americans labor and sweat to feed the hungry peoples of the rest of the world, to rebuild shattered agriculture and the shattered industry of the other nations of the world? Is there not a grave danger that, instead of rescuing the rest of the world from starvation and ruin, we may so deplete our financial and material resources that we will go down to ruin and chaos with them? The administration gives us no light on this question.

Every economist in this country knows that the great depression of the 1930's was an aftermath of the First World War. The billions of dollars and the loans and expenditures which we made in that war and after that war were not repaid. These debts will never be repaid. Those loans represented goods, raw materials, energy, sweat, and toil, and they took so much of the lifeblood out of our American economy that, when the European nations repudiated their debts, our economy was prostrated by exhaustion.

Mr. Chairman, I believe this is the time when we should review the costs in money we have already poured out—the billions, yes, the hundreds of billions, we have already spent in foreign wars. I, therefore, shall include as a part of my remarks a statement from the Washington Times-Herald of December 11, 1945, showing the amounts foreign nations still owe the United States from World War I. That amount in the aggregate is \$14,000,000,000. Next, I desire to insert in the RECORD a statement showing how the expenditures of \$50,500,000,000 given away by the United States in lend-lease was apportioned between nations.

Next, I desire to insert in the RECORD a short statement showing how the United States settled lend-lease at an 89-percent loss.

Mr. Chairman, I desire to insert in the RECORD also a statement showing the quotas for the International Monetary Fund for the countries represented at the Bretton Woods Conference.

Following that, I desire to insert an article from the Washington Post of yesterday, May 7, 1947, showing that the United States is the only nation permitting the World Bank to lend its money while the other nations that agreed to put money into the World Bank have not done so.

Next, Mr. Chairman, I wish to insert a statement showing how the International Monetary Fund functions. The administration has given us no information lately on the condition of this fund. The American people are entitled to

know what has happened to the \$2,750,000,000 we have put into that Fund.

Next I desire to insert in the RECORD a table showing the countries which received aid from UNRRA. I also desire to insert in the RECORD a short article showing how Americans have made generous contributions to foreign peoples even outside of UNRRA.

I now want to introduce a statement showing as of March 8, 1946, how many foreign assets other nations possessed in the United States—and they run into the billions—while we are being besieged with demands and pleas for loans and for charity by almost every government in the world.

I wish to call attention to the fact that on Sunday, March 30, 1947, an article in the Times-Herald, under the signature of Lloyd Norman, showed that we have outstanding, outside of lend-lease, \$9,280,000,000 in loans to 58 foreign countries.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I wish to close my remarks by inserting in the RECORD an article entitled "Where's the Money Coming From?"

This information should reach the people of the United States, because it is the citizens of this country who will have to do the fighting and the dying, as well as the paying, if there is another war. Our people, for generations to come, must do the paying for all this even though there is never another war.

Mr. Chairman, I feel I cannot vote for this proposition and be faithful to my solemn oath of office.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of December 11, 1945]

FOREIGN NATIONS STILL OWE UNITED STATES FOURTEEN BILLION FROM WORLD WAR I— THIS DEBT WILL NEVER BE PAID

Foreign countries still owed the United States \$14,791,340,307 in World War I debts on July 1, 1945, the Treasury said yesterday.

"Total indebtedness" includes unpaid principal, interest postponed and payable under moratorium agreements, and interest accrued and unpaid under the agreements.

The United States has forgiven no World War I debts.

The following table includes total payments, by countries, of principal and interest on the debts. The debts of Russia and Armenia were not funded, however.

Country	Total indebtedness	Principal paid	Interest paid
Armenia.....	\$27,391,079		
Belgium.....	503,579,077	\$19,157,630	\$33,033,642
Czechoslovakia..	175,072,336	19,829,914	304,178
Estonia.....	24,491,700		1,248,431
Finland.....	8,574,063	1,157,868	5,847,626
France.....	4,606,635,664	226,039,588	260,036,302
Germany (Austrian debt)	26,024,539	862,668	
Great Britain....	6,415,664,782	434,181,641	1,590,667,175
Greece.....	36,873,535	983,922	3,143,133
Hungary.....	2,740,938	73,955	482,924
Italy.....	2,052,213,409	37,464,319	63,365,560
Latvia.....	10,114,980	9,200	752,349
Lithuania.....	9,064,140	234,783	1,003,172
Poland.....	306,497,824	1,287,297	21,359,000
Romania.....	74,926,280	4,498,632	292,374
Russia.....	448,079,238		8,750,312
Yugoslavia.....	63,396,719	1,952,000	636,059

[From the Washington Times-Herald of November 16, 1946]

FIFTY AND FIVE-TENTHS BILLIONS SPENT BY UNITED STATES IN LEND-LEASE (Verbatim excerpts)

The extent to which the United States shouldered the production burden of World

War II was made evident * * * in a Treasury Department report revealing the grand total of lend-lease as \$50,596,698,000.

In reverse lend-lease the United States received a total of \$7,000,387,000.

* * * the British Empire and Soviet Russia were the principal beneficiaries of America's aid.

A total of \$31,367,559,000 worth of the weapons and tools of war went to the British Empire, and lend-lease assistance to Russia totaled \$11,266,642,000.

The United States received from the British Empire in reverse lend-lease a total of \$6,319,792,000, and from Russia a total of \$2,212,000.

The report covers lend-lease operations from March 11, 1941, through August 31, 1946.

Besides the British Empire and Russia, top recipients of American weapons, supplies and services were:

France and possessions.....	\$3,230,660,000
China.....	1,557,399,000
Netherlands and possessions..	246,000,000
Belgium.....	153,235,000
Greece.....	71,526,000
Norway.....	52,216,000
Yugoslavia.....	32,027,000

The American Republics received a total of \$459,410,000, Brazil being the No. 1 recipient with a total of \$332,919,000.

Aid to the British Empire included more than \$3,000,000,000 worth of ordnance and ordnance stores, \$6,000,000,000 worth of aircraft and aeronautical matériel, \$3,000,000,000 worth of tanks and other vehicles, \$5,000,000,000 worth of ships, and \$2,000,000,000 worth of miscellaneous military equipment.

Russia received more than \$1,569,000,000 worth of aircraft and air equipment, \$1,770,000,000 worth of tanks and other vehicles, \$1,256,000,000 worth of ships, and \$739,000,000 in ordnance and ordnance stores.

Over all, the United States sent to its allies \$8,559,000,000 worth of aircraft and air matériel, \$7,044,000,000 worth of shipping, \$6,327,000,000 in tanks and other vehicles, and \$4,382,000,000 in ordnance and ordnance stores.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of February 23, 1946]

UNITED STATES SETTLED LEND-LEASE AT 89 PERCENT LOSS

(By Jack Doherty)

(Verbatim excerpts)

A Senate committee probe of the Anglo-American \$650,000,000 lend-lease settlement began * * * with revelation we are getting back less than 11 cents on a dollar and with charges that United States methods of surplus-property disposal abroad are contributing to a system of cartels.

Senator FERGUSON, Republican, of Michigan, told the Senate War Investigating Subcommittee that the settlement turned over to the British Government at cut prices stores of goods which the British could then dispose of at a profit.

FERGUSON and Senator Mead, Democrat, of New York, pointed out that Great Britain had forbidden direct sales to Britons of surplus property by the United States, even though the goods were located in the British Isles. This left the British Government the only practical customer for surplus goods and strengthened British bargaining power, they charged.

Subcommittee Chairman Tunnell, Democrat, of Delaware, said in an opening statement that the writing off by this Nation of the \$6,021,164,850 British lend-lease account for \$650,000,000 will probably set a pattern for settlements with other nations whether we like it or not.

He produced figures showing that with the settlement now an accomplished fact, the United States settled for 8½ cents on the dollar for unconsumed lend-lease stocks worth \$5,552,144,850.

The United Kingdom also received \$351,000,000 worth of surplus property which was still in the possession of American forces there, Tunnell said. This part of the account was settled for 17 cents on the dollar.

The third part of lend-lease settlement was on goods in the pipe line at the end of the war, for which Great Britain agreed to pay \$118,000,000 of a balance of \$118,020,000.

Quotas for International Monetary Fund for countries represented at the Bretton Woods Conference

[In millions of United States dollars]

Australia.....	200
Belgium.....	225
Bolivia.....	10
Brazil.....	150
Canada.....	300
Chile.....	50
China.....	550
Colombia.....	50
Costa Rica.....	5
Cuba.....	50
Czechoslovakia.....	125
Denmark.....	(¹)
Dominican Republic.....	5
Ecuador.....	5
Egypt.....	45
El Salvador.....	2.5
Ethiopia.....	6
France.....	450
Greece.....	40
Guatemala.....	5
Haiti.....	5
Honduras.....	2.5
Iceland.....	1
India.....	400
Iran.....	25
Iraq.....	8
Liberia.....	.5
Luxemburg.....	10
Mexico.....	90
Netherlands.....	275
New Zealand.....	50
Nicaragua.....	2
Norway.....	50
Panama.....	.5
Paraguay.....	2
Peru.....	25
Philippine Commonwealth.....	15
Poland.....	125
Union of South Africa.....	100
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..	1,200
United Kingdom.....	1,300
United States.....	2,750
Uruguay.....	15
Venezuela.....	15
Yugoslavia.....	60
Total.....	8,800

¹The quota of Denmark shall be determined by the fund after the Danish Government has declared its readiness to sign the agreement but before signature takes place.

Source: Department of State Bulletin, Nov. 5, 1944, page 546.

Subscriptions to the Bank for Reconstruction and Development allocated to countries represented at the Bretton Woods Conference

[In millions of United States dollars]

Australia.....	200
Belgium.....	225
Bolivia.....	7
Brazil.....	105
Canada.....	325
Chile.....	35
China.....	600
Colombia.....	35
Costa Rica.....	2
Cuba.....	35
Czechoslovakia.....	125
Denmark.....	(¹)
Dominican Republic.....	2

Ecuador.....	3.2
Egypt.....	40
El Salvador.....	1
Ethiopia.....	3
France.....	450
Greece.....	25
Guatemala.....	2
Haiti.....	2
Honduras.....	1
Iceland.....	1
India.....	400
Iran.....	24
Iraq.....	6
Liberia.....	.5
Luxembourg.....	10
Mexico.....	65
Netherlands.....	275
New Zealand.....	50
Nicaragua.....	.8
Norway.....	50
Panama.....	.2
Paraguay.....	.8
Peru.....	17.5
Philippine Commonwealth.....	15
Poland.....	125
Union of South Africa.....	100
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics..	1,200
United Kingdom.....	1,300
United States.....	3,175
Uruguay.....	10.5
Venezuela.....	10.5
Yugoslavia.....	40
Total.....	9,100

¹The quota of Denmark shall be determined by the Bank after Denmark accepts membership in accordance with the Articles of Agreement.

Source: Department of State Bulletin, Nov. 5, 1944, p. 550.

[From the United States News of July 6, 1945]

HOW THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND WILL FUNCTION

1. Forty-five nations pour \$8,800,000,000 in gold and various currencies into the Fund. United States puts in \$2,750,000,000 in dollars; Britain, \$1,300,000,000 in pounds; Russia, \$1,200,000,000 in rubles, and so forth. All put in some gold.

2. Nations then get together to decide what each currency is worth. Dollar must be valued at \$35 an ounce for gold. Pound is likely to be \$4.03; Canadian dollar, 91 cents. Values will be determined by agreement between Fund and members.

3. Members then agree to stop using money to regulate trade, to abandon currency warfare. They have 3 years to make adjustments, and, after 5 years, currency controls are supposed to be removed.

4. World trade resumes. A British importer wants to buy United States automobiles. He gets his bank to buy dollars with British pounds, so he can pay the United States factory for the shipment.

5. But many British importers may clamor for dollars, more dollars than England has. Then England goes to the Fund to buy dollars with more pounds. She can buy \$325,000,000 a year—one-fourth of her total original contribution in pounds.

6. England cannot buy dollars from the Fund, however, without using some of her own gold and dollar reserves. The agreement is that, for each dollar bought from the Fund, England will use another dollar out of her own reserve.

7. Also, if British sales in the next year produce a surplus of dollars or gold, half of the increase must be given to the Fund in exchange for the Fund's pounds. This need not be done unless Britain's own reserves exceed her Fund quota.

8. Fund levies a service charge of three-fourths of 1 percent of the amount of dollars bought. After 3 months, interest begins at one-half of 1 percent a year for 9 months,

and steps up to 4 percent after 4 years. Meanwhile, Fund will try to correct British trade balances.

9. Before Britain buys too many dollars from the Fund, however, she will want to lower the value of the pound so as to make British goods cheaper and increase sales in world markets. She can lower the pound as much as 10 percent—to \$3.63—after consulting the Fund.

10. If this doesn't correct the situation, the Fund can allow England to reduce the pound still more. But England can't make the cut unless the Fund approves, and the Fund can approve only if a cheaper pound is considered necessary.

11. Finally, all countries may be like Britain in this example and rush to buy dollars. That would make dollars scarce in the Fund. The Fund then can ration United States currency among members, and members then can act to protect their own dollar reserves.

12. The trade of each country is supposed to balance over a period of years, which will bring a balance in Fund accounts. If this doesn't happen, the International Bank will make long-term stabilization loans to reach a balance.

[From the Washington Post of May 7, 1947]

UNITED STATES ONLY NATION THAT LETS WORLD BANK LEND ITS MONEY

United States alone among the 44 nations in the World Bank has agreed to let the bank use its subscription payment to lend to other nations, an authoritative source said yesterday.

The other 43 say they are not in a position now to have their currencies lent out to other nations. This hold-back was described as unimportant at this particular time, however, since none of the nine members asking \$2,553,875,000 in loans wants anything but United States dollars.

The bank's stock of subscribed dollars will be only \$721,392,500, even after the United States finishes its subscription payments 3 weeks from now. The only way the bank can add to them in the near future is to get dollars from private American investors.

The bank is preparing now to borrow from these investors, so it will have more to lend to members, by selling—probably sometime this summer or fall—its own bonds in this country, in denominations as small as \$1,000.

FRANCE FIRST IN LINE

Before then, and probably this month or next, the bank is expected to begin making loans out of its subscribed capital.

France is reported in informed quarters to be first in line for a loan, although it is more likely to be \$200,000,000 than the \$500,000,000 she applied for. Denmark, which wants \$50,000,000, is described as due for a loan soon also.

The hold-back by virtually all members in permitting the bank to lend their currencies does not greatly worry officials of the bank, well-posted sources say, because the officials hope their permission will be given by the time their money is wanted.

The hold-back is attributed to the fact that many of the members were hard hit by the war and, at a time when they feel they must borrow to stage an economic comeback, they also feel they are in no position to put out money to lend.

NOT READY TO EXPORT

When a nation's money is lent out, it serves as a sort of ticket to buy in that country, and the hold-back members are said also to take the position that they aren't yet able to produce enough goods to sell freely for export.

Hold-backs in permitting the loan of subscribed funds are authorized for members

under terms of the Bretton Woods agreement under which the bank and its twin, the World Monetary Fund, were organized a little over a year ago.

Members can hold back on that part of their subscriptions put up in their currencies, but not on the 2 percent of subscriptions they were required to pay in gold or United States dollars.

[From the New York Times of October 28, 1946]

TABLE OF UNRRA AID (Verbatim excerpts)

Following are tables from a report of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. They break down the amount and kind of assistance furnished each of the principal beneficiaries:

Shipments program through Dec. 31, 1946, in thousand tons

	Food	Clothing, textiles, and foot-wear ¹	Medical and sanitation	Agricultural rehabilitation	Industrial rehabilitation ²	Unclassified ³	Total
Greece.....	1,306	27	9	287	693	727	3,049
Yugoslavia.....	1,084	73	20	161	695	352	2,385
Poland.....	67	3	2	17	42	25	156
Do.....	806	80	27	386	493	-----	1,792
Czechoslovakia.....	608	40	24	267	404	-----	1,343
Italy.....	1,844	105	14	410	7,238	-----	9,611
Austria.....	365	4	1	164	47	177	758
White Russia.....	72	6	1	44	22	-----	145
Ukraine.....	209	19	2	41	112	-----	383
China.....	1,094	155	37	558	907	-----	2,751
Other programs.....	57	90	5	6	4	34	196
Total.....	7,512	602	142	2,341	10,657	1,315	22,569

¹ Includes textile raw materials.

² Includes coal and all raw materials except textile raw materials.

³ Military shipments and items awaiting specification.

Shipment program through Dec. 31, 1946, in million dollars

	Food	Clothing, textiles, and foot-wear ¹	Medical and sanitation	Agricultural rehabilitation	Industrial rehabilitation ²	Unclassified	Grand total
Greece.....	164.0	35.0	10.3	50.8	40.9	57.0	358.0
Yugoslavia.....	139.6	75.9	21.6	40.0	109.4	43.0	429.5
Albania.....	5.5	5.4	1.9	6.6	7.1	2.0	28.5
Poland.....	180.5	84.5	30.0	80.0	99.0	-----	474.0
Czechoslovakia.....	107.0	29.5	26.5	33.4	73.6	-----	270.0
Italy.....	195.7	55.9	16.0	29.5	127.4	.5	425.0
Austria.....	54.0	2.0	1.5	19.1	9.0	31.7	117.3
White Russia.....	28.9	7.4	1.2	5.7	17.8	-----	61.0
Ukraine.....	100.2	21.7	2.8	17.4	46.9	-----	189.0
China.....	131.5	95.9	41.3	80.0	186.3	-----	535.0
Other programs.....	14.3	23.0	2.5	1.0	2.5	15.1	58.3
Total.....	1,112.2	436.2	155.6	363.5	719.9	149.3	2,945.6

¹ Values, f. a. s.

² Includes textile raw materials.

[From the Washington Daily News of October 11, 1946]

AMERICANS GENEROUS EVEN OUTSIDE UNRRA (By Robert Taylor)

Verbatim excerpts

United States citizens have contributed out of their pockets, for foreign relief, one-third as much as their Government invested in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The figure you most often see is the \$2,700,000,000 which the United States put into UNRRA's treasury—three-fourths of the total UNRRA budget.

The one you don't hear about is the \$925,000,000 for voluntary contributions from September, 1939, until this spring.

At the time the President's War Relief Control Board quit business last March 31, 596 private agencies which had registered for foreign war relief had collected funds and supplies amounting to \$597,621,366.

UNRRA received another \$150,000,000 in voluntary contributions.

In addition, the American Red Cross dispensed \$32,000,000 for emergency civilian war relief in foreign countries between September, 1939, and last June.

Also, the Red Cross handled distribution of another \$146,000,000 for other agencies, most of it coming out of allocations of Federal funds and material.

The resulting total of more than \$900,000,000 is greater than the amount all other nations contributed to UNRRA.

Heaviest collections in the voluntary aid campaign were by the American Jewish Joint Distribution committee, \$48,840,231; United China Relief reported \$40,316,755; United Palestine Appeal, \$32,511,604; and American Society for Russian Relief, \$27,707,859.

In 1939, Polish relief ranked highest; in 1940, 1941, 1942, British; in 1943, Russian, and in 1944 and 1945 international causes got two-thirds of all contributions.

Since the War Relief Control Board ended, the State Department, at the request of President Truman, has maintained a Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Private foreign aid groups may register voluntarily with this committee, providing they agree to file their programs, budgets and audits.

[From the Washington Times-Herald of February 23, 1946]

FOREIGN-OWNED ASSETS IN UNITED STATES TOP THIRTEEN BILLIONS, TREASURY SAYS

(By Walter Trohan)

Foreign-owned assets in the United States totaled almost \$13,000,000,000 on June 14, 1941, and most of these assets are not only intact, but have greatly increased in value since that date.

This was disclosed * * * by the Treasury Department with the publication of a

census taken by the Department's Foreign Funds Control Division. The census data will be used in unfreezing foreign-owned assets over which the division exercised wartime supervision.

The gross total of all foreign-owned assets in the United States as of the census date was \$12,739,000,000. Included were such assets as deposits in American banks, investments in American securities and enterprises, interests in securities and trusts, real estate and other types of property.

Ownership in these assets was vested in 160,000 sources—individuals, partnerships, corporations and governments. These are spread over every country in the world.

The Treasury Department estimated that the foreign-owned assets have increased in value to approximately \$14,000,000,000 from 1941 to December 31, 1944, exclusive of gold earmarked for foreign account. Earmarked gold more than doubled in that period going from \$1,916,000,000 to \$3,937,000,000. The total of foreign assets and gold as of December 1944 was approximately \$18,000,000,000.

Foreign deposits in the United States rose by \$373,000,000 and stood at \$4,031,000,000 as of December 31, 1944. In addition, foreign countries purchased more than \$1,500,000,000 of United States bonds between 1941 and 1944. The Treasury said changes in foreign holdings of long-term assets could not be determined easily, but it was estimated that net foreign purchases were 120 millions from 1941 to 1944.

Enemy-owned assets totaled \$519,000,000. Of this Germany owned \$198,000,000; Japan, \$160,000,000; and Italy, \$130,000,000.

Of the total of almost thirteen billions of foreign-owned assets, five billion three hundred fifty-two and four-tenths millions are charged in the census to the British Empire.

Of the British total, three billion two hundred and thirty-eight and nine-tenths millions is charged to the United Kingdom.

The foreign-owned assets charged to the United Kingdom included \$281,000,000 in bullion, currency, and deposits. The British own \$441,000,000 in American securities, hold \$677,600,000 in enterprises and \$1,441,600 in miscellaneous assets. The French empire owns \$1,081,000,000 of American assets.

Canada, next to the United Kingdom, is the largest holder of American assets at \$1,742,800,000. Next is Switzerland with \$1,210,600,000, and next is the Dutch empire with \$1,164,700,000.

Soviet Russia owned only \$28,100,000 of American assets.

"WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?"

(Digest of an article in the January 1944 Monthly Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York, discussing a new book carrying the title headlined above, by Stuart Chase)

(Verbatim extracts)

Mr. Chase gives full support to the "owing it to ourselves" argument about internal debt, and plumps unreservedly for the theory of the compensatory economy—that is, where the Government takes responsibility for maintaining full employment by spending freely and running into debt in periods of depression, and siphoning off purchasing power and retiring debt by taxes in periods of boom.

The war has demonstrated, Mr. Chase argues, that the country can, if it only makes up its mind to do so, lift employment payrolls, and production to peak levels. (The trouble with pump-priming in the 'thirties, he says, was that the Government never spent enough.) After seeing that the Government can spend money all out and put people to work for war, Americans, he observes, are going to be hard to convince that the

Government cannot do the same for peace. * * *

Discussing in his new book the question where the money to support Government spending is coming from Mr. Chase says:

"The question of where's the money coming from has one answer in the case of the individual, and quite a different answer in the case of all individuals united in a Nation. * * * If you have no money, you cannot buy that beautiful new car. Period. But if you, and all your fellow citizens, want to buy a beautiful new river development project or a beautiful new war, there is nothing to stop you from doing so. * * *

"In your collective capacity you can put men and machines hitherto idle to work. When this pool is exhausted, you can transfer manpower from making cars to making tanks. You can issue claim checks (money) for the new war production, and then tax them back or borrow them back in a closed circuit. You can buy your war and its costly equipment right up to the limit of the nation's manpower, machine-hours, and materials. There will be no difficulty about the money. * * *

"Except for our fears and financial traditions, the same formula can be followed in peacetime."

Analyzing this argument, it will be seen that it comes down basically to the same philosophy as that embodied in the statement that we need not worry about a national debt that is "owed to ourselves." * * *

In the passage cited above, the author appears to assume a smooth, almost automatic, flow of funds from the Treasury through the processes of production and distribution and back to the Treasury by way of taxes. * * *

This argument is obviously similar to the National Resources Planning Board proposition that "costs and income are just opposite sides of the same shield." * * * The process sounds easy and simple; the difficulty is that funds do not flow from the Treasury into the economy and back to the Treasury in the smooth and automatic way that is suggested. * * * It is generally recognized that government spending means either bigger and bigger deficits or higher and higher taxes. * * *

This raises the exceedingly knotty problem of who is going to pay the taxes. * * *

In other words, the formula for where's the money coming from appears on analysis to be less simple than it sounds. Evidently there are reasons other than mere fears and financial traditions to be considered. Discussing the thesis that government spending and building up of debt need occasion no concern because the money spent or paid out in debt interest remains within the system, Dr. Albert Hahn, former chairman of a large provincial bank in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany, writing in the Banking Law Journal for July 1943, points to some interesting similarity with arguments circulated in Germany during and following the First World War. He says:

"To everyone who lived through the German inflation, this argument arouses strong, but very unpleasant, memories, for it is obviously identical with the dictum formulated in Germany during the First World War, 'The money remains in the country.' This dictum provided the solace to the conscience of German authorities as they followed the lax fiscal policies which resulted in inflation and the misery that came in its wake.

"But what of the statement itself? Is it true? It is not only true—it is too true. It is a truism like the arithmetical equation that 10 minus 10 equals 0. This argument, of course, can be applied at whatever level of government debt one might choose to mention, anywhere from \$1 to trillions and trillions." * * *

The theory of the compensatory budget or compensatory economy, as Mr. Chase puts it—has gained a wide following over the past decade. * * * It represents a mixture of

economic defeatism born of hard times, and of an exhilarating sense of having discovered something new from the experience of seeing at last what really big-scale government spending can do. * * * All * * * share in common the view that it is the government's job to keep the economy operating on even keel at full employment, injecting purchasing power into the system by increased public spending and investment as private spending and investment falls off, and following a reverse course as the cycle changes. Implementing government spending, Mr. Chase advocates a highly flexible tax system—one designed to penalize idle money and drive hoarded savings into spending or investment when the economy needs stimulating, with a shift over to some form of spendings taxes when things begin to go too fast and need restraint.

Admittedly, here is a very interesting blueprint for permanent prosperity—if it would work. Actually, it is difficult—even with the most sanguine stretch of the imagination—to see how it could work.

In the first place, it is impossible to turn public expenditures and taxes on and off like the spigot of a water pipe. Much less is it easy to alter on short notice the structure of the tax system at the behest of economic planners bent on using it as the lever to control business cycle fluctuations.

While it is usually easy enough to expand Government expenditures—appropriation bills are almost invariably popular—it is quite another matter to contract them. * * * The result is that every period of big spending leaves the Government on a permanently higher level of costs, with more debt and more taxes. * * *

And comparable difficulties arise as to taxes. While plenty of people like to see Government expenditures increased, nobody really like to see taxes go up. * * * Despite the most compelling reasons for tax increases in wartime, both to pay for the war and to sterilize surplus purchasing power, we have witnessed the spectacle of months of wrangling over tax bills; and not even yet have we a tax program that is truly anti-inflationary in the sense of going to the heart of the problem of reaching excess income where it is being created. * * * Politics has dominated. * * *

If we are unable or unwilling to tax adequately in wartime, when the need is so clear and when there is a spirit of patriotism to help, what chance would there be in ordinary times of raising taxes on large masses of people to cut off a perfectly good boom which everyone was enjoying and would doubtless like to see continue indefinitely?

Mr. John Chamberlain, literary critic of the New York Times, expressed the difficulty very well when, in reviewing Mr. Chase's book, "Where's the Money Coming From," he said:

"What bothers me is the failure of people to see the implications of Mr. Chase's ideas. If there is to be deficit financing in a 1933-39 period, there must be high taxation in a 1940-43 period, when the economy is booming. Yet Congress, at the moment, shows no willingness to tax with any rigor. I suspect that this is an almost unchangeable fact of human nature, this unwillingness to pay off in good times what has been borrowed in bad times. When it's raining is obviously no time to mend the roof. But when the sun comes out we don't want to mend the roof either. Things are too pleasant on the ground."

Mr. Chase concedes in his book that his system would require a "serious psychological adjustment" about taxes. "Americans", he says, "traditionally regard taxes as a burden and a waste if not an outrage." But, says he, "If they want a compensatory economy and not something much more radical, they will have to change their ideas and begin to think about taxes the way they

have been taught to think about insurance. You pay now in order to avoid calamity later."

Perhaps Americans ought to think about taxes that way; but will they? Maybe, before piling up a lot of debt on the compensatory spending theory, it would be a good idea to know.

A second, and even more basic, objection to the compensatory budget idea is that it vastly oversimplifies the problem of maintaining economic stability. It would be a fine thing indeed if all that was needed to keep the economic machine hitting on all cylinders at just the right pace would be turning on and off the stream of funds from the Public Treasury. But it would be well to pause and think a moment of the full implications of this doctrine.

What it means, first of all, is applying a single specific—Government spending—to all the ills to which the economic system may fall victim. * * *

What it means, secondly, is attempting to shift to the Government responsibilities that in a democratic society must rest primarily with the people. * * * Why should anyone worry when the Government underwrites everything? * * *

The fact is that society cannot function under a system that encourages irresponsibility and indiscipline, and which protects everyone from the consequences of making mistakes. * * * Necessity is the mother not only of invention but of adjustment. Except as there are incentives and pressures to eliminate sources of disorder, sore spots in the economy tend to get sorer and sorer, until finally the treatment break down. * * *

The argument that because we willingly pour out great sums to win a war we can do the same in peace is by no means original with Mr. Chase. * * *

It is true, as Mr. Chase says in the first quotation cited above, there will be no difficulty about raising the money. * * * The real question is, What are the consequences of this kind of finance? * * *

"Where did the money come from?" asks Mr. Chase, pointing to the vast military programs of Russia, Italy, Japan, and Germany. "Where did Britain and America get it for their colossal war outlays?"

We know the answer to that. They got it out of varying degrees of credit and currency inflation, coupled with taxation beyond anything ever dreamed of before and unprecedented regimentation of their people. * * *

When we hear it said that because this and other countries can "afford" to spend great sums for carrying on the war, we can "afford" to spend in peace, we have to bear in mind that the ultimate consequences of this war spending are not yet known. The chemist does not stop in the middle of his experiment and draw final conclusions as to the results. * * * It is a question of what the cost will be in terms of inflation, taxation, and the kind of an economy we are going to have.

In war, we spend money and run into debt, not because we can afford to * * * but because * * * almost nothing else matters. Even though we knew that the spending of these sums would eventually bring national bankruptcy and financial chaos, as it has done for many warring nations in the past, we would still do it. * * *

The economy in war is not and cannot be—at least in a democracy—a criterion for the economy in peace. War represents a tremendous distortion of normal peacetime values and practices and ways of living, and there is no warrant for assuming that because certain things are done in war they can be, or ought to be, done in peace. * * *

What has been said is not to imply that the Government should not give assistance in times of economic crisis. * * *

The main point to be stressed is that * * * we be thoroughly aware of what we are doing, and not mistake palliatives for cures. Real curative measures consist of making adjustments, discovering and eliminating bad policies and practices, cleaning up weak spots, and so forth, so that the economy can get a new start. When government spending comes to be used as a substitute for such essential—though often painful and unpleasant—processes, it becomes a menace instead of a help.

Nor should it be supposed that in taking the road of Government spending we are necessarily avoiding "something more radical", as suggested by Mr. Chase. Government spending tends to be like a drug, in that it takes larger and larger doses to get results; and all the time, debt and taxes get higher and higher. There is no surer route to statism than by the way of the tax collector, for when private enterprise ceases to become profitable and lags, the State takes over. One of the factors handicapping recovery in the thirties was the draining off of the source of risk capital by taxation, together with the large slice of the profits of successful ventures taken by government. * * *

In going forward with whatever relief programs may be deemed necessary and desirable from time to time, let us do so with eyes open to the limitations and dangers of such measures. Let us not be misled by any assumption that "because we did it in war we can do it in peace," or delude ourselves that we can keep ourselves afloat by pumping out Government money for all sorts of projects, and increasing debt, so long as "the money remains in the country", and "we owe the debt to ourselves."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, had come to no resolution thereon.

HOUR OF MEETING TOMORROW

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD at this point an amendment to the pending bill which I propose to offer tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CRAWFORD. The amendment referred to is as follows:

Page 4, line 22, after the period add a new section as follows:

"Sec. 3a. There is hereby created the Foreign Funds Control Commission which shall be an independent agency of Government directly responsible to the Congress.

"The Commission shall consist of three members—a Director, the Comptroller General, and the Secretary of the Treasury.

"The Director shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for a term of 5 years and shall serve until his successor has qualified. The Director's salary shall be \$15,000 annually. He shall be

a natural-born citizen of the United States. He shall have had a broad experience in the administration of Government funds and without previous prominent affiliation with any major political party.

"The Commission is hereby directed to administer all funds hereafter granted by the Treasury of the United States or previous grants if directed by the Congress to foreign countries, their nationals and agencies of whatever kind or nature.

"The work of the Commission shall be organized under no less than three general divisions (1) the executive under the supervision of the Director, (2) audit and accounting under the supervision of the Comptroller General, and (3) investigation under the supervision of the Intelligence Branch of the Treasury.

"The Director is hereby authorized to engage such personnel, to acquire such office equipment, accounting records, printed matter, and office supplies as may be required to effectuate the purposes of this act.

"The Director shall have the assistance of other Government departments such as the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Mines and Mining, Bureau of Fisheries, State, War, Navy, Treasury on matters generally coming within the scope of the respective department's functions and to the end that the best expert advice obtainable may be at the service of the Commission in administering the funds so granted; and it shall be the duty of the said agencies to cooperate in every practical manner possible.

"The main office of the Commission shall be located in Washington, D. C. Field offices shall be established and operated in whatever country is given a grant and shall be maintained in operation in that country for whatever time may be required to properly administer the funds so granted.

"The Commission shall submit quarterly reports of its administration to the Congress which shall be published for the general information of the taxpayers and bond buyers of the United States."

[Mr. GAMBLE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, during the last campaign the Republican Party made 10 campaign pledges. I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a magazine article showing how those pledges are being definitely and actively fulfilled.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. PHILBIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech he recently made over radio station WHDH in Boston.

Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a report.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from the State Department to me dated May 5, 1947, and also some telegrams to the Department of State from Ambassador Smith from Moscow to the Secretary of State dated June 11, 1946, which were referred to in debate today in Committee of the Whole.

take of its bounty. The first settlers depended on it for sustenance. Until 1800 it was pretty much a free-for-all proposition. Nature provided, man simply garnered; and to Fair Haven and Fair Haven East it brought great activity, monetary reward, and a place in the sun.

By the 1850's the Quinnipiac, in season, was a forest of masts. Its shores swarmed with men, women, and children catching, unloading, opening, and packing oysters in kegs, loading them on wagons to be peddled all over the countryside and as far north as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. By the 1860's propagation and cultivation had made it a year-round occupation. While laws, regulations, modern business methods, and modern transportation ruined the picturesqueness of the animated scene around John Rowe's Tavern, they have not destroyed oysters as an important New Haven industry.

There is neither the time nor the need to portray the 1900's. You here are part of the picture. It can be drawn with a few bold, broad strokes.

The pattern of the closing years of the 1890's, highlighted by the prosperity that followed the war with Spain, was the pattern of the opening years of the 1900's to at least the close of World War I. Most of the older firms were still functioning even though business was not very good just prior to 1914. New ones, small perhaps in size but of considerable value in the aggregate, were being added, a trend that has continued to our day. So in the place of a few dominant industries we now have over 400 listed activities, from razor blades and insulated wire to precision instruments and mechanical toys and a newcomer of considerable importance, the garment industry, all of which is in my opinion a change for the better.

Another trend, especially since the end of World War I and perhaps not quite so pleasing to our native pride, has been the gradual absorption of the older firms by outside interests and a lessening of local management in others. I wonder, however, if the extent of this in the over-all picture has not been exaggerated by the fact that it has principally occurred in the larger concerns. With the growth of the oil industry and increased shipments of coal the harbor has reclaimed some of its strategic importance, a matter for sincere congratulations; and the industrial area has stretched beyond the actual city limits, a necessary component of growth and therefore encouraging.

A GROWING INDUSTRIAL AREA

Where the value of manufactured products was only \$188,000 in 1811, it rose in the following 70 years to about \$30,000,000 in 1888. We were keeping our end up during this long period of industrialization, which for Connecticut did not get well started until about 1830. By the early 1900's it was around \$50,000,000 and, eliminating the distortion of the war years 1914-19, it was in 1935 about \$80,000,000 and in 1940 around \$100,000,000.

I use these estimates with considerable hesitancy, for I am uncertain as to how many industries are included in each period, or whether the same area is covered in each case. In this hasty survey I have always had in mind not the corporate limits of the city but the territory purchased by Eaton and Davenport from the Sachems, Momauguin and Montowese. That is the real commercial New Haven. These estimates can, however, be taken as a rough approximation as to what has been and is taking place in our local commercial community. While they do suggest a certain slowing down, the broader view offered by our metropolitan district should give us a picture of a growing, not a dying, organism.

Putting the Pressure on Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE D. AIKEN

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 8 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Putting the Pressure on Congress," written by Richard L. Strout and published in the Christian Science Monitor of May 7, 1947.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PUTTING THE PRESSURE ON CONGRESS—AN INTIMATE MESSAGE FROM WASHINGTON

(By Richard L. Strout)

WASHINGTON.—Ten big organizations listed their financial expenditures for lobbying, under the new Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, as \$532,588, in the first quarter of 1947. Besides this top 10, 114 other organizations filed financial statements saying they were trying to influence or exert pressure on Congress, the total expenditures amounting to \$928,022.

Many organizations did not file financial statements on the ground that their "principal" activity was not influencing legislation. Among this group were the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

It can be conservatively estimated that at least \$5,000,000 is spent annually for direct, first-line influence on Congressmen in Washington. Some 500 organizations are now responsible for 745 listed lobbyists. Many of these lobbyists are working for exactly opposite things.

First-line lobbyists in Washington only begin to tell the story, however. Take the case of the National Home and Property Owners Foundation, fifth among the big 10 spenders in the first quarter. This group spearheads the fight against the Taft-Eliender-Wagner housing bill and in favor of ending rent controls. Organ of this influential body is a monthly, the Property Owner. This periodical carries on effective presentation of its views, and the current number paints Senator ROBERT A. TAFT, Republican, of Ohio, as a rather radical fellow, surrounded by "a strong left-wing faction."

The magazine shows the kind of work that an energetic group can undertake. For example, it explains that 14 members of the Ohio congressional delegation, "accompanied by 40 prominent Republicans," were mobilized recently for what was described as "a secret caucus in Mr. TAFT's office." The statement continues:

"When the meeting ended there was little doubt in the Senator's mind that the 'thinking majority' was in open revolt against him. Mr. TAFT may yet mend his ways."

The Property Owner likewise noted that its spokesman had been asked to appear before a closed session of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. "Of the dozens of organizations fighting the Federal housing bill, only the national foundation has been requested to attend the closed-door session."

There are all sorts of ways of trying to persuade Congress. In its antitrust suit against western railroads, started last week, the Justice Department introduced a letter

from R. V. Fletcher, then vice president and now president of the Association of American Railroads, explaining an effective procedure. Incidentally, the well-organized AAR helped get the Bulwinkle bill through the House recently after a brief 40 minutes' debate.

"All of us have long recognized that the only effective way to influence congressional action is to convince the influential men in each congressional district that the public interest and the interest of the railroads coincide," explained Mr. Fletcher.

"I have the impression that most of the Congressmen, particularly those living in the smaller States and in rural districts, depend for their support upon a comparatively few men in each county in their respective districts."

Mr. Fletcher sketched his program for card listing not merely Congressmen but the important men back home who assist them in their campaign—such assistance presumably including campaign contributions. It frequently happens, he said, that a Congressman from a smaller State occupies a "key position in connection with some measure pending in Congress." As worked out, the Fletcher organization was not designed to work directly on a Congressman but at second-hand, upon his important campaign backers.

A program like this does not, of course, present Congressmen in a very favorable light. For our purpose it merely shows how relatively unimportant the \$5,000,000 annual expenditures for Washington lobbyists may be. Much bigger sums are probably spent in individual districts with the Washington headquarters merely signaling the plays.

Aid to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1947

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, there are four compelling reasons why I will cast my vote for the pending legislation.

First. The program is in the mind of the world a fact accomplished. Not to pass this bill substantially in its present form would constitute a retreat—a retreat that could be interpreted in no other light than as an abandonment of free people everywhere to whatever fate may befall them. The President by his action and the Senate by its majority support have left us with little choice except to go forward or to abjectly retreat.

Second. It is desirable that we should go forward because the people of America favor this action. I know it has been stated here that the people of America oppose this loan and that no polls of opinion record the public as being favorably inclined. These statements I dispute. As most of you know, I conduct frequent scientific polls to ascertain public opinion in my district on national issues. My district is a fairly typical one as regards economic activity and levels of financial well-being. The registered voters in the district are numerically almost exactly divided between Republican and Democrat. Very recently the dis-

strict was polled on the simple question "Do you favor the proposed loan to Greece and Turkey?" According to the signed replies 60 percent of the Republicans voted "yes" and 55 percent of the Democrats voted "yes." Even allowing for a margin of error, I submit these figures as convincing evidence that the public favors the passage of this bill.

The third reason I favor the approval of this loan to Greece and Turkey is, because it is a measure of national defense. Everyone now recognizes that science and technology have combined to shrink the world into a unit so small that serious trouble in any part of the world affects all other parts. We likewise know that insecurity anywhere means insecurity everywhere. Does anyone doubt that the seizure of Greece or the Dardanelles would not bring us to the brink of war or actually plunge us into war? I know what many others think, but I sincerely believe that this proposed action pushes back the threat of war and provides necessary time for the reconciliation of differences between the great powers. Therefore, I believe that this loan is in reality an act of national defense and self-preservation.

Fourth, and of greatest significance the inclusion of the Vandenberg amendment changes the whole complexion of our action. Without the Vandenberg amendment which in effect gives the United Nations a veto power over the exercise of our policy the United States could be charged with imperialism, power politics, and even aggression. In this situation such charges should not deter any affirmative vote, but charges of this kind are vaporized by the Vandenberg amendment. This amendment in effect makes the United States simply the instrument of the United Nations to stop the threat of aggression and to maintain the security of nations in the Mediterranean area. It is not too much to hope that by this act we will establish a precedent that will result in the future in international action to stop aggression anywhere in the world at any time. It is not too much to hope that our action now will be the forerunner of a series of similar actions later that will finally establish international security and lasting peace.

Therefore, being firm in my conviction that the loan to Greece and Turkey will serve the best interests of this Nation and of the world I will cast my vote for this measure and urge my colleagues to do the same.

Greek Relief

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1947

Mr. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR. Mr. Speaker, nearly 100 years ago there was one who saw very clearly the unchangeable and unchanging direction of Rus-

sian policy and who warned the world against the consequences of its future developments. It is ironic that this prophet has since been virtually canonized in certain countries. On April 12, 1853, he wrote of the danger of Russian aggression in the Near East:

The vital interests should render Great Britain the earnest and unyielding opponent of the Russian projects of annexations and aggrandizement. England cannot afford to allow Russia to become the possessor of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Both commercially and politically, such an event would be a deep, if not deadly, blow at British power. Let Russia once come into possession of Constantinople * * * in that case the Black Sea would be * * * a Russian lake * * * Trebizond would be a Russian port, the Danube a Russian river. * * * But having come thus far on the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic and swollen power will pause in its career?

Circumstances, if not her own will, forbid it. * * * With Constantinople she stands on the threshold of the Mediterranean. * * * With the Albanian coast * * * she is in the very center of the Adriatic. * * * It would appear that the natural frontier of Russia runs from Danzig or perhaps Stettin, to Trieste. And as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so surely would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia, and the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire.

The arrest of the Russian scheme of annexation is a matter of the highest moment. In this instance the interests of * * * democracy and of England go hand in hand.

Are you curious as to the name of this clear-sighted gentleman who was then the European correspondent for the New York Tribune? Well, many Soviet citizens are told that only those who have accepted the teachings of Karl Marx enjoy the absolute power of judgment. I am inclined to doubt whether this particular warning by Karl Marx of which he wrote in 1853 is given any extended circulation within the Soviet confines.

The trouble with attempts to appease the demands of expanding and dynamic communism is simply this: The demands are followed by still greater demands and those by greater still and ultimately the time will surely come when aggrandizement shall have to be opposed by force.

But our hope of peace lies much more surely in the other direction in a firm stand now in a "thus far shalt thou go and no farther" attitude. Our hope lies in a continued program to convince the Third International that we do not fear the conflict of the two ideologies when the people may choose for themselves without fear or coercion, let us tell the Soviets that we intend vigorously to maintain from now on out that principle of free choice.

No man can say which way, beyond dispute, lies the sure way of peace, but I do believe that we follow after the things that make for peace when we assert our beliefs in justice, fair dealing, and free will.

As the ancient poet Menander wrote about 2,000 years ago; "We live not as we would, but as we must," and so, although we would live undisturbed by a concern for our relation with the rest of the

world if we can, it should be obvious now that we cannot. We live as we must; which is to say that we live within a world community with obligations which we cannot ignore and which we must assume notwithstanding our traditional reluctance.

The onward sweep of events has made impossible for us a policy of inertia upon this madly spinning globe. We go forward into a new and revolutionary way of life. Let us pray God to attend our enterprise, and grant us wisdom to see and to follow the right as He gives us to see the right, to follow after the things that make for peace.

State Department Encourages Foreign Competition With American Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 8, 1947

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, the letters which I am inserting under leave to extend my remarks furnish a typical example of the bureaucratic mind now engaged at Geneva in bartering away our United States products and pay rolls. It is not only ceramic products which the State Department seeks to eliminate from our economy in favor of foreign low-cost producers but also United States agricultural products. Industrial products are on the auction-block at Geneva including, of course, the pay rolls of our laboring men.

The letters follow:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 19, 1946.

Mr. HOMER LAUGHLIN,
American Domestic Pottery Manufacturing Co., East Liverpool, Ohio.

DEAR MR. LAUGHLIN: We are seeking your assistance in the selection of two ceramic engineers to serve as advisers to the chief of the economic and scientific section of the military government and control activities in Japan regarding technical problems of the Japanese ceramic industry.

We do not have full details regarding the duties but we understand that these positions require highly qualified technicians with a broad experience in the various fields of ceramics. The salaries will range up to \$7,800 per annum.

All positions in the military government activities are, of course, under the jurisdiction of the War Department. In accordance with a cooperative arrangement, however, the Department of State is responsible for recruiting and recommending personnel for certain specialized positions such as these. The minimum period for an assignment of this nature is 9 months, though it is hoped that an appointee may remain for an indefinite period. Transportation is provided at Government expense, and living costs are exceedingly low since the Army provides living quarters and meals similar to those of officers at a nominal charge of approximately \$40 per month. Families cannot accompany civilian appointees at present, but there is a fair prospect that they may be able to follow later on in the summer or fall.

We would greatly appreciate any suggestions which you may be in a position to

My husband and I are strongly in favor of your resolution, H. R. 83, calling for publication of *Fascism in Action*. We think it would be a dreadful mistake not to make this information available to the public.

In this country we spend much time, and rightly so, exposing communism and Communists. But let's not forget it was fascism which we fought in the war just ended.

The book on fascism, *Fascism in Action*, should be published without further delay, and every American really interested in the survival of democracy is behind your House Resolution 83, authorizing publication of this document.

I say that every true American is behind you, but I must qualify that and say that every true American who knows about it is behind you. If the fact of attempted suppression of this study were widely known, public pressure in favor of publication could not be resisted.

In the matter of House Resolution 83 offered by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN to require publication of *Fascism in Action*, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, the agency which also prepared *Communism in Action*:

The spread of any "ism" is a threat to democracy and the Congress is to be commended for having ordered 500,000 copies of *Communism in Action* printed for circulation. However, it is disturbing to learn that now Representative PATMAN must fight to compel the issuance of *Fascism in Action*.

Early release for publication of this agency's facts on fascism will dispel the belief harbored by some that the Congress is not seriously alarmed over this growing danger.

The publication of this work will be a great contribution to the cause of democracy and peace. The American people are being stampeded into fascism under the guise of anticommunism, and they must be awakened to the fact that what happened in Germany is happening today in America.

These lines are not from one of your constituents, but I want to congratulate you for your truly splendid efforts to expose the imminent danger of a Fascistic trend made responsible by certain groups and individuals.

The writer is a fellow American 73 years young and is as much a foe of communism as he is a foe of fascism, believing in a truly democratic form of government, as was guaranteed to us under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights by the founders of these great documents.

Just as the threat of communism was publicized and the book thereon was made available to the people of this country, so should the threat of fascism, as described in your book, *Fascism in Action*, be made available and be otherwise publicized.

Perhaps there is little that I can do to help you to prevent the tabling or bottling up of your resolution, House Resolution 83. I want you to know that I shall be happy to do my share, feeling that I am only performing a duty as a fellow American.

It seems ironic that after fighting the most costly and devastating war in history, a war against fascism, a report which would reveal the very fundamentals of fascism is being suppressed. Ironic is not the word. It is a tragedy.

The menace to our democracy stems from fascism and Fascist-like sources, aided and abetted by all other phases of reaction. Unfortunately, too, a large mass of American sentiment, which is basically liberal and democratic, is misled into acceptance of reactionary dogma by the same kind of fears

and prejudices which were nurtured by the Nazis.

The public is entitled to know about the methods of fascism. This book should be published without delay.

Congratulations for your sponsorship of the report, *Fascism in Action*, and for your continuing efforts to have said document published.

The threat of fascism is particularly menacing in that so many Americans fail to recognize fascistic propaganda when they encounter it. It is my belief that documents such as the above will prove helpful in demonstrating to more people the dangers to democracy inherent in the activity of our native Fascists, even as they have been awakened to the dangers of communism.

Greek-Turkish Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1947

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following portion of a radio address by Don Pryor and four letters:

Mr. PRYOR. I used to believe that Rome had nothing to learn in the field of corruption and official venality. But I've just arrived here from Greece. By comparison, the atmosphere in this unhappy country is sweet and pure. Here in the original home of fascism a traveler from Greece feels suddenly free, wonderfully free. Just before I arrived, eight people were killed in a vicious massacre. Harmless men, women and children. Thirty-three were injured, another one died last night. A boy of 12. And that is politics in Italy—harsh, vicious, explosive. But in Greece, violence and terror are a national policy. Corruption is the rule. Ordinary honesty is a form of weakness. No place in the world, perhaps, is more depressing for any man who tries to find the truth. This is what some of our people began to learn this week, and this is the greatest obstacle we shall have to overcome if the aid we propose to give to Greece is to be effective.

The State Department is certain of its ground, however. And for better or worse, our program of aid to Greece actually got underway this week. Our Ambassador, Lincoln McVey, returned to Athens fully confident that Congress would pass the Greek aid bill. He set to work immediately to prepare the ground for the American mission which will move into Greece within the next week or two. He brought with him a bright, young economic expert, William Roundtree, who was a member of the Porter mission. He is now working out details of the agreement that is to be signed by the Greek Government as soon as Congress acts.

And, if present plans are carried out, this agreement is going to be a bitter pill for the Greek Government to swallow because we are going to insist on strict controls over the spending of American money. Not only that, but the American mission intends to supervise the entire Greek economy to see to it that the nation's own resources, for the first time, are used for the benefit of all the people. And that will be something new.

This is Don Pryor in Rome, I return you to CBS in New York.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., May 4, 1947.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE SMITH: All of our lives members of this household have supported the Republican Party; we have opposed communism in America, particularly those hiding under the skirts of the Democratic Party. We are opposed to military loans to either Greece or Turkey. Our frank opinion is that President Truman is willing to blow in \$400,000,000 of our cash to erase from next year's campaign the telling blow our party gave to the opposition when it reiterated Pravda's support of the PAC last election. Truman doesn't want to be caught again; but how can our party members swallow the bait?

Reading John Fischer's article in Harper's magazine for August 1946 (Reader's Digest, October 1946), the Scared Men in the Kremlin, Russia has good grounds for fearing aggression. During War I she was attacked by practically all her former allies; 14 times since 1800 has she been invaded; some of her cities have been occupied over 100 times. I would like to know how we can draw up a working agreement with her, when we boldly intend arming a neighboring country, Turkey, on her weakest frontier.

Reading the Standard Oil Co.'s (New Jersey) report for 1946, pages 8-9, convinces me that Middle East oil exploitation by Texaco, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard Oil of California, etc., has a great deal to do with sudden State Department et al. interest in Greece and Turkey. While Great Britain has exploited southern Iranian oil to the limit, and we have been bribed to defend her interests by being cut in on the exploitation, Russia is being fought tooth and nail to obtain like concessions in northern Iran. All of this doesn't square with the Atlantic Charter.

All of these loans are, furthermore, inflationary, while our party is trying to fulfill its campaign pledge to reduce taxes this year (Truman wants any surplus to reduce debt this year, and taxes next year by him in an election year), it is piling up further loads on the taxpayers by all these external loans—gifts.

TAFT tells us that the President has committed the country to all of this, and we must back the President in his dickerings with Russia. Is this the function of an opposition party, to back the leader, however wrong he may be? Truman had no qualms about freedoms of peoples when he permitted American soldiers to shoot down revolting natives in Indo-China.

I am simply against our party backing up those loans.

FRANK MOCK.

ITHACA, N. Y., May 3, 1947.

The Honorable LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
Member of Congress from Wisconsin,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SMITH: This is written to convey to you my appreciation, encouragement, and support for the fight that you are making against the pending bill for military intervention in Greece and Turkey. I believe that full three-quarters of the people are opposed to this revolutionary and unnecessary program, which may very well end in bankrupting the United States. I also believe that the bill would confer upon the executive department such tremendous power that it will become impossible for citizens to withstand the mobilized pressures which the administration may bring to bear in behalf of any demand that it may make in the name of this un-American program. In view of the unlimited ramifications, foreign and domestic, of the plan, it may lead to a form of executive dictation that would practically destroy the check-and-balance feature of our Government, and that separation of powers which is so essential to the

preservation of the liberty and the internal stability of the country.

With many thanks for the stand you have taken, and with best wishes for the success of your efforts, I am,

Yours sincerely,

CURTIS P. NETTELS,
Professor of American History, Cornell University.

JACKSON, MISS., May 5, 1947.

Congressman LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: As one who has taught history in college and university and has written a comprehensive history on Turkey, may I suggest the following facts concerning the Turks.

To arm Turkey will be a great danger to the peace of the world and to the best interests of the United States, on account of the past Turkish history and character. This undoubtedly will invite war and perpetuate wrongs Turks have committed and this is exactly what the Turks are aiming at.

The Turks have made a scrap of paper of every treaty they have signed.

England and France helped the Turks before the First World War; but the Turks treacherously waged war against them.

During the Second World War they were under treaty obligations to help the Greeks but left them to the tender mercies of the Axis Powers.

What guaranty do we have that the Turks, armed, fed, and trained by us, will not turn against us?

The Turks' nefarious designs and insidious intrigues are aimed to instigate a war between the United States and Russia and not to protect us against communism.

The proposed "gift" of \$150,000,000 to the Turks can be used by us for the purpose, but surely not by the Turks if it is given to them.

In case of war with Russia we can easily occupy the Dardanelles and Asiatic Turkey and paralyze any Turkish move and forestall any Russian advance.

We cannot make the Turks the guardians of our ideals in the Near East. Historically, politically, and economically such a procedure will put the United States alongside of international intriguers and bandits.

Communism is an idea, and we have to fight that idea with a stronger and a better idea. Guns never stopped an idea.

The Turks do not deserve any help whatsoever.

The Turks cannot be trusted. They are playing a diplomatic double game which will eventually benefit only the wily Turk.

The Turks received from us as lend-lease more than \$26,000,000 but did not shed a drop of blood for the cause of the United States. And now some deluded persons propose to extend them some more help. What a folly!

Under the cloak of neutrality, they helped materially our enemies and sold us goods at outrageous prices, thereby accumulating a gold reserve of \$200,000,000.

The bolstering up of Turkey will never work. Turkey is a cancer on the body-politic of the world. Only amputation—that is, division of Turkey in three distinct parts will remove the cancer of the world: (1) Make a state of Constantinople, including European Turkey and a generous slice of Asiatic Turkey, governed internationally; (2) free President Woodrow Wilson's Armenia from the yoke of the Turks; (3) make the remainder of Turkey as a purely Turkish state, so she cannot play one nation against another as she is now doing.

Arming Turkey will be an open challenge to Russia which eventually will result into a conflict.

Helping the Turks will not help fighting communism for there are no Communists in Turkey. The ignorant Turk does not even know what is communism. This is all a pretense and a sham on the part of the Turks.

It will be a great injustice to the American people to take away their honestly earned money and donate to the dishonest Turks, as it is proposed by Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State.

Records show that the Turks robbed and massacred since 1915, Armenians, Greeks, Kurds numbering not less than 4,000,000 victims.

The Turks deliberately ruined the noble and self-sacrificing American missionary work of a century in Asiatic Turkey during the First World War.

Thank God, we're strong enough to protect ourselves and our interests in the Near East, or anywhere in the world without the help of criminal Turks.

With admiration and applause for your courageous crusade against the intrigues and machinations of the Turks, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

JOHN G. MOSKOFFIAN.

HARTFORD, CONN., May 3, 1947.

Hon. LAWRENCE H. SMITH,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SMITH: As a citizen who is greatly disturbed at his Government's proposal to undertake this Greek-Turkish adventure, I want to express my appreciation for the intelligent and strong fashion in which you have opposed this ill-considered legislation.

Of course, I am not directly one of your constituents, but on a matter of this importance I am assuming it in order to communicate with any Congressman and I am taking the liberty of writing to you.

While the Senate has passed this measure, I—and a great many of my friends—count upon the Members of the House, those who have most recently come from election by the people, to bring a little more light into this controversy. Certainly, the Senate passed the legislation without enthusiasm, and merely as the choice between two terrible evils. I deny that there are only two alternatives, and I see no reason why we cannot give every possible economic assistance to Greece (Turkey doesn't need this), under such supervision, for instance, as the American Friends Service Committee might render, or directly through the United Nations (which, in turn, might act through the AFSC).

But, under no conditions, should there be the chance of a military imbroglio, and I surely hope that you will continue to use your splendid influence to prevent the passage of this bill. The whole thing is absolutely silly, or would be, if it were not so desperately serious at the same time. We are talking of the U. S. S. R. as if it had all the power in the world; yet our own Government knows perfectly well that Russia is most emphatically not able to offer more than token resistance to anything. There are a thousand confirmations of this; in our Hartford Times, on May 1, for example, there is an article by Cecil Dickson, just returned from Russia; Mr. Dickson is very conservative, and is probably not opposed in the least—neither is his paper—to this Greek-Turkish incursion of ours. Yet the facts in this article offer some of the best possible proof of the stupid straw men we have been building up. I am enclosing article herewith.

Thank you again for your leadership.

With deep appreciation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES P. JERVEY.

Portal-to-Portal Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ELBERT D. THOMAS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 8 (legislative day of
Monday, April 21), 1947

Mr. THOMAS of Utah. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter, which has already been made public, addressed to the President of the United States, concerning the portal-to-portal pay bill. This letter, with the character of the signers, is of such historical and general public interest that I feel justified in making this request.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MAY 3, 1947.

THE PRESIDENT,

The White House,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: On May 1 the Congress enacted H. R. 2157 entitled "An Act to define and limit the jurisdiction of the courts, to regulate actions arising under certain laws of the United States, and for other purposes." The measure is now before you for consideration. We most earnestly urge you to veto it.

The background of H. R. 2157 is, of course, well known. Congressional interest was stimulated a few months ago by the filing of a number of lawsuits involving large claims for portal-to-portal pay. Many of the suits have since been abandoned and others appear to be without merit. But the mere institution of these legal actions aroused fears of economic dislocation. As a consequence there was insistent demand that employers be protected against anticipated liabilities which had been incurred without negligent disregard of the protective provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the so-called wage-hour law.

If H. R. 2157 related only to this issue, its significance would be narrow. But in truth, the bill deals with much more than portal-to-portal pay suits and profoundly affects the whole national effort to maintain minimum working standards not only under the Fair Labor Standards Act, but under the Bacon-Davis and Walsh-Healey Acts as well.

The major objections to H. R. 2157 are these:

1. The bill loses sight of the fact that the wage-hour law is intended to protect over 9,000,000 unorganized workers against oppressive working conditions and to guard the great mass of honorable employers against unfair competition of unscrupulous business rivals. To impair the enforceability of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the two other acts mentioned above is to destroy the standards themselves. Enforceability of these acts would be greatly impeded if H. R. 2157 were to become law, and to that extent ethical employers and necessitous employees would be exposed to the pressure of substandard producers.

2. The bill imposes a 2-year statute of limitations upon all claims arising under these acts. This is an unduly short period. The process of inspecting pay rolls and detecting violations is necessarily a lengthy one. Too brief a statute of limitations puts a premium on attempts to violate the law, for even a conscious violator would be immune from the consequences of his wrongful

which were in violation of the spirit of the antitrust laws. All through the depression, the merging continued, with the bigger corporations buying out competitors at their own price.

The Federal Trade Commission recently reported that a total of 1,800 mergers took place during the years from 1940 to 1946. During the war, 107 big companies absorbed 300 smaller competitors in the food industries. Six distillers acquired 49 independent distillers and other kinds of businesses, the larger distillers gobbling up virtually all of the country's supply of liquor barrels, forcing the smaller company to sell out because it could get no containers.

One big dairy combine has nearly 500 separate enterprises, and sits astride as much as 60 percent of the dairy business of some of our largest cities. This same dairy combine controls at least 55 percent of the cheese business, 21 percent of the ice cream business, 12 percent of the fluid milk business, 8 percent of all butter sales, and it is operating in many other fields entirely foreign to the dairy industry.

In the tobacco industry, in agricultural implements, in the chain-store field, in banking, and in every other phase of our national economy, the story is the same, and it is this monopolistic trend to merging of the economic resources of the Nation under the control of a few boards of directors, that has led to monopolistic practices of labor unions, and to the growth of big, bureaucratic government.

The whole tendency in this direction is destructive to American ideals, and foreign to all of our ideas of what constitutes the free market. James H. McGraw, one of the leading industrialists of the country, said not long ago, and I quote: "Competition requires independence of action, free access to markets, and no large degree of control by any buyer or seller. The more the sellers, the more easily the buyer can shift from one seller to another."

Henry Luce, publisher of Life, Time, and Fortune magazines, said in 1935, and I quote: "If neither business nor government make any move in the direction of breaking down business into smaller, more compact, more mobile units, if bigness is allowed to remain as the standard concept of our economy, then the American businessman and the American politician, and in fact, all American citizens, must prepare themselves for a different order of things; an order in which the powers of government are not limited, in which the right to risk and profit is not clear, and in which the making, selling, and even the buying of the products of the biggest show on earth, are all mysteriously controlled from above." End of quotation from Fortune magazine, the publication of big business, and written by Henry Luce, its publisher. After reading this sensational statement, I bombarded Life, Time, and Fortune magazines with literature and letters. From time to time, articles did appear, especially in Fortune and Time magazines, and then in 1943, under the title of "America and the Future," John K. Jessup, one of the top men among Luce publications writers, stated: "Many businesses are too big for their own good. No government can ever locate that point at which a business reaches its exact optimum size, but ours can at least make a start. We can oppose unnecessary gigantism and make corporations prove that they need to be as big as they are." By no other course can we escape socialization of banking and industry within the next few years, which would lead us straight into the arms of the Communists.

I told you before that I had testified in behalf of the Kefauver bill, which I believe is the first step we can take this year to lay the foundation for a real decentralization program. There is no doubt in my mind that the bill will be reported out of the

Judiciary Committee, but indications are that it will take a fight to bring it up for a House vote.

If the bill should pass the House I believe it will go quickly to passage by the Senate, where Senator JOSEPH O'MAHONEY, the sponsor, and other top Senators are already making a real fight.

Mr. KEFAUVER's bill is known as H. R. 515. I am not going to ask that you wire or write your Congressman, but I do urge you to consider well what little thing you may do to keep the monopoly issue the hottest issue in America. We have been shadow boxing with phantoms long enough. It is time that we challenge the real enemy of the American way of life: centralization of power in the hands of the few.

Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 8, 1947

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following radio address made by me over Station WHDH, Boston, Mass., on May 3, 1947:

On this day dedicated to the glory and greatness of the Polish Nation, I am very highly privileged, as Congressman from the Third Massachusetts District, to participate in this most appropriate and impressive program in tribute to an outstanding nation and a noble people. Americans of every race, class, and creed join today with all our fellow-citizens of Polish descent in commemorating the stirring events of the founding of this inspiring nation and paying our humble homage to the historic achievements of the Polish people.

No nation in history has sacrificed more for freedom. No people in history have suffered more in the name of free institutions. From time immemorial down to the very present moment the Polish Nation and the Polish people have struggled with tremendous faith, unyielding tenacity and unsurpassed courage to serve the cause of self-determination and human liberty, yes, and to serve the cause of the living Christ.

During the recent war the Polish people and Americans of Polish blood gave living proof of their devotion and loyalty to the eternal principles of freedom and democracy. In their own land, suffering under the lash of an unspeakable tyranny, stricken more cruelly perhaps than any other single nation, the Polish people waged an unflinching battle against overpowering odds and against a ruthless enemy which laid to waste their beautiful country, ravaged their homes, slaughtered the helpless and the innocent, and which threatened all free institutions throughout the world.

At home here in America our own brave Polish-American sons in the armed forces by gallantry and heroism unexcelled by any group proved to us and to the world that there is no braver, no stronger, and no more courageous American than the Polish-American. Grateful as we all must be for the opportunity to live as citizens of this great free Nation, they demonstrated that they were prepared to discharge in full the debt which they owed to our own beloved country, because they believed, like all of us believed, that they were fighting to preserve democracy and fighting to defend the principles of freedom and justice, upon which all democratic institutions are based.

They believed, as all of us believed, that our Nation and the nations associated with us in the devastating world-wide conflict were fighting for the doctrines set forth in the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms." They had every reason to believe, once our enemies were crushed, that the promise of speedy liberation and self-determination for Poland and other small nations, reiterated so often during the war, would be kept, that the guarantee of a free, independent Polish nation set forth in the Atlantic Charter and pronounced in many other wartime declarations would be respected, that the right of the Polish people for self-government and self-determination would be redeemed and enforced, that their birthright of freedom and independence, for which so much blood had been spilled throughout the ages, would be recognized.

Yes, my friends, these were the solemn promises made to the Polish people, made to all other small nations. But these promises have not been kept. These guarantees have not been fulfilled. These rights have not been enforced. Instead, through a series of shameful compromises, concessions, and appeasements at Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam in which, I am ashamed to say, our own Government took a leading part, the Atlantic Charter was thrown overboard, the "four freedoms" was consigned to the scrap heap, and the Polish nation was thrown into shackles and slavery under the domination of Godless, antidemocratic communism—a system of government and a condition of servitude just as detestable and obnoxious to the liberty-loving, peace-seeking Polish people as the brutal tyranny of the Nazis and just as detestable and obnoxious to all the decent, right-thinking peoples of the world.

On this day dedicated to the glories of the past of this ravaged Nation, I desire to declare that there is no crime in all the annals of history perpetrated against any nation more ghastly, more horrible, or more perfidious than the high international crime which unconscionably cast the God-fearing peoples of Poland into slavery under a Communist puppet government. This crime cries to the American people, not only for redemption, but for correction. The cruel betrayal of the Polish people, a betrayal without hardly a counterpart in all human history, must be corrected. The great wrong that has been done to this noble people must be righted, if the United States of America and the United Nations are to maintain self-respect and the respect and confidence of lovers of freedom and justice throughout the world.

The Polish people are not seeking special favors from anyone or from any nation. They are merely seeking their God-given right to be restored to their previous status, to be released from cruel, inhuman serfdom and to be permitted to live as free citizens of a nation ordained and developed under the same principles of self-determination upon which our own Nation is based and in the name of which and to perpetuate which so many Polish and American sons and sons of other free nations fought, bled, and died.

The moral sense and the conscience of the loyal American people have been deeply shocked and aroused by the plight of Poland and they will insist that the Polish people shall be released from bondage and accorded the right, so dearly won, to maintain their own form of government free from the brutalizing shackles of communism. The cause of Poland is and will be the one great test of whether or not this Nation and the United Nations will be able to carry out the great basic principles for which we fought the war of establishing freedom and liberty on a secure foundation or whether we, on the other hand, will sit back in craven submission and appeasement and surrender to the accomplished fact of communism on a world-wide scale.

As we observe the steady pressure against the aspirations of the Polish people and other peoples who have a right to be free, as we observe the spread of infiltration and control beyond the gateways of western Europe into practically all parts of the world, and especially into the very heart of western democratic civilization, thinking Americans must be gravely disturbed at the expanding and ominous power of the mighty octopus of Red fascism which is so ruthlessly spreading its deadly tentacles over so many free democratic nations.

If the freedom our sons fought for is to live, if the rights of nations, small and large, to ordain their own form of government are to be preserved, if the dignity and liberty of the ordinary human being is to be recognized, then it is the sworn duty of every American who believes in the basic truths and doctrines of his own Nation to rally to the cause of Poland, and indeed to rally to the cause of every helpless, inarticulate nation, beaten down, suppressed, and struggling to be free from oppression and tyranny.

Our sons have fought and died for freedom and the very least we can do is to stand for and strive to fulfill the ideals for which so many of them paid the supreme sacrifice and offered their all. Poland must and will be free or else the cause of democracy, which she symbolizes so nobly, will be submerged under the wave of totalitarian dictatorship and the world will ultimately revert, as it has in dark times of the past under conditions very similar to the ones which now confront us, into brutality and barbarianism.

And so, my friends, on this glorious Pulaski Day that typifies some of the noblest and most inspiring chapters of man's struggles for freedom and light, which exemplifies so magnificently the devotion and sacrifice of Poland and the Polish people, I am proud to pay my humble tribute. And I am proud to pledge my continued and my unflinching efforts to the sacred cause of Poland and human freedom.

Yes, my friends, Poland must be free. With God's grace and with the help of the millions of patriotic people of our own great Republic and liberty-loving peoples the world over, may Polish freedom soon come to pass.

Search Without Warrant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD L. JACKSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 8, 1947

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in a 5-to-4 decision handed down by the Supreme Court this week, a decision marked by a bitter minority dissent, the right of search without warrant was pronounced.

By reason of my votes in several instances during the course of this session, I have been attacked as a "reactionary" and a "Red baiter," both of which terms I consider ridiculous. I have stood, and shall continue to stand for what I believe to be the constitutional rights of all American citizens, whether those rights take the form of control of one's own property, as in the case of rent control, or whether it be the right of management to have a voice in the conduct of legitimate business, as in the case of the labor bill.

I do, however, view the decision of the court as an attack on the constitutional right of an American citizen to be free within his own home from search and seizure at the whim of law enforcement agencies great and small.

I deplore the decision as a step away from liberty and freedom of the individual.

Assistance to Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 7, 1947

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following correspondence regarding a Soviet-Yugoslav agreement:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 5, 1947.

The Honorable JAMES G. FULTON,
House of Representatives.

MY DEAR MR. FULTON: I refer to a telephone conversation between Miss Cameron, of your office, and an officer of the Department of State, asking whether the Department had any information regarding a Soviet-Yugoslav agreement whereby the Soviet Government agreed to give certain assistance to the Yugoslav Government.

There is enclosed a communication which I believe covers the matter in which you are interested.

Sincerely yours,

DURWARD V. SANDIFER,
Acting Legislative Counsel.

[Enclosure: Telegram from Moscow, June 11, 1946.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Moscow, June 11, 1946.

SECSTATE,
1834, Eleventh:

Soviet press June 11 announces Soviet-Yugoslav communique recent negotiations between Stalin, Molotov, and Mikoyan on one hand and Yugoslav Government delegation headed by Tito on other. Substantive provisions are translated as follows:

Questions were reviewed of interest to both sides in regard to Soviet-Yugoslav treaty of friendship, mutual assistance, and postwar cooperation of April 11, 1945, and full agreement was achieved on all questions involving economic collaboration, trade, supply of material to Yugoslav Army, and close cultural and political collaboration.

Government U. S. S. R. agreed to supply Yugoslav Army with arms, munitions, etc., on conditions long-term credit, and also to assist in reestablishment Yugoslavia's own war industry.

Trade negotiations conducted between both governments terminated successfully with conclusion agreement on mutual deliveries of goods. Soviet Government responded to fullest extent to requirements Yugoslav economy, both in regard to raw materials and to technical and other materials.

Decisions were adopted regarding close economic cooperation between both friendly countries.

Negotiations transpired in atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

Repeated to Belgrade as 29.

SMITH.

Record of Republican Congress Reveals Positive Redemption of Campaign Pledges—Republicans Get Fast Action on All 10 Major Preelection Promises

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 8, 1947

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Lincoln once said, "Calling the tail of a cow a leg does not prove that a cow has five legs." It is equally clear that the mere fact that a few lame-duck columnists and commentators who are carry-overs from the heyday of New Deal ascendancy continue to mouth the fallacy that the Republican Congress has not met its responsibilities does not prove that fallacy to be a fact. In fact, Mr. Speaker, the exact opposite is demonstrable from the printed record of accomplishments.

Such discerning and objective columnists and commentators as Fulton Lewis, Jr.; Richard Harkness, Frank Kent, George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler, and David Lawrence have pointed out over and over again the exact and specific manner in which the Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress has acted to redeem its campaign pledges and to restore sensible and solvent Government to this Republic. Mr. Speaker, the record of achievement is as clear as the path to the country school house. All that is required by any analyst is the time and patience to study the record of events which has transpired since the opening of the eightieth Congress last January plus the election-stimulated pronouncements coming from the executive departments during the interim between the great Republican victory on November 5 and the opening session of Congress when the Republicans organized the legislative branch of Government with complete control of it for the first time since 1930.

Once upon a time, Mr. Speaker, a great and good Democrat by name of Al Smith offered a blunt proposal for dispelling such fictitious propaganda as that which the New Dealers of this country have attempted to foist upon the American public in connection with the achievement record of the Eightieth Congress. Al Smith put it well when he said, "Let's look at the record." We Republicans echo the words of Al Smith. We urge our fellow citizens to follow this maxim. "Let's look at the record" for January, February, March, and April. It is a record of which every Republican in America may well be proud and one for which Americans of every party affiliation may well give thanks, since it has headed our country away from the shoals of disaster toward which it had drifted so long and so dangerously.

It is important that objective students of government, and partisan enthusiasts as well, should keep certain stern facts in mind when they endeavor to evaluate

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

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For actions of May 9, 1947
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CONTENTS

Adjournment.....	4,8	Forests and forestry...	7,11	Peanuts.....	9
Appropriations.....	2	Labor.....	5	Personnel.....	10
Cotton.....	5	Lands, reclamation.....	6	Territories and pos-	
Economy.....	13	Legislative program.....	2	sessions.....	6
Flood control.....	3	Marketing.....	9	Transportation.....	12,14
Food, production.....	5	Monopolies.....	5	Wildlife.....	7
Foreign affairs.....	1			Wool.....	2

HIGHLIGHTS: House passed Greek-Turkish aid bill. Rep. Halleck said wool bill would be debated Fri. or Sat. if cleared by Rules Committee. Rep. Pace introduced bill "relating to peanut marketing quotas."

HOUSE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Passed with amendments H. R. 2616, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 4967-5031). S. 938, the version of the bill as passed the Senate, was then passed with the provisions of H. R. 2616 inserted (p. 5031).
2. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Majority Leader Halleck announced the program for this week as follows: Mon., consent calendar; Tues., Wed., and possibly Thurs., State, Justice, Commerce appropriation bill; and Fri. and Sat., if not disposed of earlier, S. 814, the wool price-support bill, if it is cleared by the Rules Committee (p. 5032).
3. FLOOD CONTROL. Received from the War Department a report on the preliminary examination and survey of Henderson River, Ill., for flood control (H.Doc. 245) (p. 5033).
4. ADJOURNED until Mon., May 12 (p. 5033).

SENATE

5. LABOR. Continued debate on S. 1126, the labor-management bill (pp. 5036-59, 5059-108). During the debate Sen. Eastland, Miss., inserted an editorial, "How to Crack the Cotton Bloc" (pp. 5047-8); Sen. Ball, Minn., inserted a Federal Farm Bureau telegram opposing the Taft substitute for the Ball antimonopoly amendment (p. 5048); and Sen. Aiken, Vt., discussed with other members the effect of monopolies on agricultural products and the farmer (pp. 5062-4).
6. RECLAMATION. Received a P.R. Legislature resolution urging extension of the Reclamation Act to Puerto Rico (p. 5035).
7. NATIONAL FORESTS; WILDLIFE. Received a S.C. Legislature resolution urging provision for a wild turkey refuge in Francis Marion National Forest (p. 5035).
8. RECESSED until Mon., May 12 (p. 5109).

BILLS INTRODUCED

9. PEANUT MARKETING. H.J.Res. 195, by Rep. Pace, Ga., "relating to peanut marketing quotas under the Agricultural Adjustment Act." To Agriculture Committee. (p. 5034)
10. PERSONNEL. H.R. 3393, by Rep. Blatnik, Minn., to provide additional compensation for employees of the Federal and D.C. Governments. To Post Office and Civil Service Committee. (p. 5033.)
S. 1255, by Sen. Langer, N.Dak., to amend the Veterans' Preference Act by requiring that veterans entitled to benefits thereunder have served honorably in the armed forces on fulltime active duty with pay. To Civil Service Committee. (p. 5049.)
11. NATIONAL FOREST LANDS. H.R. 3395, by Rep. Engle, Calif., to add certain lands to the Modoc National Forest, Calif. To Public Lands Committee. (p. 5034.)
12. ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY. H.J.Res. 192, by Rep. Dondero (Mich.), H.J.Res. 194, by Rep. Blatnik (Minn.), and S.J.Res. 111, by Sen. Vandenberg (Mich.) et al, approving the agreement between the U.S. and Canada relating to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin. To House Public Works Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee. (pp. 5034, 5049.) Remarks of author on S.J.Res. 111(pp.5088-9)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

13. ECONOMY. Rep. Gamble, N.Y., inserted a New York Times article describing Rep. Taber's economy efforts (p. A2322).
Extension of remarks of Rep. Harris, Ark., describing efforts to reduce ACP as "false economy" (p.A2323).
14. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Aiken, Vt., inserted articles supporting this project (pp. A2333-4).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for May 12: S. Agriculture, LBC-loan service through land bank system (Duggan to testify); H. Public Lands, ES range policy, etc. (last week's hearing cancelled); H. Public Lands, Reclamation Act amendments; S. Appropriations, Interior appropriation bill; S. Civil Service, Government cafeterias; S. Public Lands, Central Valley project; H. Banking and Currency, Export-Import Bank reincorporation.

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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sufficient and ample time for discussion of all matters in connection with the bill and amendments during the day so that action can be concluded this evening.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

CONGRESS WILL HONOR THEM

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, that the ideals of American youth are still secure and sound foundation material upon which the future of the American Government may rest with confidence was demonstrated here Tuesday when Dick Smith, Virginia Marakle, Ruth Pigott, and Virginia Lanham, four Western High School students of Washington stopped their ears against the godless ideology of communism that was being preached to them in a lecture and got up and marched out of the school building as a fitting rebuke to the speaker, a Mrs. Lewis, the Russian-born wife of a former American envoy.

The spirit of Paul Reverè was exemplified, and their patriotic action will arouse millions of Americans throughout our land to the dangerous inroads communism is making into our schools and colleges. Here is a story the press and the motion-picture industry of the Nation should spread before all the people. It will help to clean the Communist cells and rat nests out of our institutions of learning.

Congress, the representatives of the people, will honor these four fine young people in a fitting ceremony Tuesday afternoon at 5 o'clock in the Ways and Means Committee room. It is said that Speaker MARTIN and other congressional leaders will eulogize their actions.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STRATTON (at the request of Mr. ARENDS) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. KNUTSON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. RICH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article entitled "In the Nation," by Arthur Krock.

Mr. BECKWORTH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a short article.

Mr. POTTS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial appearing in the Tablet.

Mr. McDONOUGH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial appearing in the Los Angeles Daily News.

Mr. WEICHEL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include newspaper items.

Mr. JONES of Washington asked and was given permission to extend his re-

marks in the Record and include a copy of a letter from a constituent to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd].

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address Our Stake in Greece, delivered by Mr. Paul A. Porter before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Mr. DONOHUE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. BROOKS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include two telegrams from officials of the city of Shreveport.

Mr. HARRIS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial on the agricultural program.

Mr. HARLESS of Arizona asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a newspaper article.

Mr. HESELTON asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a telegram he received from, and a telegram he sent to, the North Adams Chamber of Commerce.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 2616, with Mr. CASE of South Dakota in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday there were pending an amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] and an amendment to that amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd].

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendments be again reported.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT: Page 2, line 11, after the words "in an advisory capacity only", strike out the semicolon, insert a comma and add the following: "Provided, however, That not more than 100 such personnel are to be utilized in either country at one time under the terms of this act without further authorization from Congress."

Amendment offered by Mr. Judd to the amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT: Strike out the figure "100" and insert the figure "200."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, this is the third day that the House has spent in the consideration of this legislation. If we go over to tomorrow, many of our Members would be forced to be away. I sincerely hope, and I believe it is the hope of us all, that we can get through this bill today with plenty of time for all the discussion of the bill that is necessary.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman with pleasure.

Mr. RICH. It seems to me this is one of the most important pieces of legislation that has ever come before the Congress. If, in order to get a vote on this bill today, they are going to try to rush it through, the Nation will suffer irreparable damage. I think you should continue this for a week or a month if necessary. I do not think you ought to try to close it today. It ought to continue until the American people know what is happening.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman that this is very important legislation, but I believe that the intelligence is so high in this body that we ought to be able to solve the problem in 4 days. So far as I am concerned, I am willing to go on until the end of time.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New Hampshire yield for a parliamentary inquiry?

Mr. MERROW. I do not yield for that purpose, Mr. Chairman.

(Mr. MERROW asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I want the people of my district and the people of the country to know that I am vigorously supporting this legislation without crippling amendments because of its political, strategic, and, if you please, especially because of its military aspects.

I wonder what we are afraid of. The security of the United States is at stake. There are no longer any frontiers. Our interests are global. What has happened during the past few years? Mr. Stalin and his associates have expanded as rapidly as possible. They have spread communism wherever and whenever possible. They have organized Communist Parties in every country where it is possible to organize them, including our own. They have not kept their solemn agreements, including Potsdam, Yalta, and the Atlantic Charter. They have not lived up to the spirit of the United Nations.

Furthermore, in reference to Greece, Moscow-controlled Communists are ready to take over. In connection with Turkey, Russia has demanded bases on the Dardanelles. From the activities of Russia it is apparent that the Soviet Union is on the road to world domination.

I would like to know how much longer this country is going to be insulted by those who are in control of the Soviet Government before we are willing to take firm action. How much longer do both sides of our face have to be slapped before we are willing to take a stand?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield briefly to the gentleman.

Mr. RANKIN. Would not this amendment or either of them be an appeasement of Russia and tie the hands of our administration?

Mr. MERROW. Exactly. I am glad the gentleman has made this observation. We tried appeasement through the 1930's. We tried to appease Hitler, and we failed. Since the end of World War II we have been trying to appease Soviet Russia, and we have completely failed. In addition, the Russians have deadlocked every conference, and now they hope that we will become weary with exhaustion and finally begin to make compromises on principles.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. The outside limit of this amendment is 200 men. Russia has more spies than that in this country now.

Mr. MERROW. Exactly. She has the largest land army in the world. I wonder if it is not possible for us to learn from the all too recent bitter lesson of history. When Mr. Hitler invaded the Rhineland, many said it was no concern of ours. We were not willing to do anything about it. We insisted that we would keep out of European difficulties. I say, if we had had the Truman doctrine then, a doctrine which I hope will become the American doctrine, we probably would have avoided World War II. This is recent history. Within the last few years we have seen history repeating itself.

We are attempting to limit the number of military men we are to send to Greece and Turkey. Whatever number is necessary to send in order to stop the Russian march to world domination ought to be sent. We ought to take an immediate stand.

The alternative to action in the Mediterranean area is too horrible and too awful to contemplate. If Turkey falls, as has been said again and again, then the eastern Mediterranean will go and finally the Mediterranean will become a Soviet lake. All of Europe will be under the control of Russia. This will mean trouble and we will not have the time for preparation we had in World War II. There will be no England or France to give us time to get ready. One of the best things we can do in this country is to establish and keep a strong Army and a strong Navy. Yesterday I was glad to hear someone make a plea for a strong air force. I have often said we should maintain air supremacy at all costs. I believe that firm and resolute action now will save millions of American lives in the future.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Hampshire has expired.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 2 additional minutes in order to answer the gentleman's questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. MERROW]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I agree absolutely with the gentleman's statement with reference to appeasement. However, would it not be much more

forthright for us to ask for mobilization of our forces now?

Mr. MERROW. That may be; and if you are willing to do that, why should you oppose this bill and advocate crippling amendments?

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. I assume the gentleman would also favor the proposition of stopping any shipment of essential materials to Russia or any country dominated by Russia?

Mr. MERROW. Well, the gentleman may be talking about the recent lend-lease agreement, which is another subject. We entered into solemn agreements.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Certainly, the gentleman has stated that Russia has broken every agreement she has made with our country.

Mr. MERROW. That is right.

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. And still the gentleman wants us to go through with the other agreement.

Mr. MERROW. I did not state that I wished to go through with the agreements. I think they should be carefully considered and if it is necessary to stop communism, we should stop shipments.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. RICH. If we are to try to stop communism in Greece and Turkey, why do we not go out to the Uline Arena where there are 400 of them right now in our own city?

Mr. MERROW. All right. I am willing to stop communism in the United States, but that is no argument against action to halt the march of Russia to world domination. If Europe falls and the Mediterranean and oil of the Persian Gulf is cut off, the United States is in peril.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MERROW. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The substance of your remarks, as I understand them, is you think that war with Russia is inevitable. If you believe that, why do you not ask for a declaration of war?

Mr. MERROW. I do not think it is inevitable, but I think the passage of this measure will undoubtedly prevent war with Russia.

Mr. HOFFMAN. You are starting it now.

Mr. MERROW. If Russia thinks this is a declaration of war, then let her make the most of it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Yes. That is what you want.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Hampshire has again expired.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, toward the close of debate yesterday, according to page 4951 of the RECORD, there are 14 of us who, I thought, were going to be given time to speak on this amendment. I just mention that, because I hope we will not be shut off in this move to hurry

this bill through. Are those 14 men still to be recognized?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman does not state a parliamentary inquiry. However, the Chair will state that no request was submitted. The request was withdrawn.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an inquiry on the matter of procedure?

Mr. FULTON. I certainly will.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the committee stated this morning that he hoped we would finish this bill today. He also said he would like to have an opportunity for those who have not yet been heard to be heard; yet the first move when we started the debate was for a member of the committee to ask for two additional minutes. Now another member of the committee is recognized. I am very glad to hear him, but I am wondering if Members other than members of the committee are going to be heard. I will ask the chairman of the committee to answer my question.

Mr. EATON. That, I think, rests on the initiative of the Members themselves who want to be heard. I decline to accept responsibility for parceling out the time.

Mr. HOFFMAN. But under the rule, the Chairman perforce must recognize members of the committee first.

Mr. EATON. The chairman of the committee did not make the rules and declines to accept responsibility for them.

Mr. HOFFMAN. No; but he does have some restriction, I suppose, over the members of the committee.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, how much of my time has been consumed?

The CHAIRMAN. One minute of the gentleman's time has been consumed.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, unless some other Members of the House are going to be recognized other than members of the committee, I will have to object to future requests of this nature.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania asks unanimous consent to extend his time for two additional minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania will be recognized for the balance of his 5 minutes and for two additional minutes.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I hope to nail down these two amendments that have been submitted to tie the hands of the American Government and to keep our representatives from exercising good administrative sense either now or in the future under the future circumstances as they arise.

Why do I say I am against these amendments? Because they say to the world—and they are sponsored by very fine members of our Foreign Affairs Committee—that they tie the hands of America. Why not include in the

amendments a similar provision that would bind Joe Stalin's hands? If they would modify the amendments and say that they are going to bind Joseph Stalin just as they are going to bind the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy and the Secretary of State and the President, then I, too, would be for the amendments.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. JENNINGS. It seems to me like an invitation to Joe Stalin to come and get us. In effect it says: "Come and get us. We are over here helpless, innocuous, inane; come and get us."

Mr. FULTON. That is a very fine statement, Judge.

It was the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. LODGE], who said on yesterday:

It seems to me that this amendment is just one more illustration of the thought a great many people have, that if we only tie our own hands we are safe.

Maybe we had better be talking about someone else's hands rather than trying to emasculate our own foreign policy.

I am against the amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] and against the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], for another reason: The numbers 100 and 200 suggested by each of these men in their respective amendments have no relationship to actuality, they have no relationship to any reason. They are numbers just taken out of the air because they said: "Well, Secretary Patterson estimated 10 to 40." The gentleman from South Dakota said "I will double it," and then the gentleman from Minnesota came along and said: "I will double Mr. MUNDT's figure." Now, if you are just going to reach around and pick figures out of the air you are going to tie the handcuffs on yourselves without knowing their size.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. Will the gentleman read the language on page 4 of the committee report, in the paragraph headed "Kind of military assistance proposed." The committee made this official statement to the Congress and the world:

Testimony of Government witnesses indicates that the military mission to Greece would probably not exceed 40, and the naval mission would probably be less. In the case of Turkey it is expected that the missions would not be larger.

Is that picked out of thin air?

Mr. FULTON. All right; then why did the gentleman say "200"? Why did not the gentleman stay closer to 40?

Mr. JUDD. I was allowing for emergencies that might arise. I do not, as I said yesterday, want to limit in the slightest degree the United States. But the Congress which has the responsibility under the Constitution for declaring war ought to make clear to the country in the bill itself what the limitations are that the Congress of the United States is placing on the military of the United States in line with what the committee states in its official report is its understanding of those limitations.

Mr. FULTON. The trouble with the gentleman's estimate is that he is only taking into consideration little emergencies. He is not taking the big ones into consideration.

If we will notice the reason for putting these amendments in, and if we will look at them the way the gentlemen themselves look at them we may get an idea. For instance, the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] said in committee:

I think it would be very comforting to the American public to have this limit.

The gentleman has forgotten that it will be comforting to Joe Stalin and a lot of people over there too.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] says:

I think we could pick up a great many votes here in the House of Representatives if we were all assured and voted for these amendments.

I disagree with the gentleman from Minnesota on that and will not change this bill to pick up votes. We take it the way it is or leave it. We have to look the problem straight in the face and not avoid it by amendment. We better meet the issue and not try to hang a little sweetmeat on the bill to attract votes. I am not here to attract votes.

It has been brought out by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] that the Secretary said one thing. However, the Secretary came back to an executive session and said he had made a mistake. The gentleman from California [Mr. JACKSON], a member of our committee, very ably brought that out when he said yesterday that the Secretary stated in the second hearing it would be most unwise to tie the hands of his Department and the Navy Department in reference to this point.

The gentleman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] said she is for these amendments because the purpose of the proposal, as she sees it, is not troops but it is economy.

People do want to economize. May I say that if you are trying to guess far ahead on economy in the future in a world such as we have today, you better try to do some real guessing.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I hope that I shall not burden you again by my suggestions in regard to this bill, and I think I shall not, but it lies deeply in my heart the thing that we are considering at this time, and I felt impelled to say what I have said and now feel impelled to speak again. The difference between you and me is simply this: I am not alarmed like you who are supporting this bill are. Christianity has been a religion in this world for about 2,000 years, yet less than half of the people of the world have

accepted it. No philosophy, whether true or untrue, is going to sweep this world like you say it will. Communism is not going to make the inroads that you say it will.

I respect your sincerity; I know you are honest, honorable, and upright men and women; I know you are capable men and women; I know you want to do the right thing; but, in my judgment, you are doing the wrong thing. My judgment is that you are filled with fear and hysteria that has been superinduced by publicity to the point where you have lost your heads and you are going to do an unseemly thing because of all this propaganda. Now, that is my judgment.

Mr. Chairman, I have had some experiences in my own life that have taught me some things.

For instance, I was a kid 18 years old and I enlisted as a soldier in the First World War. I fought in half a dozen of the bloodiest battles ever fought in that World War. They told us most every day in the newspapers that the Germans were cutting the arms off of Belgian children, crucifying Canadian soldiers, pitching up children and catching them on their bayonets. I got over there and found that none of that was true.

Now, ladies and gentlemen of this Committee, I call your attention to the fact that when people become alarmed, when they become scared, when they become so zealous about a situation, they always overstate the case, and the case here is being overstated, I tell you. Logic teaches me that communism cannot defeat democracy. If we will just sit steady in the boat and serve our people well in this great country of ours, if we will give them the service they are entitled to, we will stop communism in its tracks. It cannot get anywhere in the world.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MORRIS. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. I understood the gentleman to say that he has no fear of Russian expansion in this area. If so, if there is no desire on the part of Russia to move into this area, what difference will it make how many people we have over there? Whom will we harm? Whom will we offend? If Russia has no expansionist desires, how are you going to offend anybody by sending these people over there?

Mr. MORRIS. I did not say that Russia has no expansionist desires. Of course they have expansionist desires. But my point is, they cannot expand like you say they can. We will resist them. The people of the other nations will resist them and the world will resist them.

Mr. POAGE. Does the gentleman mean that the 200 will resist them and that the 200 will be adequate to inspire those people to stand up against the largest army in the world? Or had we not better tell those people we are going to back them up? Is not that what this is for? We are telling them we are backing them up with all we have.

Mr. MORRIS. Give me time to answer the question, if you please. I want to retain in the power of this Congress the right to declare war, and if we send

them over there, with unlimited power, and do not reserve the constitutional right to declare war, we do not know what kind of an incident is going to happen, and they could send an army over there and we would be helpless, and we may be catapulted into a war, with the hatred that so many seem to have in their hearts, with the desire that we seem to have, and I am sorry to say, my friends, but the desire we seem to have, as is exemplified here every day, is to practically run the world. That is the program we are getting into. I know our purpose is noble; of course it is. I know we are going in for a noble purpose, but we went into the First World War with a noble purpose. We were going over there to make the world safe for democracy. We were going over there to fight a war to end all wars, and I fought as hard as anybody could fight, and it is worse now than it was then.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

(Mr. MORRIS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, we are today considering what kind of assistance we propose to give to two countries that have asked us for help in stemming the tide of influences that is being brought to bear upon them by outside forces. We heard in the committee many things of deep interest, with which many of us were already conversant. Most of us were in agreement with the administration that it is imperative for us to do something for these countries.

As the bill is written, what we propose is not military action. We do not propose under this bill to replace the garrison troops the British have. We have been asked for assistance in training; we propose to give assistance in training. The fact that the Secretary of War, in the beginning, said that under 50 men were all that would be needed and that he later on apparently told the committee that it would be unwise to make such a limitation seems to me to present us with a very real problem.

For myself, I should like to see this House amend this bill in some fashion to make it very clear that what we propose to send over there is a training mission and not combat troops. From my own personal knowledge of the situation, I feel that any show of armed troops at this time would very likely bring upon the world something which neither Russia nor the United States anticipates or wants. I should be exceedingly reluctant to believe that we do not have the courage to make it very clear that we do not propose that kind of action. If there ever was a moment in history that needs restraint, it is this moment. I would urge upon this House the need for great wisdom and great restraint in the action it takes at this time.

Naturally, there are going to be many interests that are going to try to bring pressure upon the War Department and the Navy Department to send troops to guard whatever is done there. I am very reluctant to have us permit ourselves the

temptation of armed forces. I should like to see a very clear definition of what it is that we propose to do. It is very apparent from the discussion on the floor that the Members are not clear as to the intent and purpose in this bill, and certainly, if the Members are confused, we cannot expect the people to be clear in their minds as to what we really expect to do. For myself, I do not see this as the moment or the occasion for military troops, and I should prefer to see some such statement in the text. I do see it very much the occasion for specialists of every sort and kind, including the military, that there may be a rebirth of hope in the hearts of all the sorely-tried, freedom-loving people of the world.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I think we all agree with the very able remarks just made by the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON]. Certainly under the language of the bill, it is very clear that what she so ably stated is the intention of the Congress and of our Government.

I again read the language in the bill, and I think it is the strongest language the committee could put in other than something along the lines of either one of the two pending amendments, which I think it would be unwise to adopt. The bill says, "By detailing a limited number of members of the military services." "Limited" is a word of restriction. It is further restricted by saying that those sent over there can act only in an advisory capacity, and "advisory" certainly is a restrictive condition or stipulation.

I listened with great interest to the remarks of my very sincere and conscientious friend the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS], and as I listened to him the thought came to my mind that we are living in a very practical world. His remarks and utterances might well be followed if this were not a rapidly changing world and if conditions were not so disturbed as they are today and if a powerful nation were not challenging the civilization and way of life that the people of other nations believe in. His remarks carry me to a dream world. I share his hopes, but I cannot come to the same conclusions as he does in view of the world conditions as they exist today.

My only interest, like the interest of every other Member of the House, is the national interest of the United States. I say it is in our national interest not to let this wave envelop country after country until it envelops all of Europe. If it ever reaches that point, it will overrun all of Asia and thus actually reach our shores.

My friend from Oklahoma disregards the fact that that advancing wave does not permit the people to exercise their free will in the selection of their government, that small groups are supported directly or indirectly, who then obtain control of the government by any means possible. When control is taken over then the decent elements who resist are either driven underground or are liqui-

dated by the means and processes that are followed by the totalitarian ruler of today.

There is a spirit behind it—a spirit of aggression and viciousness. I picked up the newspapers of only this morning. What do we find as evidence of that spirit? We find an attack on the report of former Governor Stassen by *Isvestia*, by the Soviet press. That constitutes an attack on the American press. The purpose of that is not to spread propaganda in the United States because it would not have any effect except to increase our resentment. The purpose of that is to spread propaganda in other countries that are watching what is taking place between Moscow and Washington, and who are reacting to our failure to do something. The purpose of it is to spread propaganda throughout the world.

What else do we find? We also find Major General Draper in a speech today charging that the Soviet State Corporation now holds a total of between 30 percent and 40 percent of German industry in the Russian-occupied zone. That brings up the very question of the Austrian peace and why it failed. The Russians wanted to sap Austria's economic strength and thus prevent Austria from becoming a free and independent nation. They were willing to give them freedom in name only, but they would not give them the means to maintain that freedom. That is why it was a failure. They have also sapped the juice out of the lemon of the Russian zone in Germany and now they want to go into the American and British zones and sap the juice out of the lemon in those two zones. But they are not going to do it. They want to communize all of Germany. That is what is happening. But it is not happening through or by the free will of the people.

They charged us recently with having our agents in Turkey in civilian dress. The same charge was also made against the British. *Isvestia* made that charge. What about their agents in the United States who are American citizens? What about their agents in other countries who are citizens of that country, working in Italy and all of the other nations where people are in distress, and where a small organized group can work more effectively than they can in our country?

I picked up the New York Times only this morning and I find that Gromyko asked the United Nations to reopen the Greek case. On what ground? In a letter he made clear that he was asking to open the Greek controversy because of the decision of the Council and its investigating committee to keep a subsidiary inquiry board in the area to maintain watch on border flare-ups. That is the objection he makes and which appears in this morning's newspapers. He is going to try to reopen the Greek case, as far as the mission of inquiry is concerned, and to protest against the subcommittee continuing inquiry.

That is what we are up against—the state of aggression and a challenging spirit of a vicious nature. We have to

appreciate that fact in the consideration of this bill.

I hope that this amendment and other amendments that will be offered will be defeated and the excellent bill of the committee will come out of the committee and be passed by the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] has expired.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words, and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, on Monday when I spoke at the time the rule was under consideration, I called attention to what was bound to happen to our economy in the event this legislation was adopted. Now the cat is out of the bag.

I want to call your attention to an article that appears in this morning's paper, an address by Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson, at Cleveland, Miss., last night. He gives you a preview of what is going to happen. I want to read for the RECORD an article which appears in today's paper, the Washington Post:

To carry out an effective policy of relief and reconstruction implementing the Truman doctrine first promulgated in the plan to assist Greece and Turkey, he declared that there must be an extension of Government control over domestic sale, transportation, and export of such commodities as wheat, coal, and steel.

Yet Members of this House have stood on this floor and demanded that prices come down. The President himself is appealing to the businessmen over this Nation to reduce prices. Again we have further evidence of New Deal inconsistency. How long can the country take this kind of leadership?

I continue, and I refer to point 5 set out in this accompanying article:

In order to carry out an economical and effective policy of relief and reconstruction, the United States is going to need the extension by Congress of certain executive powers over the domestic sale, transportation, and exportation of certain commodities over which Presidential war powers control is due to expire June 30.

"It is wheat and coal and steel that are urgently required to stave off economic collapse, not just dollar credits," Acheson said.

Now, mark you well this statement:

Power to assign priorities on transportation is needed, including legislation to insure "efficient use of all shipping."

And he goes on to point out the necessity for continued control over our economy. We talk about veterans' housing, we talk about eliminating these restrictions which today are tying up our economy, yet the Secretary of State comes out with this plea for continued controls. I believe his foot slipped or else the release of his article was badly timed. He thought this bill was going to be passed yesterday, and hence he could come out and make this statement today.

The fat is now in the fire, Mr. Chairman, and so far as the economic impact

of this legislation is concerned, you hog-tie the American economy from now on by passing this legislation. We should have seen that very situation long ago. There are tremendous implications in this matter.

We do not have to be partisan at all; we can approach this matter from the standpoint of America. Is there anything wrong with that? Is there anything wrong in protecting our people under this legislation. Indeed not.

Mr. MERROW. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. MERROW. I thank the gentleman. I just want to ask the gentleman a brief question. If the Acheson program which the gentleman has read, is necessary to win the peace, which, unfortunately, has been slipping through our fingers ever since the war ended, will it not be worth while?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. My God! We have not won the peace in 2 years. Yesterday was the second anniversary of VE-day, and we are still struggling for peace and getting nowhere. Now we are going to extend our activities to other parts of the world.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. HOFFMAN. The gentleman from New Hampshire not more than 15 minutes ago said that if this policy led to war that Joe Stalin could make the most of it. How can we expect to win the peace by making war? Is that a sound position? That is what he is talking about.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. BENDER. This policy has been sold to America, sold by a bunch of dictators in a bureaucratic State Department. The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] named it rightly when he named it a military bill. That is exactly what it is, and that is exactly what we are talking about here.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. We should thank the Under Secretary for his honest and forthright statement last night. Now certainly we know what is going to happen, and this 2 years after VE-day when we are praying for peace. What a commentary on our efforts in behalf of those who served in this last war! We are today, Mr. Chairman, about to take a step to declare war; and, secondly, you are going to take a step to tie up our economy from now on under Government controls from which we can never, never recover, because the program calls for a worldwide OPA, and under this bill we are going to set one up in Greece.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. O'KONSKI. And in those 2 years this Congress had piddled away \$18,000,000,000 trying to buy the peace. Now we are going to buy with \$400,000,000 that which could not be bought with \$18,000,000,000.

Mr. MacKINNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. MacKINNON. What is holding up the peace? Russia, is it not?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. At least we were guilty in part, because we made it possible for Russia to get to the position in which she now occupies. She would not have attained it had it not been for American aid; so we are a party.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. HAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, throughout this debate one of the keynotes of the isolationist argument in opposition to the pending bill has been that if the United States wants to check the spread of communism throughout the world the place to begin is here at home.

In reply, I want to say that the only sure way to make the American democracy safe against threats of encroachment by totalitarian ideologies is to produce a social order which will provide greater benefits for all of our people than can be offered by any other form of government.

Today other nations which call themselves democracies are attempting to substitute mass social security for individual liberty, and are boasting that their governments take better care of all the people than we do in America. The only danger to the American way of life today, Mr. Chairman, lies in the remote possibility that the protagonists of these alien dictatorships may succeed in persuading the rank and file of the American people that this boasted superiority is real. To me, such an eventuality is inconceivable.

But, Mr. Chairman, modern American liberals must demand an adequate system of social security as a permanent bulwark for our individual liberties, and must fight ceaselessly to achieve this goal. Upon the success of this program the fate of the American democracy may well depend.

I assert that no government is a real democracy which denies civil liberties and suppresses individual freedom by a sovereign dictatorship. I have been deeply concerned many times, Mr. Chairman, by utterances here on the floor of Congress which sought to restrict civil liberties in America, but these were merely the expressions of individuals with a warped conception of the American way of life. The Constitution is the supreme law of our land, and the Bill of Rights in that Constitution is the greatest charter of democracy which this world has ever known.

Patrick Henry dramatized the American concept of democracy in a single phrase: "Give me liberty or give me death."

The problems which confront this troubled world today in its efforts to devise a stable plan for peace in Europe are not new. Indeed, almost identical problems with respect to Greece, Russia, and Turkey were perplexing American statesmen more than a century ago, as evidenced in the state papers of John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Marquis de Lafayette.

The thing of greatest importance which is new in world affairs today is the historic change in American foreign

policy. Twice in the last three decades the soil of Europe has been drenched with American blood. After the First World War, despite the decisive part our armed forces had played in the defeat of Germany, the Congress of the United States refused to join the League of Nations, which had been created by President Wilson. At that time a majority of the American people, including the present speaker, supported our congressional leaders in adhering to the policy of George Washington and declining to participate in "entangling foreign alliances."

Rendered internationally impotent by the abstention of America, the League of Nations degenerated into a mere debating society, whose futile efforts to preserve world peace soon became the objects of open scorn by the military dictators who sprang into power in the bankrupt areas of Europe. A famous American Senator, now dead, told me of a conversation he had with Mussolini soon after the Fascist leader seized control of the Government of Italy.

"What do you think of the League of Nations?" the Senator inquired.

Mussolini's reply was a roar of laughter.

The German and Italian dictators, emboldened by their belief that America would never interfere with their ambitions, proceeded with their program of world conquest. They enlisted the support of Japan. Great Britain attempted a policy of appeasement. The result was World War II and finally Pearl Harbor.

Then the die was cast with respect to our foreign policy in the future. The American people determined with invincible unanimity that never again would this Nation refuse responsibility for maintaining the peace of the world.

We invaded Africa and Europe. Italy collapsed. Germany was completely crushed. Japan surrendered.

But for the intervention of our armed forces, the outcome of the war would have been totally different. Russia would inevitably have been subjugated by the Axis attack. England could not long have survived. All of continental Europe would have remained under Nazi domination. Japan would have completed her conquest of Asia, Australia, and the islands of the Pacific, including the Philippines.

And today this country and the entire Western Hemisphere would be in imminent danger of attack by the mad enemies of democracy if, indeed, the attack were not already under way.

Having twice conquered the greatest threats in all history to the democratic way of life, America is now irrevocably committed to the maintenance of peace throughout the world by whatever means are necessary. Failure in this commitment is unthinkable. It would be a betrayal of our countless hero dead who gave up their lives on battlefields in all parts of the earth in the sacred belief that they were making peace possible for future generations of mankind everywhere.

It is well that those heroic dead cannot envision the tragic situation which exists around the so-called peace tables of today. America has tried to keep

faith with them. America has taken the lead in organizing the United Nations, and has pledged its tremendous financial, economic, and military resources in an effort to make that organization an effective instrument of peace. America has not sought to acquire any conquered lands for commercial or political exploitation. On the contrary, immediately after the end of the war America restored the Philippines to complete independence. Our only territorial acquisitions when the final peace treaties are signed will be minor islands in the Pacific which are virtually valueless except for our future national defense.

But American efforts to establish a permanent and stable peace have been constantly obstructed by certain of our allies in the late war who, but for our military aid and financial and economic support, would now be enslaved by the Nazi tyrants. Despite the fact that we rescued them from certain national destruction, these erstwhile allies have maintained an attitude of hostility toward us in all of the peace negotiations. They have openly resented our assumption of any responsibility for the reconstruction of Europe—a responsibility which we cannot and will not relinquish. Their policy appears to be basically anti-American.

They have striven deliberately to make it impossible for us to cooperate with them, except on their own terms—terms which, in many instances, the American conscience cannot accept.

They ignore the fact that while the war was in progress they eagerly subscribed to our declaration that we were all engaged in a common fight to make the world safe for democracy. Now that the war is over—won for them by our arms and our blood and our material aid—they repudiate our democracy and set themselves up as the sole arbiters of real democratic government.

At the same time, Mr. Chairman, I confess that there are various aspects of the pending proposal which I regard with deep misgivings. The United Nations represents the first great attempt in all history—an American attempt—to establish a world democracy. We must be ever mindful of the fact that not all of the nations which are embraced in this new federation are themselves democratic, and we must endeavor in every proper way to treat their opinions on world problems with deference and respect. We have a right to insist that they treat our opinions in the same manner.

I deplore the fact that our leaders of State did not see fit at first to submit the question of aid to Greece and Turkey to the United Nations. Their explanation is two-fold, that the United Nations is not yet able to finance such an undertaking, and that the proposal would be fore-doomed to a veto because its frank purpose is to check Communist aggression in the Middle East.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that the paramount problem in the United Nations and in the whole scheme of foreign affairs today is to establish a practical working relationship between the United States and Russia. We

should employ every honorable means to achieve this objective. Our diplomatic representatives say this cannot be accomplished by a policy of supine appeasement on our part, and in this position they are supported by the tragic lessons of recent history and by the overwhelming preponderance of American public opinion. But I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the United Nations will be preserved and strengthened by American leadership in a mutual effort on the part of all the member states to understand and respect each other's aims and aspirations.

Perhaps the greatest deterrent to such mutual understanding and respect is the traditional secrecy of statecraft. In this regard, Mr. Chairman, we cannot hold ourselves blameless. The American people today are uncertain and perplexed as to the ultimate results of this unprecedented participation in the affairs of Europe. Confessedly, this is true even among the Members of Congress. We have been given little factual information about what we are called upon to do. The urgent admonitions of our State Department have been largely arbitrary in their form and essence. We have been told simply that the program before us is indispensable and of the highest order of urgency. An equally terse assurance that the adoption of this program will reduce the likelihood of war in the future completes the sum and substance of the information now available to us.

Enemies of the program charge that its real object is to guarantee military protection to private American oil interests in Saudi Arabia. Although it is true that oil reserves in America have been reduced to an extent which is dangerous to our national defense, measured by the requirements of the recent war, this would not seem to be a plausible reason for such a departure from our historic foreign policy. The development of atomic energy for economic and industrial uses, which cannot long be delayed, may soon relegate oil to a position of secondary importance among our national needs.

I shall vote for this measure because I know that the peace of the world depends upon strong leadership by the United States of America, and that the only way our leadership can be made strong is to back it up with the support of an overwhelming majority of the American people. Our people know that the policies of isolationism and appeasement were tragic failures after the first World War. Today they are determined to chart a new course for this Nation in the affairs of the world.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York [Mr. REED]?

There was no objection.

[Mr. REED of New York addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and ask unan-

imous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I am not here to question the sincerity of the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. REED], or that of the distinguished gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]. But if everything they say is true, then these amendments should be voted down.

Why should we take this step, why should we pass this bill, and then tie the hands of the administration? Have you forgotten Pearl Harbor? Do you know what brought about that disgraceful and humiliating disaster at Pearl Harbor? It was the appeasement of Japan which enabled the Japs to come 5,000 miles across the Pacific Ocean and administer the greatest humiliation that this country has ever known.

I was in Hawaii in 1937. I protested then against the weakness of our Air Force at that time. I said then that Hawaii was unprotected because of the weakness of our Air Force. The head of the Air Forces came to me and said, "I could put my arms around you. You are the one man who has told the truth about our Air Forces here."

If we are going into this program these two amendments should both be defeated. Communism is making war on the United States now. Every Communist in America is, wittingly or unwittingly, an agent of a foreign power. They are striving to undermine and destroy this Government.

Last night the head of the Communist Party, William Z. Foster, came to Washington, after just coming back from Moscow, and compared Harry Truman, the President of the United States, with Adolf Hitler. We had representatives of the Committee on Un-American Activities there, and, of course the FBI had agents there to find out what was going on.

They tell these young men that communism is a glorious movement toward democracy. There is no more democracy—and I am quoting the words of a former Ambassador to Russia—there is no more democracy in a Communist country than there is in the penitentiary of Mississippi, Ohio, New Jersey, or any other State.

These young men are being deceived. I see they call themselves and are advertised as "the Communist war veterans."

They are being deceived and misled by the most dangerous influence, the most dangerous element, that ever undertook to undermine and destroy the American way of life and to wreck the Government of the United States. God grant that they may see the error of their ways.

Do not forget that Benedict Arnold was a great hero at Saratoga. He was a hero in Canada. But he later turned against his country and became one of the most hated traitors the world has ever known.

Has it ever occurred to you that Alcibiades and Socrates fought side by side through a Grecian war against a foreign

power? I believe they were messmates in the Grecian Army.

But after the war was over Alcibiades is said to have stopped up his ears and fled from the presence of Socrates for fear that he would grow old listening to his eloquence. He joined the enemies of Greece and caused the downfall of his country.

There is no such thing as a Communist American. They are enemies of the United States. They are out to undermine and destroy this Government. They are out to undermine and destroy the American way of life. Their program has for its purpose the destruction of Christianity in every country under the shining sun. If we adopt these amendments, we say to Russia, "We will further appease you by binding ourselves not to send more than a certain number of men, or planes no matter what you may do to us."

What the witness before the committee recommended were mere suggestions, not limitations. As I understand it, they did not ask that a limitation be written into the bill.

I cannot understand how any man, whether he is for this bill or opposed to it—and I recognize the honesty of men who disagree with me—I cannot see how any man who is opposed to this legislation can vote for either one of these amendments, because I think it would be encouragement for Russia to keep on sending her spies to this country and her agents attacking Americans as they did in Yugoslavia.

We have had the best minds we could get before the Committee on Un-American Activities. We had the best witnesses we could find, and we had our investigators on the trail of those Russian spies who were finally caught and exposed by the Canadian Government. What were they doing? Pretending to be friendly to the United States while our representatives were giving way to them, they were working to undermine and destroy this country. I am one Member who would vote today to send every Communist Ambassador or Minister, out of the United States and say to them, "Unless you are willing to go back and give your people an opportunity to express themselves in an honest election, to select their own government, you need not come back here, a wolf in sheep's clothing."

Every single one of them, every single minister or Ambassador who represents a Communist country in America is virtually a spy in our midst. So, if we are going to pass this bill, let us not tie the hands of the Administration with these paralyzing amendments.

I agree that we must clean house at home—clean house and fumigate in every department of this Government. I am not saying anything to you that I will not say to Harry Truman, the President of the United States. We are at the crossroads of civilization. We are at the crossroads, if you please, of history. I do not know whether this is the proper movement or not, but I do know that unless America begins to assert herself and stop appeasing criminal Communists who are trying to destroy America and every-

thing for which America stands, your children and mine will pay the penalty.

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. MATHEWS. Would the gentleman clarify for the members of this Committee the word in section 3 of this bill, "limited", as applied to the number of members of the military services of the United States? What does that mean?

Mr. RANKIN. Well, it means what it has always meant. That is the same word that you and I studied back in the fifth grade.

Mr. MATHEWS. May I ask the gentleman this question: How can it mean what it always has meant when it actually means "unlimited"?

Mr. RANKIN. If the gentleman wants to turn it upside down, he can make it mean what he pleases. But my understanding is that these amendments would place a limit that would entirely hamper the President in protecting this country in case of attack.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] has expired.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, it is obvious that there is a very confused situation here. I hope that we can clarify it by offering a substitute amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to withdraw my amendment to the amendment of the gentleman from South Dakota.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I offer a substitute amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota by unanimous consent has withdrawn his amendment to the amendment. The Clerk will report the substitute offered for the amendment of the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. FORAND. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. FORAND. Can two substitutes be pending at the same time?

The CHAIRMAN. No; but in this case we have only one amendment pending, that offered by the gentleman from South Dakota. The amendment to the amendment has been withdrawn and a substitute for the amendment has been offered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JUDD as a substitute for the amendment offered by Mr. MUNDT: On page 2, line 11, after the word "only" and before the semicolon, insert a comma and the words: "And not to include armed organized military units to serve as occupational or combat troops."

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, this amendment is simple and clear. Objections have been raised to placing a limitation on the number of military personnel to be sent to Greece and Turkey under this act.

This amendment changes the quantitative limitation to a qualitative limitation. It really is not an additional limitation, it is rather a clarification of the

limitation already in the bill, which now provides that we may send military personnel in an advisory capacity only. To make sure exactly what is meant, my substitute amendment merely states, "And not to include armed organized military units to serve as occupational or combat troops."

It does not exclude Army engineers, it does not exclude technicians, or Sanitary Corps; all it excludes is armed organized American military units. They may not be sent to serve as occupational or combat troops.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. I am in hearty accord with the purposes of the gentleman's substitute. I am perfectly willing to accept it because it achieves the objectives that we had in mind, and it writes into the legislation the intent of the committee report.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. EATON. I wish to say that I am very happy to have this solution offered. I am wondering if the gentleman from New York [Mr. Bloom] and the other Members on his side of the aisle are in accord with it?

Mr. JUDD. I may say that this does not really alter the bill. It merely clarifies the obvious confusion that exists in the minds of a great many. I cannot see how it weakens the bill. It merely makes official what it is we intend to do.

Mr. BLOOM. Under the circumstances, as far as I am concerned, I will have no objection.

Mr. EATON. Then, Mr. Chairman, I think we can vote on this and get rid of it.

Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on this amendment close at this time.

The regular order was demanded.

The CHAIRMAN. The regular order is that the gentleman from New Jersey has moved that all debate on this amendment do now close.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I would like to know, an amendment having been offered, if we are going to be denied the right to talk about it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a parliamentary inquiry. The situation is within the control of the Committee.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BUSBEY. Is this not in violation with the agreement that was made last night with the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee?

The CHAIRMAN. That, of course, is not a parliamentary inquiry. The situation is within the control of the committee.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The country should know that the gag is in operation in this House.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, I demand the regular order.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment provides for exactly the same thing that these gentlemen have been fighting for. If they want it withdrawn and want to talk about it I will withdraw my motion.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the gentleman may withdraw his motion.

There was no objection.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment close in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I would like to know whether or not this substitute is one of those sweetmeats that the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON] was talking about?

Mr. EATON. I am not an authority on sweetmeats.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. BUSBEY].

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, the gentlewoman from Ohio [Mrs. BOLTON] read a quotation the other day from one of Daniel Webster's speeches. I should also like to read a quotation from Daniel Webster on January 26, 1830, when he said:

When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate this prudence and before we float farther on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may at least be able to conjecture where we now are.

Mr. Chairman, that advice could very well be followed by the committee. We should take all the time necessary to debate this bill and all amendments thereto because it will be the most important bill this Congress will consider.

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] quoted from the Washington Post a statement in which Dean Acheson said:

There must be an extension of government over domestic sale, transportation and export of such commodities as wheat, coal, and steel.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BUSBEY. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. BUFFETT. It was the Republican Party that went to the people of this country last fall and said they were going to end regimentation and were elected on that basis, was it not?

Mr. BUSBEY. I thank the gentleman from Nebraska for that contribution, and I was just leading up to that point. I have a clipping from the New York

Times of April 27, 1946, wherein Dean Acheson is reported as follows:

FEDERAL SEIZURE OF NEEDED GRAIN URGED BY ACHESON—ACTING SECRETARY SAYS MORE DRASTIC ACTION IS CALLED FOR TO MEET COMMITMENTS ABROAD—FOOD RATIONING FAVORED—AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT ENDS LOANS ON CORN IN MOVE TO FREE 2,457,000 BUSHELS

WASHINGTON, April 26.—Much more drastic action is necessary if the Government is to get wheat off the farm and on its way to the famine areas of the world, Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State, asserted today.

Emphasizing that he was expressing his personal views, Mr. Acheson told a news conference that the Government should go out and take the wheat and flour it needed to meet foreign commitments.

Gentlemen of the Republican Party, if you pass this bill you are going back on the campaign slogan on which you were elected, "Haven't you had enough." This bill if passed will do more to bring back regimentation and rationing quicker than anything you could do. If you pass this bill, it will be a means of starting a flood of propaganda to pass excessive appropriations for the Army and the Navy thereby wrecking our chances to cut the budget substantially and reduce the heavy burden of taxes for the people. If you pass this bill I am fearful this so-called military mission that will go into Greece and Turkey, will create an incident. Did you ever stop to think that we never go to war until an incident is created? Every country fights a defensive war. It was the sinking of the *Maine* that created the incident that led us into the Spanish-American War. The sinking of the *Lusitania* had a great deal to do with leading us into World War I and the incident at Pearl Harbor led us immediately into World War II, and as soon as this military mission authorized by this bill creates an incident in Greece or Turkey, we are in World War III.

I think the majority of the Members of this Committee are for straightforward-above-the-table dealing. This bill is a subterfuge that might well take us into World War III. Should an incident occur, the tension of the people of our country would demand that we declare war.

Yes; this has far-reaching implications, and we should ponder well before we make our final vote on this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

(Mr. BUSBEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HOFFMAN].

(Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, as he does so often, the gentleman from Mississippi again today gave us a statement condemning communism. I too condemn communism. He spoke in favor of Christianity. I try to be a Christian. I do not believe that the gentleman can find anyone in this House who favors communism. I do not believe that he can find anyone who has not at least the desire, whatever may be his practice, to be a Christian. So, I ask, what of it

and what do we propose to do about it?

In what is here said, neither the ability, the fairness, nor the patriotism of anyone is questioned. This Government, as I understand—was founded upon the principles that the individual had a right to worship in the manner in which he desired and that the people should have the right to be free and independent, to choose their own form of government.

Accepting those principles, where do we get with this bill? It is a bill to do what? The debate has shown that it is a bill to fight communism by if necessary waging war. I know I will be criticized when I ask: What business is it of ours if the people of Russia want to be Communists? I ask you in all fairness, what business is it of ours?

I do not like communism; I would like to see it ended; but if we are consistent, if we are logical, if we are willing to concede to other peoples the same right which we claim for ourselves to follow this or that theory of government, this or that form of religion, how can we send either our boys or our money to tell the people of Russia, of Turkey, Greece, or any other country, as long as they remain over there and do not endanger our safety, that communism or any other form of religion or political policy shall not be carried by missionaries or by the sword into some other country?

Are we consistent? We do not fight communism in South America; we have not fought it here at home. For 12 years I have been in this House, lived here in Washington, and I recall that the administration in power had Communists sleeping in the White House, gave them jobs in the Government, and by this means and that, by grants of power and by grants of money, Communists were encouraged in this country and praised when they smeared good Americans. So why is it that all at once—now—all at once we turn our backs on the principle that every people shall be free to choose their own religion and their own form of government, and we say that by the sword, by war, we are going to spread Christianity. The Crusaders tried that, as the gentleman mentioned just the other day, and they did not succeed. That is not what is back of this bill, is it? Oh, no. This is a so-called bipartisan bill which will mean an act of war.

What about the Monroe Doctrine? Ever since the days of President Monroe we have said to the whole wide world that because our national security and welfare depended upon it, no nation should interfere with the government of the people of any country in the Western Hemisphere.

Now what do we say? We say we are going to stick our nose into the affairs of every country abroad, that we are going to stop communism and we are going to stop Russia at the Turkish and the Greek borders, at their frontiers. Suppose Russia said to us she was going to stop our influence in Mexico and in South America, what would we say? We would say, "Get out." We would say, "We must defend ourselves." We would declare war.

Later I will quote from the testimony of the Secretary of War before the Com-

mittee on Expenditures given the other day, which shows that the remedy for this country, that the safety of this country, depends only on making ourselves strong and then attending to our own business. His testimony shows that isolationism, if you like to call it that—I prefer to be called an isolationist or a nationalist, rather than a bipartisan or an internationalist, even though that brings the false charge of disloyalty—will keep us out of war and permit other nations, if they are so determined, to fight it out among themselves.

Believing that my first duty is to my country—I think that when we take on the burden of policing the whole world we are taking on just too big a job, and that, instead of doing something to preserve our country, we are writing the causes of its ruin in the pages of history.

Listen to the following questions to and the answers of Secretary of War, Mr. Patterson. At a hearing of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, which was considering H. R. 2319, which provides for the unification of the armed forces, held on the 29th of April, the following occurred:

The CHAIRMAN. There is one more question. You say in this statement:

"The maintenance of the future peace of the world will depend on the attitude and policies of the United States in world affairs, and also upon the measure of strength which the United States continues in the future to maintain in order to lend vitality to those policies."

Is there anything more to be added to that?

Secretary PATTERSON. Those are my convictions.

The CHAIRMAN. Just how do you arrive at the conclusion that the peace of the world depends on what we do?

Secretary PATTERSON. Well, I believe that this country is one of the leading powers, if not the leading power, in the world today, that our influence in the direction of peace, if it is backed up by the power to enforce peace, can be decisive.

The CHAIRMAN. What you mean is, if we become powerful enough, we are acting as master policemen and no one else will dare start a war?

Secretary PATTERSON. I think that if we have adequate military strength, no nation will dare attack us or will commence a major war anywhere. I believe that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is to say, we become boss policemen.

Secretary PATTERSON. Our powers have never been exercised in any offensive way. I think the whole world knows that the intentions of the United States are peaceful and not aggressive, and we are not trying to build empires or embark on a course of imperialism.

The CHAIRMAN. I was not talking about that, about our intentions, at all. What I was suggesting was that what you were saying was that if we become powerful enough so that the other nations, or no other nation would dare start a war, that not only would they not venture to attack us but as between themselves they would not start a fight because we would stand in the background ready, as Teddy said, with a big stick. That is what you are saying, is it not?

Secretary PATTERSON. Practically so. I think it has been well proved in the last 30 years that a major war anywhere in the world results finally in a world war, involving all of the civilized world.

The CHAIRMAN. And while we started neither one and perhaps had nothing to do

with the starting of either one, in both we came in, to end it?

Secretary PATTERSON. We were drawn in, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, drawn in then; and our power, the United States power, decided it?

Secretary PATTERSON. Yes, sir; although we had nothing to do with the causes, directly at any rate, we were drawn, and our power proved decisive.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, to repeat what was said before, your thought is now that if we will go ahead and arm and become strong enough, then, not only will they let us alone because of our size and strength, but they will not venture to fight among themselves if we let it be known that we are going to step in and quiet the quarrel?

Secretary PATTERSON. Your first conclusion, that they will not attack us, I think to be inescapable.

If the Secretary of War, Mr. Patterson, knows what he is talking about, and I assume he does, where is the need for this bill?

From his testimony, it seems to be the opinion of the Secretary—and I agree with that thought—that, if this country uses its resources to build up our armed services, no nation, no group of nations, will have the hardihood to attack us. Nor is it probable that any other nation will make war on another nation if it be of the opinion that, if its quarrel is unjust, the United States might step into the picture and settle the issue.

In any event it is clear that the way to stay out of war is to quit interfering in the affairs of other nations, backing up the wars started by other nations.

Instead of always becoming involved in controversies between other nations which do not directly concern us, why not once at least exhibit confidence in our own strength, in our own ability to protect ourselves?

For years, we have been deceived and proceeded on the delusion that our national existence and safety depended upon the British navy. That idea has been exploded. It has been demonstrated that the British Government depends for its security upon the United States.

All we need to do, according to the Secretary of War, to preserve the peace of the world is to continue to be, as Churchill said we were, the strongest Nation in all the world.

I am in favor of that program, but from there on out I disagree with the internationalists; I disagree with the Secretary of War. My contention is that, instead of acting as the boss policeman of the world, going hither and yon and attempting to knock together the heads of other nations in order to make them agree on a policy which we think advisable, if they are determined to fight among themselves, if world powers are to continue through the years as they have down through the centuries to fight over which nation is to control the Dardanelles, then let those nations fight it out. It is now evident that, had we let Hitler and Stalin exhaust each other, there would now be less need for assistance from us.

In what may be here said neither the ability, the good intentions, the patriotism, nor the consistency of any individual is questioned.

Ever since the days of President Monroe we have insisted that we would not tolerate any interference with or coercion of the policy of any nation in the Western Hemisphere by any nation in the Old World.

A sound reason for that policy was that we did not want and would not permit in the Western Hemisphere the existence of any power which might threaten our own security and future welfare.

That doctrine was founded upon the principle that self-preservation is the first concern of every individual and of every nation.

Our Government is founded upon the principle that every people have the inherent right to choose their own form of government, their own form of religion, worship as they may choose.

Logic, fairness, and consistency compel the conclusion that, asserting those rights for ourselves in this hemisphere, it is presumptuous for us to deny a like right to any nation across the seas.

We have long boasted that we are not an imperialistic nation; that we desire no territory; that we have no thought of aggression. If that be true, then the only excuse, the only reason, if you prefer, for our present action of attempting to confine Russia and communism within circumscribed limits is that unless we follow such course, our own national security is endangered.

It is here emphatically asserted that neither at the moment nor in the immediate future is our national security endangered. The propaganda asserting that it is and that the present move to send financial and military aid to Greece and Turkey is one dictated by the necessity of preventing future aggression is a fraud.

The United States of America today is in no danger from any foreign power. Our danger—and it is a very real one—is that we have turned our backs upon the policies and the practices which made us what we are.

It is conceded that we are today, in every sense of the word, the most powerful nation in all the world. The very fact that the proponents of this measure call upon us to aid stricken nations is proof of our military and our productive power.

The fact that Russia was compelled, when Hitler invaded her, to call upon us for, and was only saved through, our help is evidence of her inability to wage war against us.

The fact—and it is a fact—that those who are behind this move favored contributing, and we as a Nation have contributed, billions of dollars and millions of tons of supplies to Russia is further evidence that she is in no position to successfully assail us.

Grant that her desire is world conquest; she lacks the ability to do that job and fools indeed must we be if we continue, if that be our conviction, to supply her with the means necessary to accomplish that purpose.

Every sane individual knows that we cannot, either through our dollars or our armed forces, establish Christianity throughout the world. The Crusaders tried that centuries ago. Is anyone so foolish as to think that, through an-

other war or a dozen wars, we can destroy the Mohammedan faith, the religion of India, or the communism of Russia?

If it be the thought of the proponents of this measure that either through the expenditure of dollars or by the sword we should tell the people of middle Europe or of any other country what political theory, what form of religion, they should adopt, then we are denying to them the benefit of the principles established when our forefathers founded our Republic.

Communism, however detestable it may be, is but the whipping boy in the present situation.

We have made no worth-while effort to fight communism in South America. Here at home, in the Capital City, communism has been sheltered and nurtured and made to grow. Communism and the apostles of communism have been on the Federal pay roll and time and again over the last 10 years have received public encouragement from the administration in power.

We made no complaint, as was pointed out so eloquently and so logically by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'Konski], to stop communism in Finland or in half a dozen other countries.

The truth of the matter is that the present move is but a part of the plan to preserve the British Empire, to keep open its lifeline to the east. And, may I add, a part of a political policy to maintain in power internationalists and those who pride themselves first upon being bipartisan in foreign affairs; who have finally, through their own conceit, arrived at the conclusion that it is well—at least for them—to be bipartisan in domestic affairs.

If bipartisanship, either at home or abroad, is sound national policy, why two parties? Why Republicans?

For 14 years, the people, led astray and softened, first by excessive prosperity and easy living, then confronted by the necessity of facing a few years of hard work and thrift, have deluded themselves with the idea that they could get something—perhaps all they wanted—for nothing; that they could take from those who had and distribute to those who did not have.

Then last November came the awakening, when the people said in no unmistakable manner that they had had enough.

But, ever since January 1, they have been getting more of the same.

Two distinguished politicians and statesmen, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Dewey, and the gentleman from New York and Indiana, Mr. Willkie, thought they could ride into office by promising just a little bigger and better give-away policy. They shouted "me too." Today, their cry is being adopted by others.

Here in Congress, day after day and week after week, in domestic affairs, we have been told that we must go along because the bureaucrats or the President had inaugurated the policy.

In foreign affairs, we have been told and are being told that because some individual, either the former President or the present President or some member of the State Department, has made certain commitments, has pledged us to certain

obligations, which none had the right to make or to give, the Congress and the individual Members of the Congress will be disloyal if they do not follow through. Emphatically do I deny the validity of any such argument.

The former President did not have, nor has the present President, the power or the authority to dictate the policy of our country either here or abroad.

True, the President is given certain authority with reference to foreign policy, but he is powerless to implement that policy, to make it effective, without money, and upon Congress is placed the responsibility of making or withholding appropriations.

The President has no right, in formulating foreign policy, to involve us in war, and if he makes promises or does things which of necessity lead to that end, he is acting without authority, for the Constitution also provides that Congress and only Congress, can declare war, make appropriations for war.

If this Congress has reached the conclusion that it must follow and uphold every thought of the Chief Executive, of the Secretary of State, or, if you please, of a bipartisan group of internationalists in the other body, then the House might just as well adjourn, or perhaps resign, go home, and save the taxpayers' money.

No individual in this House would start on a journey without counting his resources, determining his ability to get to his destination. Yet nowhere in this debate, so far as I have been able to learn, has anyone ever offered an inventory showing what our resources, either in money, material, or men, may be. No one, as the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH] so ably pointed out in debating this rule, has told us where we were going, how far we were going, what we were to spend, or the purpose of this expedition.

To me it means, unless Russia is bluffed and backs down, a third world war.

It may be, as the distinguished international Republican statesman in the other body said when the organization of the United Nations was being discussed, that it is a "great adventure."

Yet, our foreign policy is a great adventure and a most uncertain one. And it may be a disastrous one. It is certain that it calls for an unreasonable expenditure of our national resources.

On another occasion, the same distinguished Member of the other body said that lend-lease was a great speculation.

Since when should the national resources of a nation, the lives of its youth, be placed on the gambler's table, even though that table be an international one?

This debate has demonstrated that the bill before us is not a measure designed to promote peace.

From its proponents at first came the forced reluctant admission that its terms were so stated as to permit military aid. As the debate has gone on, the bill's supporters have been forced by the logic of the argument to admit that it is a war measure.

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] frankly stated that the bill was a war measure; that it was designed to

give military aid to Greece and to Turkey and, as we all know, that is an act of war and will so be understood by Russia.

If Russia is in a position to pick up the challenge, this bill means war. The gentleman from Georgia repeated his statement that that is what it meant and stated that he supported it.

Why not be honest with our people? Why not, if this House desires to commit us to a policy which is an invitation to war, to give the administration authority to commit an act of war, why not, I repeat, have the courage to so declare? Why attempt to avoid the condemnation which an open declaration of war would bring down upon us from the American people by the passage of this bill?

I have said nothing about our ability to take on the burden of maintaining peace throughout the world by the use of armed forces. I have said nothing about our ability to pay the veterans of the Third World War and their dependents the benefits to which they will be entitled at the end of that war.

I have said nothing about the impairment of our national resources through the waging of a third world war, for I realize that the internationalists, the bipartisan politicians, have control of the agencies of propaganda; that they are determined to continue the New Deal program of wasting, and of spending, of regimentation, of dictatorial government, and that any argument directed toward common sense measures, toward first considering and acting for the welfare of our own country, would be futile.

The politicians, the internationalists, the war mongers, those who profit from war, are once more in the saddle, and all that we can do is to protest and to cast our votes in the interests of our country.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I have only 2 minutes and I take this time simply to assure those who might have come in since the agreement was reached so you will know that we have worked out, after about 24 hours, may I say, a satisfactory solution to this problem which, it seems to me, brings the bill definitely back to its original objective. Let us keep that clearly in mind. Some very extravagant statements are being made in this debate. We are not declaring war on anybody; we are not sending an invasion force to Europe to line up along the borders of Russia with pistols and bayonets; we are simply trying to aid Greece and to aid Turkey to reestablish themselves, to maintain their economy, and we are doing it through a military and economic aid of an advisory and constructive nature.

This amendment, the point the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] and I have been working on yesterday and again today, makes additionally clear what the bill has as its original objective; that is, it does not send occupational

troops, does not send organized, armed troops over there, but limits it to an advisory capacity as the bill proposes now on line 11 of page 2 and as the Secretary of War stated it is going to be and as the Secretary of State and the President have insisted. The Judd substitute gets it back to the point where perhaps more of you can support it in good conscience and let the people back home know what the bill is, because there is always a chance that in the heat of debate folks are going to get the wrong impression about a bill of this type. Perhaps this substitute amendment is unnecessary repetition of the limitations already in the bill, especially because the clearcut statements by committee members today and yesterday nailing down the real purposes and scope of this bill. In all events I now agree it is an improvement over my earlier suggestion to set up a numerical limitation.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Does not the gentleman agree with the statement that we are going in there at their own suggestion and invitation and that we are not voluntarily going in?

Mr. MUNDT. That is exactly correct. The suggestion comes from them; from Greece and from Turkey.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. Does the gentleman recall any testimony before the committee, either in open or executive sessions, to the effect that there was any intention to go in on a military basis or any basis other than an advisory one?

Mr. MUNDT. None whatsoever. We should keep that clearly in mind. That is already in the bill; the Judd proposal would again reiterate it. We are making it clear to Russia, as we are making it clear to the people of America, that we are not sending occupational forces over there, and we increase our stature with other nations of the world when they know that we are proceeding in a traditional American manner to uphold the hands of free men in another area of the world.

There is nothing new in American history about that sort of thing. We are doing it because we recognize that the menace of communism is at their door and that it is heading in our direction. The Russians are going to look at the size of the vote by which we affirm this Presidential program to discontinue appeasement of Russia. The thing that they will look at is not the numbers of the men that we have in Greece or Turkey but they will consider what they know so well—our vast industrial capacity; the attitude of the free men of America; our vast reservoir of good will and friendship among free peoples the world over; our fleet and our Army; our atom bomb and our machine tools.

We do not have to worry that we are going in any way to injure the strength of our voice against communism by adopting the amendment which the committee has accepted.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I am unable to embrace the doctrine that God is not averse to deceit when committed in a holy cause. If the pending resolution is not military in character, then it is a cheat and a swindle. It is, of course, military; and, because of that fact, I favor its adoption; and because of that fact, no restraint should be laid upon those who will administer it.

It ought to be easy for this House to realize that a storm is upon the sea. The old ship of state is in peril, and we who man it should fight both wind and tide that now concurrently run against us.

Speak of it as you may, the pending amendment is an appeasement of the forces that we wish to restrain.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Georgia has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD] for the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

The question was taken; and the Chair being in doubt, on a division there were—ayes 59, noes 99.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I ask for tellers.

Tellers were ordered, and the Chairman appointed Mr. Judd and Mr. Cox to act as tellers.

The committee again divided; and the tellers reported that there were—ayes 70, noes 122.

So the amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee: On page 2, line 5, after the word "paragraph", insert "Provided, That in the assignment of civilian personnel to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act, preference shall be given to ex-service men and women."

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I offer this amendment on behalf of the ex-service men and women in America. Many of them have inquired what we propose to do in their behalf in this bill.

This amendment does not in any way interfere with the proper administration of this gift to Turkey and Greece; it simply gives a priority or preference to veterans.

I speak as one not unfamiliar with the hardships and bloodshed of war. We have heard a lot today and in days gone by from men who have had the courage to sit across mahogany tables and plan wars. But now is the opportunity for Members of this Congress to do something for the service men and women who have actually fought these wars.

I have met a number of nurses who having served in World War II would like to have the opportunity to further their service, if it is to be on the battle-

fields of Greece and Turkey. I met a number of Waves and Wacs who gave their time and effort in order that some able-bodied soldier might go to the field of battle. I met and talked to a number of GI's and ex-servicemen, both officers and enlisted personnel, who came home to find that their job was gone, that the world has truly moved on and now they have no employment. There are many well qualified ex-service men and women in my congressional district who are unemployed. They would like to have an opportunity to go over and serve their country in this way. We promised these men and women we would do something for them. Our Congress made that promise.

I do not think there is any serious opposition to an amendment of this kind. I have talked to a number of Members on both sides of the aisle and they seem to think it is a good proposition.

Mr. Chairman, before we go too far into this matter, may I say that this is a sad hour indeed. The cloak of secrecy has been placed around this whole thing. All of the issues have not been aired and brought to light. The internationalists have sold the American people a bill of goods.

Why do you not tell the people that this is a military bill and that you are proposing to plunge this country into war? Why do you not tell the people all of the facts? Personally, I do not like to vote for something unless I know what I am voting for. Why have we in times gone by spent days and days in hearing testimony, bringing in great volumes of it and presenting it to this Congress? Now, we are being requested to make the most important decision, admittedly so by the proponents, that this Congress has ever been asked to make. Within a few hours or a few committee hearings you bring it in here and ask us to pass upon the matter.

Mr. Chairman, I have the greatest respect for the learning and ability of all these gentlemen, but I do say that as the days come and go if we vote for this we will see controls again, we will see the shackles of economic slavery placed upon the people of our country again, we will see the very same thing happen that we tried to undo.

Mr. Chairman, we talk about lowering the price of commodities and we talk about doing something with reference to the high cost of living. The facts are, and the Committee on Agriculture will tell you, this country is not self-supporting from an agricultural standpoint.

Mr. Chairman, I shall vote against the Greek and Turkey gift because I am convinced that it is not in our national interest. We are in no position to undertake to finance every nation in Europe, Asia, and China, and that is exactly what this policy will lead to. We have been importing agricultural products to supply our own tables, and it would occur to me that it is now time to begin to look after our own people. We cannot afford to continue to ship large quantities of food and commodities across the seas. Such a policy will make us poor and at the mercy of strong powers that might arise. Millions of people are now feeling the direct affects of the high cost

of living. We cannot have a lowering in the cost of living and at the same time continue to export both food and commodities to all parts of the world.

I fear that our action here today will lead down the road to a third world war. We are projecting ourselves into the complicated political affairs and internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. We are taking sides with a faction of the population in these respective nations. Some claim that we are only sending a military mission of some 100 or 200 men to administer the food and supplies provided for by this so-called assistance to Greece and Turkey bill. Four hundred million dollars is a lot of money, but that amount of money cannot stop communistic aggression in Greece or Turkey. In order to properly make Greece and Turkey our first line of defense it would require probably billions of dollars to build the necessary military installations, including air strips, pill boxes, improvement of docks, exporting of the necessary mechanized equipment, the installation of communication centers, the supplying of food, the equipping of a number of divisions of trained men that would actually be necessary to properly fortify Greece and Turkey. I think what we are doing here today is a serious matter, and I sincerely trust that we have not taken a step that may well lead to the repetition of past experiences. I am afraid that another world war would destroy liberty at home and abroad. In my humble judgment, the matter of assistance to Greece and Turkey should have been handled by the United Nations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

(Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, this amendment seeks to give the veterans a preference of employment in an isolated case where we are going to undertake a particular project in two countries. I do not believe that the American veterans of this last war or any other war in which this country has engaged want any further privileges over the average citizen in this country. We veterans have been well taken care of by the American Congress and the American people and are grateful. That is the first point.

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia.

Mr. SNYDER. Is it not true that under our general law now the veterans get preference without this special provision in this legislation?

Mr. FULTON. That was my second point. Under the general law already existing, under civil service, the veterans are adequately taken care of, and I do

not believe that we should start the practice of hanging this veterans' preference on every bill that comes up here.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FULTON. I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee.

Mr. PHILLIPS of Tennessee. The gentleman has suggested that the veterans were well satisfied and being well taken care of. If the gentleman will just travel around over the country—and I assume the gentleman is a veteran—and look around a little and listen to the men talk, he may change that opinion. Further, what is wrong with placing a provision in here that will give the boys that fought for freedom along with you, and fought for all of us, and fought for our country this privilege? Why not give them an opportunity? Why not nail it down by this amendment so that they can be taken care of? What is wrong with that?

Mr. FULTON. I disagree. I had yielded at length to the successor of my good friend, Carroll Reece, and I feel I cannot yield any longer.

I might say that the veterans who are returning want to be citizens first and veterans second, and that we do not want always to be asking for special privileges. We feel when we have been given protection under a general act, and when we have been given very generous treatment by this Congress, that there can be little complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. LEMKE].

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, I do not care for 2 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. If no one else is seeking recognition, the Chair will put the question.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. PHILLIPS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER:

On page 1, line 5, after the word "furnish", insert "nonmilitary."

On page 1, line 7, after the semicolon, insert "and."

On page 2, line 8, strike out the semicolon and insert in lieu thereof a period.

On page 2, line 9, strike out all down to the end of section 1.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, the intent of this amendment is to eliminate from this bill all of its military provisions. For years in America the Beautiful, as long as I can remember, we have been singing in our churches, "In the Cross of Christ I glory towering o'er the wrecks of time." One thing is sure, this legislation will increase the wreckage, but if this legislation is Christian doctrine then I do not know what the Christian Church stands for or represents. I can imagine how our people will feel seeing Uncle Sam arm in arm with Geek and Turkish monarchists marching down the pike in singing, "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Mr. Chairman, wholesale hypocrisy has been practiced on the American people by the administration in the pre-

senting of this bill for an international military alliance in the name of relief. Most of the newspapers, many of the radio commentators, and all of the State Department bureaucrats have used the word "relief." This, as I believe every person in the House recognizes, and as the able gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox] has stated, is a complete, deliberate act of wholesale misrepresentation. It is a scandal on the morality and the political ethics of the Truman administration that it should have engaged in this monstrous misrepresentation concerning the nature of the present bill before us. The sham, the pretense, the tears, the public vulgarity accompanying this monstrosity reflects on the intent of the administration.

Mr. Chairman, perhaps some Member of the House feels that these are strong words. Some Members of the House who oppose this bill have been accused of demagoguery by exactly those people who in a complete spirit of Machiavellian demagoguery have attempted to sell this insane military alliance to the American people under the pretext that it was giving food to the hungry and clothes to the naked.

Mr. Chairman, former President Herbert Hoover, in speaking to a group of Members of the House a couple of months ago, stated that \$60,000,000 would adequately take care of all of the relief needs of Greece in the next year. Herbert Hoover was sent abroad by President Truman to determine the relief needs. This was his answer.

Mr. Chairman, many of us in the House deeply appreciate the heroic sacrifices of the Greek people in the last war. If any people in the world deserve generosity and gratitude from America, it is the Greek people. They need food, they need clothes, they need economic help. I, for one, am more than ready to extend such help. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, in order that the genuine desires of the American people to assist the Greek people shall not become a pawn in the hands of power-mad State Department bureaucrats, I am offering this amendment which, when it strikes from this bill all of its military aspects, will make of the present bill a genuine, bona fide, 100-percent relief bill—pure and simple.

Turkey needs no relief. It is fat, and is fat on the traitorous war profits which it squeezed from us and from its dealings with Hitler Germany. It needs no relief and no proponent of this measure has ever dared to suggest that it needs relief.

Mr. Chairman, the British for 2 years have organized, financed, and waged a mereiless civil war against the great majority of the Greek people. They have taken American money to pay for their civil war, and they have used our supplies and UNRRA relief in the past to bolster up their criminal attack on the democratic rights and liberties of the Greek patriots now fighting in the mountains of Greece.

Food for the rich aristocracy of Athens and bullets for the machine guns with which to attack the democratic peasantry of Greece is not my idea of a relief bill. Long ago, in 1776, we separated ourselves from the ruthless policies of British imperialism. It would be the height of folly for us to employ on a world scale their

ruthless tactics of civil war against the poor and relief for the rich.

Mr. Speaker, the House should repudiate the monstrous misrepresentation generated by our State Department. It should repudiate the arrogant hypocrisy under which this proposal has been offered to the American people. We should make this bill a genuine relief measure. We should strike from this bill every element regarding the military. I urge that the House in all good conscience and good faith adopt the amendment which I am offering to eliminate all the military features from this bill.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, we are making some progress now. I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, it is early in the day and I think we ought to have a little more time to speak on this bill.

I plead with the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs not to press his request.

Mr. EATON. The distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK], suggests that I ask that debate on this amendment close in 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey asks that all debate on this amendment close in 20 minutes.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I do so merely to ask the chairman this question.

I trust this is not evidence of an inclination to cut off debate because that is the thing we have been pleading for. What if it is going to take another day?

Mr. EATON. The gentleman's trust is well placed.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, I am apparently one of the insane Machiavellians that my friend from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] has referred to in smearing all those who feel that this bill should pass.

You remember Bert Williams' song, "You don't need to know how much you know in order to know how little you know."

I have been to Greece and Turkey. I have recently talked to the elected representatives of 23 countries in Cairo. I realize that I do not know all about this. I have talked off the record with our ambassadors to Greece and Turkey and our military men here and in those countries. I realize I do not know all about this problem. But I know a great deal more about this and the threat to our own security which is involved than does my colleague who criticizes with wild and reckless generalities those who support this measure.

The pending amendment would take out the military advice and the military equipment which is proposed in this bill to give these two countries a chance to

defend themselves against Soviet attacks. This amendment would make this a nice economic bill so that these countries could build themselves into richer prizes for Soviet aggression. This amendment makes this into a Henry Wallace bill. Wallace is the individual who is so anxious to furnish economic help over there but no military help of any kind so that these two countries may become richer and juicier Soviet prizes. I do not think the House wants to adopt the Henry Wallace program by adopting this amendment.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I urge that the amendment be defeated.

(Mr. VORYS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, ever since this proposal for this sort of aid to Greece and Turkey was brought to our attention by the President, I have been alarmed and worried by its implications. I have sought the advice of the people of the district I represent and the generous response has been gratifyingly thorough and thoughtful. I have, of course, studied the committee report and the debate.

Mr. Chairman, the situation in which we find ourselves in our consideration of this bill reminds me of the situation which confronted an early settler in the central part of New York State. He was a prosperous settler, the most prosperous in the entire area. Within his stockade, which lay in the center of his cultivated fields, he maintained a fine supply of arms and ammunition. It was a limited supply because all supplies were limited, but it was, nevertheless, sufficiently adequate to deter the savage Iroquois Indians from making a direct attack upon his settlement. This did not prevent the Iroquois, however, from commencing to threaten and harass the friendly and less warlike Mohicans who lived in the settlement's near vicinity. The settler knew that if these friendly Indians were destroyed, his danger at the hands of the Iroquois would be greater. He did not have enough guns and ammunition to arm all the friendly Mohicans but he reached the conclusion that it would be worth while to make a show of arming a few of them to demonstrate to the Iroquois that he meant business. His aim was to protect both his friends and himself. He also reached the conclusion that if this show of force failed, he would not leave himself defenseless by making panic distribution of the great bulk of his arms and ammunition. Instead, if and when an all-out attack by the Iroquois compelled him to retire into his stockade, he would still be strong and ready with food and guns and bullets and gunpowder.

Mr. Chairman, I support this bill to aid Greece and Turkey. Beyond that, however, and for my part, I will oppose spreading our resources and our arms and our ammunition with such a free hand and in so many directions that we will be unable to withstand the Iroquois if and when they attack.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. COTTON]?

There was no objection.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio which, if adopted, deprives the bill of all military significance and makes it purely a relief measure.

This amendment lays bare the real issue involved in this bill which has been largely evaded during the 3-day debate. Why should we camouflage and sugar-coat the decision which is before us? Let us face it squarely. This bill is a measure for military defense of the United States, and all for which the United States stands in the world today. That is why I am for it.

One by one the outposts of freedom have been engulfed by the onrushing tide of a world power which recognizes nothing but force and which intends to dominate the entire world. If Greece and Turkey, keys to the Near East, are so engulfed, the loss of Europe, Asia, and Africa is inevitable. The President of the United States in joint convention, has solemnly informed us that we, and we alone, can stem this tide. He has informed the Congress that a crumbling and bankrupt British Empire is no longer able to act, and that the United Nations Organization, torn with dissension and restricted in its powers by its own charter, cannot meet this situation. His statement in this respect is corroborated by Warren Austin, delegate to the United Nations, and by Senator VANDENBERG who has inserted safeguards in the measure now before us to make sure that we shall not violate our obligation to that Organization. The President has formally declared our policy to us and to the world and calls upon Congress to support him. How can we do otherwise?

We have the bitter lessons of two wars to guide us. We failed to act when Hitler invaded the Rhineland, when the Nazis overpowered Czechoslovakia, and when Japan entered China. As a result, we expended thousands of lives and billions of dollars to gain beachheads in north Africa, Normandy, and on the islands of the Pacific. Shall we weakly surrender all that we have gained at such tremendous cost?

The vote which we cast today is more important than any that will be cast in this or perhaps any other session of Congress. The eyes of the world are upon this Chamber. The enemies of freedom, both foreign and domestic, are watching us. To be sure, if we embark upon the course that this bill provides we may ultimately face war, but if we reject that course we shall certainly face war or lose our liberties. Every school child knows the words of the great Virginian who made the first speech in our history against appeasement:

What is it that the gentlemen wish? * * * Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!

We, as a nation, cannot escape our manifest destiny which is to defend freedom at home and abroad. A vote against this bill is a vote for that policy of isola-

tionism and appeasement which has twice led us down the road to war.

I repeat that this bill, while it properly carries relief to the sufferers of Greece, is fundamentally a measure for the military defense of this country. I shall vote for it.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for three additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. LEMKE]?

There was no objection.

Mr. LEMKE. Mr. Chairman, our Uncle Sam has gone delinquent. He is in his second childhood. He has deserted beautiful Miss Columbia and her 140,000,000 sons and daughters. He has become an international philanderer. He is chasing red, pink, green, and off colored skirts all over the world. He is squandering the wealth that Miss Columbia and her 140,000,000 sons and daughters have created.

The time has come that we appoint a guardian to protect him from his folly, and prevent him from squandering the substance of our Nation—from giving away to gold diggers that which belongs to Miss Columbia and her sons and daughters—that which belongs to unborn generations.

I know of no better guardian than a Republican candidate for President in 1948, who believes in America first, last and all the time, with justice to all nations, whether they be the so-called 52 peace loving nations—should be aggressors—or our vanquished foes. One who believes in the Stars and Stripes rather than in a mongrel flag. A candidate who knows enough to know that the One Worlders have been deflated. A candidate that has not, and will not, hob-nob with the former pal of Hitler, Joe Stalin.

I am sorry that such a candidate—such a guardian—is not yet in sight. I also know that 80 percent of the American people are getting sick and tired of our Uncle's behavior, and demand such a candidate. They know that our Uncle is the easy prey of the global gold diggers—that he is denuding our Nation. They know that he is leading us into another undeclared war.

I too realize that this is a momentous decision. But it need not be, if we remember that our first duty is to our own Nation. It is an easy decision, unless we knock-kneed follow a few misguided, silver-topped octogenarians in both chambers of this Capitol.

The Republican Party was kept out of the White House for 16 years because it had no positive program—because its candidates were me-too followers of the One Worlders—globetrotters. The Democrats met a disastrous rebuke last November 5 because they too blindly followed blind leaders.

The time has come for both parties to again adopt the policy of our forefathers, and avoid globetrotting and foreign entanglements. The time has come for my Democratic friends to adopt the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson. The time has come for my Republican friends to adopt the doctrines of Abraham Lin-

coln. When that day comes, it will be a glorious day for the United States of America.

As I listened, the other day, to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Cox], I was impressed with his dreadful earnestness, and astonished at his fallacious argument. It was the same old story—arm other nations, and they will protect us—will save us from war. How does the gentleman know on which side the Greeks or Turks will be in the next conflict? Does he not know that an armament race always has, and always will end in war?

Since when have we become so cowardly that we have to arm other nations to do our fighting—Hessians. I deny that that is essential, or for the best interest of our Nation or for the peace of the world. It means war.

Whenever the day comes that love for our country and patriotism falls so low, that this kind of chicanery is necessary, then the Republic that you and I have cherished and loved—the Republic that the world has looked to as a model of justice and decency to all nations—will be dead. Then, we will have surrendered all that is sacred and good to the human race.

Let us no longer be blind followers of deceptive slogans. We were deceived and led into World War I by false slogans. Then it was, "He kept us out of war," "Too proud to fight," "America first," and then "Benevolent belligerency," "A little group of willful men," "War to end all wars," and, "Make the world safe for democracy." Time has proven the dishonesty of all those slogans.

In World War II it was "Raise the arms embargo and save our boys," "Give us the tools and we will do the fighting—lend-lease," "The four freedoms," and then "I say again and again and again your sons will not be sent to foreign battlefields." Time has proven these slogans false. There are no four freedoms and our boys did the fighting.

Whatever difficulties we face today are of our own making. We went to bed with the former pal of Hitler and we are reaping the reward. Our Presidents and leaders were outgeneraled at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam. In place of looking for more entanglements the time has come for Congress to repudiate Yalta, Teheran, Potsdam, and all the other commitments that are not in keeping with decency and honesty among the nations.

History repeats itself. So does war. So do slogans. We are now being deceived into World War III. Now we are told that we—less than 7 percent of the world's population and owing twice as much as the rest of the world together—must become a permanent, international Santa Claus. We are told that we must not only feed the world but that we must arm and set nation against nation. That we must arm Greece and Turkey and set them against Hitler's former pal, more recently our pal.

In his special message to Congress the President short-circuited the UNO—the angel of peace that concealed the truth and sanctioned the liquidation of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, part of Poland, and part of Finland by the former pal of

Hitler. The President insists that we accept reneging British commitments and assume guardianship of Greece, Turkey, and other nations. He says we must do this in order to head off communism—to save Britain from Russia.

In his armament race, in his power politics, the President is following the unfortunate footsteps of the former President. He is entering an undeclared war. All this could have been avoided if at Potsdam he had repudiated Yalta and taken a firm stand by telling Stalin to get back into his own country where he belongs and stay there.

Again, at about the time that the President asked for the \$400,000,000 to arm Greece and Turkey against communism, our Government was turning over 650 artillery shell pressers and other implements of war to Russia as reparations. These were from the part of Germany that we occupy. The German war plants were dismantled and shipped to Russia. With one hand we arm Russia and with the other we are asked to equip the Greeks and Turks to combat her. The time has come to wake up. There is danger ahead.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and twenty-nine Members are present, a quorum.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. GARY].

(Mr. GARY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, the newspapers during the last few days have told us of the celebration throughout Soviet Russia of "Soviet Radio Day." The Soviet radio throughout Russia and in broadcasts to other countries has been telling the world that the Soviet radio is "objective because it has nothing to hide" and has been assailing the American radio as a part of the "reactionary press." The Soviet radio has even attacked the Voice of America and I would like to read a part of a broadcast which the Russians sent over the air in four languages in Europe.

This broadcast is the second recognition the Russians have officially given to the Voice of the United States of America which has been broadcasting the news of the United States to the Soviet Union. Ilya Ehrenberg, the noted Soviet propagandist, previously has told us that the Voice of America is being heard in Soviet Russia. This new broadcast confirms the fact that many Russians are hearing the Voice of America and that apparently Russia is worried that they will hear more truth than they hear in Soviet newspapers and over the Soviet radio.

Here is what this Russian radio broadcast said:

When the famous Russian savant Alexander Popov discovered the method to

transmit sound over a distance, he had visions of enriching humanity by the most perfect means of communication, expanding the viewpoints of the people who were afforded the possibility to transmit their thoughts and feelings from one end of the earth to the other with the speed of light. However, every one of humanity's great accomplishments can be twisted, and the world mass now repeatedly witnessed this. The German radio was in the hands of Goebbels for a few years, and there began the demoralization of the German people, a source of misinformation, a propagandist for war, murder, and robbery, and of race theories hostile to humanity.

To hear the same motives in a more democratized version, one has but to tune in on the New York wave lengths. There we hear propaganda for the need to create American * * *. Throughout the world we hear imperialistic plans for the conquest of strategic positions in the Near East and the Levant; hysterical appeals for a crusade against communism, against socialism, and labor unions; in general, against any progressive democratic movement, slanderous fabrications about countries of the new democracy, etc., etc.

Some people accuse the Soviet people that they are too sensitive about such reports. But the fact is that in * * * our Socialist country there is no room for the dissemination of slander and falsification. This arouses aversion on our part simply because we are decent. The Soviet information is objective because it has nothing to hide. With us there are no monopolist groups which pay good salaries for falsifications.

Facts in themselves are objective, but there is not one radio station nor newspaper in the world which in reporting these facts does not express a certain standpoint. The point is, Whose standpoint? Soviet radios throughout the world express the true and sincere opinion of the entire Soviet * * * of the powerful and peace-loving people that is prepared to collaborate with all to create a democratic peace. But in countries where everything is figured in dollars, where the radio is a source of income to the instigators of a new * * * there the radio is not the expression of the people, but that of those 60 or 100 or 200 families who control the radio stations.

This broadcast is only one of many recent Soviet broadcasts in a campaign of false and malicious information about the United States over the air waves of the world.

Since March 12, when President Truman proposed the \$400,000,000 loan to Greece and Turkey, the Soviet radio has been systematically attacking what they call the "atom" and "dollar" diplomacy of "imperialist capitalists" to take over Turkey and Greece.

This campaign reached its climax during the past week when the Soviet radio began broadcasting the attack of their newspaper Izvestia on Secretary Marshall's speech on the Moscow Conference. On Soviet Radio Day this attack was broadcast in 19 transmissions in 12 languages throughout Europe and the Near East—the greatest concentrated attack the Soviet radio has ever made on a statement of the President or the Secretary of State of the United States. The Soviet broadcasts went to Greece, Turkey, and the Arabic countries which the Voice of America does not now reach. It is highly important that we make every effort to tell the American story in this highly important region.

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. JENKINS of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JENKINS of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, the debate on this bill, commonly known as the loan to Greece and Turkey, has been in the most part earnest and sincere and of a very high order. The debate has reflected the fact that the membership is much concerned about what is the proper course to take. This is in all sincerity a very important bill because it calls for a complete departure in governmental policy. I want to emphasize this statement that this is a complete departure in governmental policy and further that it is tremendously important. It is appallingly important. I hope that whatever action the House takes on this proposed legislation will ultimately prove to be for the best interest of our country and future generations.

Much has been said on the floor of this House and through the press suggesting that this question is much the same as the question which confronted our country when we enunciated the Monroe Doctrine. I fail to see any similarity between this problem and the problems which confronted us in President Monroe's time. In fact the situation seems to be diametrically different. At that time we were laying the foundations of America. We said then, in effect, that any attempt by an European nation to gain dominion in America would be considered by us as an unfriendly act and would be opposed to the limit of our resources. In other words, we were then protecting ourselves. We were, in effect, removing ourselves away from all European aggression. We purposely assumed a defensive attitude. I think that any attempt at this time to establish a so-called Truman doctrine and claim for it the merits of the Monroe Doctrine is simply an effort to enhance the political stature of Mr. Truman. The course sought to be established by this bill is in every respect a course toward imperialism. It is a course that promises to lead us into foreign entanglements and not away from them.

Many of the Members who have spoken on this floor in advocacy of this legislation have frankly admitted that we are starting on a new course. We are not following a course of defending America for the protection of Americans but we are following a course which its advocates say is one that takes liberty to the peoples of other countries and other continents. This may be true but as yet I am not convinced that it is the right course. Personally, I think that this proposed course is of such tremendous importance that we should give it more consideration than has been given to it. When we enter upon this course we will find ourselves moving inevitably toward a one world. I think that the leaders of our country are not justified in moving so aggressively on this course. The people of the country have not been thoroughly advised with reference to the tremendous changes which this course is

bound to bring us from a national and an international standpoint.

Personally, I do not think that the time has come when this great country of ours should throw itself into any movement that has for its ultimate purpose a one world government. The fact that there is so much honest uncertainty in the minds of so many Members of Congress is proof to me that we are today embarking upon a course, the end of which we cannot safely foresee. The situation to my mind is not so imminent as to demand this action at this time.

The President in the speech he made at Waco, Tex., on March 6, took unto himself much more authority and power than rightfully belong to the Presidency. The President has no right to commit our people to a course which carries with it such momentous consequences. I should like to ask where under our theory of government does the President have a right to commit the American people to this course of action. In his speech at Waco, he said:

At this particular time, the whole world is concentrating much of its thought and energy on attaining the objectives of peace and freedom. These objectives are bound up completely with a third objective—reestablishment of world trade. In fact the three—peace, freedom, and world trade—are inseparable.

I agree with the President when he says that the whole world is anxious for peace and freedom. But I do not agree that peace and freedom and world trade are inseparable. In fact I claim that in all the history of our country freedom has been the cardinal purpose of our country and that we cherished this purpose as fervently and even more fervently in war than in peace. Freedom is one thing and peace is another and world trade is quite another. They are all desirable but not inseparable. We would be justified to go to war for freedom's sake but not for the sake of world trade.

When the President says, "Our foreign relations, political and economic, are indivisible, we cannot say that we are willing to cooperate in the one field and are unwilling to cooperate in the other," he takes unto himself more authority than belongs to the office of the Presidency. In fact he attempts to commit our great Nation to a policy upon which our people have never publicly spoken. We have fought wars in defense of our political relationships but not in defense of our trade relationships. Furthermore, if our people have ever spoken on this subject, their voice has been recorded exactly opposite to the position which the President takes. We have always maintained that as far as our relationships with foreign countries are concerned, our political relationship is one thing and our economic relationship is something else. He attempts to sound forth a new policy which is not a recognized American policy.

The American emissaries at the Economic Conference in Geneva which is now in session are encountering stubborn obstacles in their efforts to foist this program upon the world. The opposition which they are encountering is a natural opposition. They are in Geneva representing a Nation in which a free

economy has always been maintained and in which private industry and freedom of action have been the dominating and controlling forces. They are now attempting to deal and bargain with representatives of some nations whose economy is now largely state-controlled and with some nations that are controlled by communistic dictatorships. In other words, the representatives of the countries with whom we are dealing can speak with the authority of a dictator and can make trades without regard to the people of their respective countries while our representatives must consult with the people whom they represent. Our representatives represent a free people while the many of the other representatives speak for the state or the dictator who is above the people.

The attempt of the President to speak for America is nothing more or less than an attempt on the part of the New Deal leadership to continue the practices of President Roosevelt as he went about the world committing our country to courses of action without having consulted the people or their elected representatives. When it was so plain that the most unsophisticated of our people knew that we would have trouble with Russia after the war why did not President Roosevelt in some of his many secret conferences anticipate what is happening today and guard against it? I have always maintained that the countries whose peoples were of the same racial extractions and of the same religious philosophies and the same political philosophies as ours should have joined together in the fluxing processes of the last war. They should have been encouraged to stand together against the communistic and pagan and anti-Christian and anti-human freedom countries of eastern Europe.

Likewise, the President in his message to Congress on March 12 assumed to commit our country to courses of action which the American people have not approved. As I have already stated, the President has no inherent right to commit our country to courses of action unless the same have been well recognized courses and unless the people have accepted them or unless the country is in imminent danger.

I quote from the President's message:

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948. In requesting these funds, I have taken into consideration the maximum amount of relief assistance which would be furnished to Greece out of the \$350,000,000 which I recently requested that the Congress authorize for the prevention of starvation and suffering in countries devastated by the war.

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilian and military personnel to Greece and Turkey, at the request of those countries, to assist in the tasks of reconstruction, and for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished. I recommend that authority also be provided for the instruction and training of selected Greek and Turkish personnel.

Finally, I ask that the Congress provide authority which will permit the speediest and most effective use, in terms of needed commodities, supplies, and equipment, of such funds as may be authorized.

If further funds, or further authority, should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress. On this subject the executive and legislative branches of the Government must work together.

In this message the President says:

In addition to funds, I ask the Congress to authorize the detail of American civilians and military personnel to Greece and Turkey.

I maintain that the President went entirely too far in attempting to commit our country to a new course which is entirely contrary to the foreign philosophy that we have heretofore followed. Never before in the history of our country has a President attempted to embark our country on a course of military aggrandizement or military imperialism. When we pass this legislation, we are doing it at the behest of the President and in an attempt to follow the course which I maintain that he has improperly charted for us. If this bill is passed as it is, as many Members who have already spoken on this matter have said, it is just the beginning. The President in the remarks that I have already quoted makes the solemn announcement as follows:

If further funds or further authority should be needed for purposes indicated in this message, I shall not hesitate to bring the situation before the Congress.

My colleagues, this action that we are about to take is the first step in World War III. The President's language can mean nothing else. This appropriation of \$400,000,000 is a military appropriation, and nothing else.

I maintain that the country is not ready for a declaration of war, and I shall not vote for a measure which is virtually a declaration of war. I maintain that the situation is not so imminent as to require this action.

I am sorry that our State Department does not have the confidence of the American people. I only wish it did have. That it does not have is due to its failure to be forthright in its dealing with the people. If we had a strong Department of State in which the American people had confidence and if we had an Executive who was recognized as a leader of thought in his own right, and if these two great departments of the Government, after the approval of the military and naval authorities of the Government, would bring us the information that any foreign country was surely and certainly planning military opposition that would threaten the rights and safety of our great country, I would then, as I have done in the last several years, vote to support them in such a program. But since the situation is entirely different, I feel it my duty not to cast a vote that from all indications will lead us into war.

In this connection, and in all seriousness, let me ask, Why is it that the United Nations Organization has not been called upon to lend its good offices in an effort to compose and resolve these differences? Of all the nations in the world that should recognize the United Nations, it is the United States of America. We were more responsible for its establishment than any other country and we pay more for its maintenance than any other country. No one of those who

have spoken that I have heard has claimed that the United Nations could not have jurisdiction in this case. It may be that it is not a case to come within the jurisdiction of the United Nations, but surely when the United Nations was set up it was contemplated that that Organization would have such jurisdiction as would permit it to consider whatever issues this problem raises. But so long as there are Communists holding high places in our Government, and so long as persons in high places in the Government such as was the case in the Roosevelt administration, who knowingly associate and collaborate with well-known communistic persons and groups, I do not feel like taking steps that will surely involve us in war. Let us put our house in order first. Then let us encourage those peoples who subscribe to our political and social philosophies and then let us make ourselves strong in a military and naval way and while we are doing this let us call upon the United Nations Organization to protect Greece and Turkey from the insidious encroachments of Soviet Russia through her infiltrations of communism and other sinister philosophies and practices which upset the internal peace and prosperity of Greece and Turkey. When and if all these efforts fail we can then appeal to the arbitrament of war.

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

(Mr. RIEHLMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RIEHLMAN. Mr. Chairman, in listening to the remarks concerning the Greek-Turkey loan, as recommended to Congress by the President, it seems to me there can be only one open door to the course of action to be taken. The program is being discussed throughout the length and breadth of our land and in foreign countries as well. It becomes now the immediate problem of the Members of Congress, after thorough investigation, discussion, and debate, to decide which policy this country will follow. No Member or group of men can foresee the far-reaching effects and ultimate outcome the action will have.

There are in this country a great number of intelligent Americans representing every walk of economic and political life, who have a firm belief in democracy and in its survival. We, in the United States, live under the oldest written Constitution in the world. We have a tradition of freedom. Despite occasional irrationalities, the dislike of servility, and regimentation is deeply ingrained in the American character. To exercise free speech, free choice, free government, is one of America's chief contributions to the world. This tradition of freedom constitutes a backbone that refuses to crumble before authority. The strength of this democracy of freedom is that the United States must remain firm and true to its purpose. The true American feels that what is best in his own democracy will be best for men in all other countries seeking like ideals. There is nothing we want for ourselves that we do not want, ultimately, for the rest of the world.

We know the philosophy of Russia and the policy that follows the infiltration

of ideologies into smaller countries, with the ultimate objective to incorporate through revolt and revolution or by conquest. This policy was followed by Hitler during his leadership in Germany.

Now, as we are faced with these nations which have suffered the ravages of war and are now in a state of unrest and fear of being pressed into submission by an aggressor nation, it seems to me, that America must take a firm stand in its foreign policy and discontinue the policy of appeasement. Appeasement leads only to more appeasement until we should soon find our backs to the wall and our leadership as a Nation completely wrested from us. The consequences are not hard to imagine.

To accept a do-nothing policy puts democracy under a handicap. We cannot continue a great democracy by giving ourselves up as individuals to selfishness and physical comfort and be blind to the desperate need of others. The very foundation of the American ideal of a better and richer life for all is that others, in varying degrees, may share it.

There are two alternatives for our action toward Greece and Turkey. One is lending aid, thereby furnishing the help needed to retain their freedom. The other, to serve notice to them that we are not concerned with their problem, thus leaving them in their vain struggle against aggression.

Let us stop and ask ourselves this question: "Is peace the supreme end of foreign policy or is the survival of nations in independence and security a greater end than peace?" Through the creation of the United Nations Organization we have hope that these problems will eventually be settled, but we are all aware that at this period in its development and progress, it is still unable to cope with this responsibility. Therefore, I do not concede that we are bypassing the United Nations. The Greek-Turkish loan is a direct appeal to the United States.

Although included in this are funds for military aid, I do not feel that this action will lead to war, but will lend more to bringing about a lasting peace, in that these smaller nations will be put in a better position financially and morally to oppose the pressure being brought upon them.

No great power can be indifferent to any of the other great powers. It must take a position in regard to all of them. There are two great powers left in the world. America is at the crossroads as to whether we accept or reject the world leadership in the ideals of our democracy of freedom. If we accept it, we must take a firm and positive stand on foreign policy. The object being not only to provide security against war but also to organize a peace which will prevent war. We want a foreign policy so strong and so dependable that there is no way of challenging it.

To preserve civilization, we must be ready to give the world more than we get. The nation or the individual who looks for the tangible returns and quick profits will be the very one who will come back empty handed. We must have faith in God and confidence in those nations who accept our aid, that

freedom, security, and peace may be achieved.

Consequently, it is my personal conviction that I must support this legislation.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

On the issue before us, I take my position beside Senator HARRY F. BYRD, the outstanding patriot from Virginia. Possibly the forces back of the pending bill know that it would take us into war, and intend that it should. In that case, we may be sure the necessary incident to start the conflagration will appear in due time.

On the other hand, it may be that those responsible for bringing this measure before Congress are not deliberately maneuvering the United States into war but believe the action they are asking Congress to take will somehow spare the United States from another holocaust. If this be the case, the United States would be placing itself in the precarious position of possibly losing what power it possesses to prevent war. The Greeks and Turks might provide incidents of their own, in which event they—not we—would make the great decision. Is the United States placing its destiny in the hands of the Greeks and Turks?

What will the Turks get out of the war, if this eventuates, and what will be the spoils of Greece? Is anyone so naive as to believe they would deign to farm out their homelands to be used as a war base without some promise of territorial expansion? Was there not once a far-flung and powerful Ottoman Empire? Are we to presume that this fact does not still linger in the minds of the Turks?

First the United States used of its resources to enthrone Hitler in power. Then at a fearful financial, material, and moral cost we knocked him off his high pedestal, but put something just as bad and possibly worse in his place. Now the Congress is being importuned and inveigled to inaugurate a scheme to shear Hitler's successor of his power.

Having accomplished that—more likely than not at an additional terrific cost of blood and physical and moral resources—and possibly the enthronement of the Turk in power, will the United States then be obliged to continue the cycle of destroying and reestablishing empires by abolishing our latest creation? Where will it all end? God alone knows.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will count. [After counting.] One hundred and thirty-five Members are present, a quorum.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KERSTEN].

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, in the brief time allotted to me I should like to say something about an incident that very much affected me this morning. Over in my office about an hour ago a group of Communists called upon me, and I imagine other gentlemen have had the same experience in the last day or so. They wanted very much to know how I was going to vote on this Greece-Turkey bill. They were very much against it, of course. I told them to their teeth that I was going to vote for it. I further asked these gentlemen, and I had to put the question six or seven times before I got a straight answer, in the event of a conflict of interests between the Government of the United States and the Government of Russia, which Government would they as the Communist Party of the United States support. Their final answer was that they would support the Government of Russia against the United States.

That is the American Communist Party for you. Mr. Lenin, on numerous occasions, and Mr. Stalin, following him, frequently have stated the world wide ambitions of communism. Let us make no mistake about their purposes. They have exemplified those purposes by the countries surrounding Russia today.

Gentlemen who oppose this measure state that they do so because of the economy of America and that they do not wish to deplete the resources of the United States. Let me ask those gentlemen: Are they willing to let Russia expand over the rest of the world? Are they willing to adopt a head-in-the-sand policy and permit Russia to take over the trade routes of the world? If Russia does that, what will be the result? There will result a competition between the United States and the Russian-dominated world wherein Russia, having a slave economy with ten to fifteen or perhaps more million people in slave camps working for the Russian economy, will compete with the United States. Where, then, will our economy end up? It will end up competing with the totalitarian world. Those gentlemen who talk of economy and protecting the economy of the United States—are they willing to let Russia take over the economy of the world? If that is the situation, then we will have to become somewhat totalitarian ourselves to compete with slave labor and the average of \$1.08 an hour that American labor now earns will be reduced by at least half as a result of competing with 15,000,000 slaves.

Mr. GOFF. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment which would strike all military aid from this bill.

Mr. Chairman, I can think of no greater mistake than the attempt to strike all military aid from this bill which calls for assistance to Greece and Turkey. Actually, as we all know, this legislation cannot be justified merely as relief for these two countries. The American people are entitled to know that we entertain no illusions that the assistance we are to render is other than basically military and strategic in character.

However strong may be the need for civilian and economic help to indomitable Greece, it has been clearly demonstrated that Turkey neither needs nor expects anything but a bolstering of her out-of-date military machine. In the case of Greece, we will surely lose the chief fruit of our investment if we do not couple such economic help as we are prepared to give with advice in reorganizing and strengthening her army and by furnishing arms and munitions. Military aid is thus the heart of the entire program for both countries.

I think our experience in practicing sweet gentleness and forbearance that led up to two wars ought to demonstrate the futility of temporizing with dictators. An estimable gentleman by the name of Chamberlain found that being polite is not always the most effective way to deal with bullies.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, we also found that being polite to the Japanese in Hawaii did not pay.

Mr. GOFF. I thank the gentleman.

We will be adopting a halfway measure if we strike the military-aid provision out of this bill. When you are dealing with bears you have to speak in growls, the only language that a bear can understand.

It seems to me the fundamental issue before us is whether we are prepared to stop this program of infiltration and aggression. We ought to make this action strong enough for Stalin to understand that we are prepared to go the limit in preventing Greece and Turkey from being taken over as have been the whole list of smaller countries on the borders of Russia. I was not impressed the other day with the argument that because we had stood by and permitted the gobbling up of Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and other countries that we should not now protect Greece and Turkey. Whatever mistakes may have been made in yielding to Stalin at Yalta and Tehran, I thought Secretary Byrnes, fortified by bipartisan support at home, had stopped backing away and announced there would be no further compromise on the principles for which we had poured out American lives and treasure. We have done a lot of talking about freedom for small nations and their right to self-determination. Now is the time to show the world we meant what we said. What the Russians respect most is a firm stand and a strong hand. These will come nearer to prevention of war with them than any policy of appeasement. We did not free Europe from the Nazis just to let the Communists move in. That would be throwing away the sacrifices we have already made.

We should have had our understanding with Russia, without any compromise of principles, when her back was against the wall, and when she called on us for help. Any concession or show of weakness on our part now will permit her to grow in strength and make the inevitable show-down all the more difficult for us when finally it comes.

After serving in two wars, I have had my fill, but surely we must realize that temporizing is not the way to stop ag-

gressors. The people of Russia are entitled to have any type of government they want, but they must not force it on us or on the rest of the world. I, too, have looked over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Stalin should understand that we are not agreeing to withhold anything if he persists in his present course, and that is the reason I voted against the amendment on atomic weapons submitted by the gentlewoman from California. I do not propose that we repeat the mistake of Britain which sent Chamberlain over to stop Hitler with an umbrella.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. RAMEY] is recognized.

Mr. RAMEY. Mr. Chairman, it has been said that everybody's mind has been made up and the debate means nothing; that each one has made up his mind. I do not concur. I will state frankly that I am grateful for the work of the Foreign Affairs Committee. We who do not concur in their conclusions nevertheless respect their sincerity and industry. I want to commend especially the work of Mrs. BOLTON and Mr. VORYS of our own State of Ohio.

During the 4-day debate my opinion is that the outstanding address has been made by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. MORRIS]. He is a member of the opposite party and I have never met the honorable gentleman. However, he gave a message which we must heed when in substance he said: "Let us avoid hysteria. By all means let there be no speeches for applause and, at the time of voting, let us know that emotionalism shall not have the right-of-way." Let me state frankly that self-will shall not guide my vote.

If Dr. Judd's amendment had been agreed to, I would have supported the bill. If the present amendment or any amendment is offered and carried which will remove us from being an aggressive power-politics nation which could change this greatest of all peaceful nations into a nation asking for war, I could support this measure. I could support it if it meant that our tractors in Greece which are now rusting would be put to work, that there would be a chance for a better world and not an opportunity for hysteria to lead us into war mindedness and war madness.

War is not imminent, neither is peace imminent. Through hysteria, we are now building up a straw man at which to shoot, thus allowing "patriotism to become the refuge of a scoundrel." I do not mean that the person so shouting is purposely a scoundrel but when hysteria instead of sound reasoning guides power propaganda talk, he involuntarily becomes one unintentionally. I shall have an open mind but there have been no facts presented to show the need which has been expressed through emotionalism.

There was a time when people called others vulgar or profane names. Now, we politely call everyone with whom we do not agree, a Communist, a Fascist, a Nazi, an isolationist, an internationalist, a New Dealer, a conservative Republican, or a reactionary Democrat. These words are also the product of hysteria. There is not a gentleman in either of the

great parties on the floor of this House whom I do not respect and whom I would brand with any of these names. I do not always respect the judgment of some, but I would not charge these names to any one on the floor of the House.

The history of communism we know and we know of its start in Russia. We know of the start of Fascism in Italy and of Naziism in Germany. All were created when the people surrendered their freedom to their government for things and by so surrendering, they not only lost their freedom but failed to obtain things. We breed communism, fascism, and naziism when we surrender the sovereignty of the individual to the control of government authority. A great many think those who vote for this measure are isolationists, isolating a group of countries against another asking for war. I do not impugn their motives. There are others who maintain every one who loves the United States of America is an isolationist. Neither do I concur in this view. We only become isolationists in mind when we refuse to recognize the viewpoint of another. Isolationism is mental. Even though counterfeit ghost-writers are able to attach these slanderous names to persons, let us not personalize any of these names to the colleague with whose views we do not agree.

My appeal is, let us be sane. Let us not be self-willed in this hour of decision. Let us listen to the "Still, Small Voice" instead of that self-will and be guided by that "Still, Small Voice" in this critical hour.

I thank the gentleman from Oklahoma for his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

The question recurs on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER:

On page 1, lines 5 and 6, strike out "and Turkey."

On page 1, line 6, strike out "Their governments" and insert in lieu thereof "its government."

On page 1, line 9, strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 6, strike out "or Turkey."

On page 2, lines 10 and 11, strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 18, strike out "those countries" and insert in lieu thereof "such country."

On page 2, line 20, strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country."

On page 3, line 12, strike out "or of Turkey."

On page 3, line 13, strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country."

On page 3, line 16, strike out "countries" and insert in lieu thereof "country."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is recognized for 5 minutes in support of his amendment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, does that mean that the committee will have the last 5 minutes or is that in addition to 5 minutes for the committee?

Mr. EATON. The committee does not want any time on this amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, President Truman has asked us to form a military alliance with a nation whose record in the art of international double-cross is without parallel in the annals of history. This nation, for a thousand years, has persecuted Christians and Jews. It is without free elections, it denies freedom of the press, it is ruled by a ruthless military dictatorship. There is no argument, Mr. Chairman, of any kind—political, economic, or ethical—which does not argue against the inclusion of Turkey within this proposed bill.

Mr. Chairman, would any Member of the House invite a thief into his home to protect his property? Is there anybody who would hire a bandit to protect his wealth? Is there anybody who would pay a military dictator in order to guarantee his civil rights and his civil liberties? Is there anybody in the House who can conscientiously point to any ground whatsoever for putting our national security into the hands of the present Turkish Government? How in God's name can American national security be entrusted to a government which on the record has broken every single international commitment it ever made?

Mr. Chairman, in 1926 Turkey and several other powers signed the Montreux convention under which armed control of the Dardanelles was returned to Turkey. Mr. Chairman, do the Members of the House know that Winston Churchill denounced in the bitterest possible terms in the House of Commons the open, flagrant violation of the Montreux Convention by the Turkish Government during the last war? Do the Members know that Anthony Eden, Foreign Minister of Britain, likewise denounced the violation of this convention? Do all of us know that the United States Government, Russia, and Britain are committed to review and revise the Montreux Convention governing the Dardanelles? Mr. Chairman, if all of us know these simple facts which are a matter of record, why does our State Department propose to guarantee continued Turkish military control of the Dardanelles? They go further, Mr. Chairman. In this bill, what in effect they propose is an enduring and continuing military alliance with Turkey. And where, Mr. Chairman, does this military alliance end? In this bill, we are asked to pay a first installment on a mercenary army. Will we be asked next year for another one hundred and fifty or two hundred and fifty millions of dollars for Turkish armaments in the years 1949-1950-1951? This policy, Mr. Chairman, of hiring mercenary armies was employed against the American people in 1776 by the British, and now we propose to repeat on a world scale the age-old errors of British imperialism—measures whose immorality and whose utter viciousness I cannot adequately describe.

Mr. Chairman, never in the history of the world has a policy of hiring foreign mercenaries in any way contributed to the national security of a country. Let us put that on the record, Mr. Chairman. Can any Member of the House cite an instance in the history of the world in which the national security of a country was properly and adequately maintained by the hiring of mercenary troops of another foreign nation? Washington and Jefferson and Madison knew and understood the immorality and colossal stupidity of such insane policies.

Never in American history, Mr. Chairman, have we proposed to establish our national security on the basis of foreign mercenary armies and an international system of mercenary alliances. This policy has been conceived in corruption and disguised in the robes of hypocrisy. It is a fatal policy—it is a policy of war and world power politics. It is a policy which no American voter has ever cast his vote for. The American people oppose it. The House of Representatives, in all good conscience and good faith, should agree to the amendment which I herewith introduce.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, to adopt the pending amendment would, of course, be equivalent to adopting the amendment which the gentleman from Ohio offered yesterday when he moved to strike out the enacting clause. To strike out aid to Turkey would be but to invite immediate action on the part of the Soviet Union and to place Greece in an utterly untenable position, and it would simply place us in a position where we would be certainly involved in war. If you want to guarantee involvement of this country in foreign wars you can do it no more effectively than to adopt this amendment.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio says: "Turn over the Dardanelles, turn over the most strategic point in all the eastern part of the world to the Soviet Union." I say turn over because they have demanded it. They have already sent their demands to Turkey and said: "We must put our armies in your territory and take control of the Dardanelles."

If America says to the world that we are not interested, then the Turks must give in. What else can they do? What would you do if you were in their position? Turkey is a country of about 18,000,000 people with more than 800,000 now under arms and they have been under arms for years. That constitute a burden that no civilized people can long endure. Of course, Russia knows that. She therefore proposes to keep Turkey under arms until such time as Turkey's economy has collapsed by the weight of the burden of this great armament, then Russia will move in and take what it wants unless we show clearly that we will resist with all our resources.

This amendment is a direct invitation to Russia to invade Turkey. How long could Greece last if the Dardanelles fall? Those of you who have not thought this thing out, look at the map. With a Russian army on the Bosphorus and

on the Dardanelles, and a Russian navy coming through these passages into the Aegean Sea, how long do you think that Greece could stand?

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to my friend from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman has flown over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles only 3 weeks ago and has talked with our own military attaché. I suggest that the gentleman knows what he is talking about.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I do not claim that I am an expert. Maybe I stayed 1 day too long to be an expert and 1 day too short to write a book, but we did see the physical aspects of some of these problems and we did have the opportunity to talk with the American military attaché in Turkey as well as with many of the officials of Turkey. We talked also to newspapermen, we talked to American educators, we talked to all we could find. I am convinced if there is one place on this earth that is anticommunistic it is Turkey today. If there is any nation in the world that will resist Russian aggression it is Turkey. If there is one place where the Communists have made no inroads it is Turkey and not the United States. Turkey presents a more solid opposition to Russian aggression than we do right here. We have our apologists for Russia, some of them sitting around here today. We have them in every part of this country. But not so in Turkey. The Turks have lived next door to Russia for generations and have been the victims of Russia aggression in the past. I am thoroughly convinced that those people in Turkey, if given any assurance that the United States will back them up with the needed supplies and with an air force, will fight to the death and resist Russian or any other aggression.

With the kind of army that Turkey has and with the spirit that Turkey has, I am convinced, as are our military men, that Turkey can withstand any pressure that is put on her; that Turkey can and will keep an invasion from coming in through these mountains in the northeast and that they can keep an invasion from coming in across those fortifications north and west of Istanbul some of which we actually saw. They simply must have the assurance that we are with them. To tell Turkey that we would not help her would be but to make any effective Turkish resistance impossible, and to make Russian invasion a certainty. Surely no American on this floor fails to realize that whether this bill is passed or not, a Russian invasion of Turkey means war for the United States. The only way to avoid war is to prevent such an invasion. That is what this bill tries to prevent. It tries to prevent it first by showing the Turkish people that if they resist aggression, they will not fight alone or in vain, and second, by convincing the Russian rulers that an attack on Turkey means war with the United States. Those of us who support this bill believe that by making the fact of serious consequences perfectly plain in advance, we will probably prevent any overt act.

This amendment does none of the things we want. It leaves us committed in Greece, but invites Russia to outflank Greece. It says in effect that we will fight but not until we have been placed in a much less favorable position than the one we now occupy. It says that rather than defend Greece while we have the aid of a powerful Turkish Army fighting for their own homes, that we must wait until Turkey is overrun and then we must try to defend Greece after all reasonable defense is past.

My friends, if we are going to kill this bill and turn the world over to the Soviet Union, let us do it frankly in the open. Do not try to do by indirection what we refused to do directly only yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Texas has expired.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEFAUVER addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

The amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further amendments to section 2? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this act, and any necessary expenses related thereto, to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds, or accounts existing or established by it for the purpose.

(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this act, such payments when made shall be credited to accounts for such countries established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement, the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(d) (1) Payment in advance by the government of Greece, or of Turkey shall be

required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

With the following committee amendments:

Page 3, line 3, after the comma, strike out the balance of the line down to and including the comma on line 4.

Page 3, line 10, strike out "by it."

Page 3, line 15, strike out "accounts for such countries established for the purpose" and insert, "such countries in accounts established for the purpose."

The committee amendments were agreed to.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. CRAWFORD: On page 4, line 22, after the period, add a new section:

"SEC. 3a. There is hereby created the Foreign Funds Control Commission, which shall be an independent agency of Government directly responsible to the Congress.

"The Commission shall consist of three members—a Director, the Comptroller General, and the Secretary of the Treasury.

"The Director shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate for a term of 5 years and shall serve until his successor has qualified. The Director's salary shall be \$15,000 annually. He shall be a natural-born citizen of the United States. He shall have had a broad experience in the administration of Government funds and without previous prominent affiliation with any major political party.

"The Commission is hereby directed to administer all funds hereafter granted by the Treasury of the United States or previous grants if directed by the Congress to foreign countries, their nationals and agencies of whatever kind or nature.

"The work of the Commission shall be organized under no less than three general divisions (1) the executive under the supervision of the Director, (2) audit and accounting under the supervision of the Comptroller General, and (3) investigation under the supervision of the Intelligence Branch of the Treasury.

"The Director is hereby authorized to engage such personnel, to acquire such office equipment, accounting records, printed matter, and office supplies as may be required to effectuate the purposes of this act.

"The Director shall have the assistance of other Government departments such as the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Mines and Mining, Bureau of Fisheries, State, War, Navy, and Treasury on matters generally coming within the scope of the respective department's functions and to the end that the best expert advice obtainable may be at the service of the Commission in administering the funds so granted; and it shall be the duty of the said agencies to cooperate in every practical manner possible.

"The main office of the Commission shall be located in Washington, D. C. Field offices shall be established and operated in whatever country is given a grant and shall be maintained in operation in that country for whatever time may be required to properly administer the funds so granted.

"The Commission shall submit quarterly reports of its administration to the Congress which shall be published for the general information of the taxpayers and bond buyers of the United States."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, the legislation the gentleman proposes is very important and very fundamental legislation, but it ought to come before the committee in a special bill. I make the point of order that it is not germane to the present bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Michigan desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. CRAWFORD. No, Mr. Chairman; I do not. This is in the interest of the taxpayers and the bond buyers of the United States. It is to protect their funds. If the committee does not care to consider the amendment, I have nothing else to offer.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is ready to rule.

The amendment offered by the gentleman from Michigan proposes to create a Foreign Funds Control Commission, to be an independent agency of the Government and to have control not merely over the funds proposed to be authorized by the pending legislation but over funds that might be made available under other legislation. Consequently the chair sustains the point of order and rules that the amendment is not germane.

Are there further amendments to section 2? If not, the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this act not to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; and (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 5, line 12, strike out "and."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 5, line 15, after the semicolon insert "and (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid rendered pursuant to this act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose,

source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this act."

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana to the committee amendment: On page 5, line 20, after the semicolon insert the following: "and (f) nor shall any of the loans, credits, or grants be used for the payment, allowance, and maintenance of any army foreign to that country."

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, it has been a real education during the last 3 days to see how this bill is being handled in the House. I thought yesterday when the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] offered his very valuable amendment that it would be adopted, but the reception it received was very much the opposite. I thought today when the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JORD] and the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] offered their amendments that because of their validity and worth-whileness they would be accepted by the House, but they likewise received very little support.

I do not know how much support this amendment will get. I am not going to take the full time allotted to me under the rules of debate because I think the amendment explains itself quite clearly.

You will note in the preceding part of the section before this amendment goes in that it states as follows:

As a further condition precedent to the receipt of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of financial aid under paragraph (1) of section 1 the government requesting such aid shall agree not to use any part of the proceeds thereof for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government.

That is the committee amendment, and I think it is very worth while. But I would like to see added to it the amendment which is now before the House and which reads as follows:

nor shall any of the loans, credits, or grants be used for the payment, allowance, or maintenance of any army foreign to that country.

In explanation, we have been told that the British brigade would have to leave Greece because Britain could not maintain the cost of continuing that force there. I do not want to see American funds used for further maintenance of the British brigade in Greece, and, furthermore, I do not want to see the funds which will be allocated under this act used for bringing in a mercenary army. Furthermore, I do not want to see the funds which will very likely be appropriated under this authorization used to transfer or maintain any mercenary armies which are on the loose at the present time. I refer specifically in that regard to the Polish legions under General Anders which at the present time have no country of their own to which to turn and which have been used in various capacities in various instances prior to this date. I think that explains the amendment sufficiently.

I hope the House will see fit to adopt it.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments there-to close in 10 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment.

This amendment is one of those attempts to build a wall piecemeal all around a big area. If we try to put a universal negative in here by little specific instances, we will never get through handling this bill.

Of course, we are not going to have our administrators over there throwing the money down sewers. We are not going to have them putting the money in other countries than Greece and Turkey or their agencies, so you do not need such amendments, if you credit our representatives with sane common sense. Our administrators are there to help Greece and Turkey. They are not there to help any other power or maintain or pay for the army of that power.

It has been mentioned in the debate about the number of British troops in Greece. As one from the Foreign Affairs Committee who has some knowledge of the matter, I would like to explain shortly the situation with reference to the troops in Greece, and also the situation with respect to outside troops in Turkey.

The gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], on page 4950 of the RECORD, said this:

"I say in answer to that that the British say their troops are over there solely in an advisory capacity, yet they have 10,000 of them there. I suppose they are advising the people to maintain law and order."

Actually what has happened in the case of Britain in Greece is this, they do have on security duty about 10,000 troops, which is one brigade. We ourselves have one division of troops for the city of Trieste. We are going to have an American contingent of 5,000 troops composed of the Blue Devil Brigade of the Eighty-eighth Division under Maj. Gen. Bryant S. Moore, who are to be there on a long-time basis when the treaties are ratified with the former belligerent countries of Italy, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. The ratifications of these various treaties of the Four Powers, the United States, Britain, Russia, and France, are now under consideration by the United States Senate.

The treaty provisions propose and bind the signatories, that within 90 days after the ratification of those treaties by the Four Powers that the United States, Britain, and Russia will all simultaneously withdraw those troops which they have in these four countries. The treaties do not apply to Greece, because Greece is not one of these treaty countries.

The situation in Greece has been handled by Britain in this fashion: Britain by statement of internal policy has said to the world that they would remove those troops from Greece at the time that Russia moves her troops out of Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. She

has done that as a unilateral action ahead of time, as a voluntary action to show Russia that she will come out of the nontreaty country, Greece, at the same time that Russia moves her troops out of the treaty countries. I think that is a fair and a sane action to take; and, as you know, it was done voluntarily.

The British brigade went to Greece in 1944 at the time of the ELAS insurrection when everyone admits it was necessary to restore public order, on the liberation of Greece. Then it was necessary because the German troops had departed and that left a vacuum so that somebody from Allied side had to assist the people of Greece to fill it. Under the arrangement made by Roosevelt at Yalta the British were the ones to maintain order in the lower end of the Balkan Peninsula, Greece. So it was entirely in accord with the foreign policy of both Britain and the United States to have those troops there.

Britain has already put those troops at this present minute on a retirement basis and is waiting to remove them. They have no active duties in the present leftist trouble at the present time.

On the other hand, Britain has an economic civilian mission there and a police civilian mission. The economic mission has been doing just about the same thing that we intend to do in aiding Greece toward stabilizing in finances. The police mission is recruited from metropolitan police from the city of London. London bobbies are now assisting in keeping order. In Greece in addition to these, the British have a military advisory mission; and that is the sort of thing that we intend to do on the military side here. The British at present cannot afford to go further and alone keep the military mission there in an advisory capacity when they cannot furnish aid on the many projects necessary to help Greece rise to the level of the society of our democracies. We must not forget the British are our friends and have assumed to this date a heavy obligation in Greece to help her back on her feet, so she can stand as a friendly partner in the democratic world.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana to the committee amendment: On page 5, line 24, after section 3 insert "And (h) shall agree to undertake within 6 months and after the enactment thereof a bona fide effort through taxation to support its own national reconstruction, rehabilitation, and economy; and such Government shall further undertake within such period to graduate the rates of any taxes imposed by such Government upon the income of its nationals in such a manner as to insure that the appropriate burden of taxation is borne by those taxpayers with the greatest ability to pay. The quarterly report required by section 7 shall also include a state-

ment of the progress of such Government in effectuating the provisions of this paragraph."

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment to the committee amendment.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I desire recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman cannot be recognized. The unanimous-consent agreement entered into heretofore was that all time on the amendment pending and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes. The time has already expired.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, is the Chair sure that request was to amendments to the amendment or just a particular amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. It was to the amendment pending and all amendments thereto.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman may have 5 minutes to explain his amendment and that there be allotted 5 minutes in reply.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, but I indulge the hope that this may not be considered a precedent and in order to materialize that hope I may say that I must object to any similar unanimous consent request hereafter.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I am deeply grateful to the committee for allowing me this time. I am somewhat shocked at the speed at which we are trying to get through with section 3 after we had spent so much time on section 1 of this bill.

Mr. Chairman, this particular amendment is not my amendment. It was the amendment offered by Senator LODGE in the other body in committee but not reported out. It was also considered by the Committee on Foreign Affairs and was voted down. However, I feel it is an excellent amendment, because it will give the Greeks and the Turks a chance to revamp their tax structure and to assume some share of responsibility in their own rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. Does the gentleman recall this amendment was thoroughly discussed in the committee and voted down?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. The gentleman is absolutely correct and I have already made that statement to the committee here. However, I feel that we should not go into Greece and Turkey with this \$400,000,000 and expect these governments to do nothing in return. We know from what the gentleman from Washington [Mr. JACKSON] told us yesterday about the tax and income situation as far as the Greek shipping inter-

ests are concerned and how little they pay to maintain their own government, and we all know from recent reports and correspondence as well as stories which appeared in the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune, and even in some Washington papers, that the people having the money in these countries are not the ones who are paying the taxes toward their country's development.

I feel that we should make it mandatory in some way through some sort of agreement so that the Greeks and Turks will be able to do their part in rehabilitating and reconstructing their own country. I do not feel that we should assume the entire burden. I feel they should help themselves as much as they can.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FULTON. Does the gentleman recall that Senator LODGE when he was advised this might embarrass the United States Government and also make it look as if we were taking too much of a part in the internal affairs of a foreign country voluntarily withdrew the amendment and did not submit it?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. That is right. I believe I mentioned that in the course of my remarks. However, I think that this is a good amendment; that we should help these people to help themselves, and that we should not, if at all possible, bear the entire burden.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Is it not a fact that there is no income tax in Greece at the present time?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. There is no income tax, at least as far as the people who can well afford to pay it are concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Montana has expired.

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment. Members have complained that this legislation constitutes an intervention into the internal affairs of Greece and Turkey. While I do not agree that the legislation as now written is an intervention into the internal affairs of the nations involved, I do insist that this amendment will have just that effect. This is an attempt actually to write the tax laws of Greece here on the floor of this House of the United States Congress. Certainly nothing could be more clearly an act of intervention. The amendment should be overwhelmingly defeated.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman who is now speaking was recently in Turkey and Greece, and the gentleman and I were members of the same delegation which visited those countries. Did we not find that the greatest effort which was being made to thwart our efforts was over the Russian radio, which was beaming its propaganda into Turkey every

day, in an effort to build up sentiment against the United States by telling those people that America was undertaking to run their government and to conduct their domestic affairs. That is exactly the Russian line of propaganda, is it not?

Mr. COOLEY. The gentleman is right.

Mr. POAGE. And if we write this provision into this bill we will be writing into legislation just what Russia has been telling them over the radio everyday.

Mr. COOLEY. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Montana.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I would like to point out for the benefit of the gentleman from Texas that Great Britain and Greece have entered into such an agreement, and if Great Britain and Greece can do it, I do not see why we cannot.

Mr. COOLEY. If the matter can be settled by agreement and without legislation, there would appear to be no necessity for the gentleman's amendment.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. One of the main criticisms of this legislation which I have heard is that it would be an intervention in the affairs of Greece and Turkey. Certainly, should this amendment be passed, as I understand it, the Congress will cause itself to be guilty of passing legislation which would be intervening into the internal affairs of those countries.

Mr. COOLEY. I agree with the gentleman's statement. The opponents of this bill seem to oppose it merely because they regard it as an intervention. As I have said, the bill as written is not an intervention into the internal affairs of either Greece or Turkey, but this amendment would very definitely constitute an intervention. Certainly, we will not attempt to direct the affairs of either Greece or Turkey by the enactment of law here in the United States Congress.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Will the gentleman deny that in a certain sense we are intervening in the affairs of Greece and Turkey at this time, if this bill goes through?

Mr. COOLEY. I certainly do deny it. During the conference which we held in both Greece and Turkey, Senator BARKLEY and other members of our delegation sought to ascertain whether or not there was any apprehension on the part of the people of Greece or Turkey concerning the motives and purposes of the American Government, in connection with the contemplated loans. The answer to each question propounded by members of our delegation was invariably to the effect that the people of Greece and Turkey were familiar with American history; that they knew that there was nothing in the history of our country which would justify the belief that we were about to embark upon a program of imperialism, or that we

would attempt in any way to dominate or to direct the internal affairs of either Greece or Turkey, and each of the persons with whom we conferred agreed that they were perfectly willing to accept such regulation, supervision, and advice in the administration of these loans as our Government desired to make or deemed necessary.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, is it not true that much of the opposition to this bill yesterday was based on the theory that the Greek Government was a totalitarian government? The gentleman who is speaking was in Greece. Did he not see with his own eyes positive evidence that that very Government was more tolerant with those who hold other opinion than some of the opponents of this bill who want to enforce their own ideas of government on other people regardless of the wishes those people freely expressed at the ballot box? Here is a newspaper we bought on the streets of Athens, a Communist newspaper, with a picture on the front page. The picture is the only thing I can read, but I recognize it is a picture of Marshal Stalin. Those who could read the article told me it was pure Russian propaganda from start to finish. We bought it on the streets of Athens. It was circulating perfectly freely. And, if the gentleman will yield further, is it not true that the Greek Government allows freedom of action, freedom of speech, right now? At the same time the very people who most loudly protest against us trying to help put the Greek people on their feet offer as an excuse the alleged fact that the Greek Government is a dictatorship. I think democracy involves allowing other people the same right to decide for themselves how they will run their own affairs. I think that from that angle the Greek Government is doing a better job of democracy than some of our own self-styled liberals. In what part of the U. S. S. R. or in what Russian-controlled country could you find the kind of freedom and liberty for minority views that you and I saw in Greece?

Mr. COOLEY. I think the gentleman is correct. I do not believe this paper could be published in that country if it had a totalitarian government.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield to the eloquent gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. MORRIS. Does the gentleman not know that the committee report itself on page 2 states that we are going to tell them what kind of taxes to levy and what kind of imports and exports they shall have?

Mr. COOLEY. I do not agree with that statement at all.

May I say in conclusion that the Greek Government has been in power for only a few short months. The report referred to yesterday by the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] was only filed in the month of March 1947, and that contemplates a long-range program for the country of Greece.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Carolina has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. DAVIS of Georgia to the committee amendment: On page 5, line 17, strike out "financial."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, the committee will accept that amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia to the committee amendment.

The amendment to the committee amendment was agreed to.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mrs. DOUGLAS: To close section 3 on page 5, line 24, insert the following additional clause:

"(g) that the Greek Government declare a general amnesty for political prisoners, and within 1 year after assistance by the United States has been made available, the Greek Government will cause to be held a free election, the conduct and results of which shall be supervised by a commission appointed for the purpose, by the General Assembly of the United Nations; or, if the President advises the Congress that the United Nations is unwilling or unable to appoint such commission, then under the supervision of an American commission, composed of five members, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate."

(Mrs. DOUGLAS asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, we propose to extend aid to Greece, and I heartily approve of that.

We must be very sure that this aid will produce democratic and sound economic results.

Despite the hundreds of millions of dollars poured into Greece since the end of the war by Great Britain and the United States, Greece is still in a state of political chaos and economic desperation.

Official British, American, and United Nations reports clearly point to the reasons for this failure; namely, the incompetence, corruption, and oppression which exists in the present Greek Government.

Terror exists in Greece today—economic and political terror. Terrorism from the extreme right is as oppressive as terrorism from the extreme left.

Arthur Krock, in his column of April 1, 1947, in the New York Times, endorses completely the following statement made to him by an observer in Greece:

In one 3-day period, after the United States said it would assume political responsibility, the Greek Government arrested about 600 persons in Athens, mostly professionals—doctors, lawyers, etc.—and sent them away, frankly declaring there was no longer any need to exercise restraint. There is no doubt that the loudest shouters in support of the United States are Athens' 3,000 wealthiest

citizens whom the Government continues to protect against any direct taxation and who, with their gold pounds, hardly realize there is any inflation.

This observer concluded with the statement that as much as he detests communism, he would "go to the mountains" if he were a citizen of Greece.

Current reports made by observers now in Greece bolster this testimony. Members of the House will find them in the RECORD.

Great Britain failed in her efforts to aid Greece.

We must not fail.

In our opposition to communism, we must not make the mistake of backing the remnants of corrupt and decaying systems. This is the sure formula for failure. This is the sure formula that will breed communism. Failure to succeed in Greece will seriously undermine the challenging foreign policy which we are undertaking.

There is only one way to succeed. We must make it clear to the oppressed people of Greece that we are in profound sympathy with their legitimate aspiration for economic reform and social rehabilitation and that we propose to see that United States aid is used to create channels for the free political expression of those aspirations.

Stephen K. Bailey, who was the Chief of Balkan Intelligence for the OSS, has this to say:

Anyone who views communism in the Balkans as the result of simple Russian machinations is overlooking the centuries of poverty and aristocratic corruption which have characterized those countries. * * *

A peaceful resolution of the impasse in Greece depends upon two things: Convincing Russia that any military expansion will be met by force; using every means at our disposal to hasten long-overdue economic and social reforms. * * *

* * * We must search out those political leaders who until now have been crushed between the millstones of reaction and communism and give them power.

It was said yesterday by the gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH] that when we defend liberty for others we defend our own liberty. I agree fully, with all my heart and mind, if the liberty we defend for others is the same liberty we cherish for ourselves; and I am ready to defend that liberty abroad as well as at home, not just with \$400,000,000, which guarantees nothing but a beginning, but with billions of dollars.

That is evidently not the sentiment of this Congress, or it would have passed the International Children's Fund before this and it would not have gutted the relief bill, the crippling of which will invite communism in Italy, Hungary, Austria, and Poland.

If we are going to be instrumental in the development of a democratic world it is going to cost us something in terms of hard cash and generous treatment to the impoverished and miserable people of this earth.

My amendment is in line with statements made by the Secretary of State and evidence presented before our committee.

I offer an amendment which requires as a condition precedent to giving aid to Greece that the Greek Government

declare a general amnesty for political prisoners and agree to hold a free election within 1 year after assistance has first been made available. Such a procedure must appeal to the people of the United States as well as to the people of Greece since it embodies fully the democratic process which it is the stated purpose of this bill to defend. Whatever may have been urged against the former King of Greece, it is indubitably clear that the present King, without a trace of Greek blood in his veins, married to a German princess, notorious for her Nazi activities and sympathies during the war, may well be thoroughly unpopular and unacceptable to the Greek people.

The record of the present King is such that even the British Foreign Office, we are reliably informed, has grave misgivings about his fitness to serve as the ruler of Greece in such critical times.

A free election by the Greek people would, of course, not directly resolve the issue as to the continuation of the monarchy or the future of King Paul. On the other hand, it would enable the Greek people to elect representatives who would presumably fully express prevailing political convictions. If these representatives should in turn, decide that the welfare of their country demands constitutional reforms, they would be empowered to take the necessary steps. You will agree, I am sure, that this is the way we want to see things done and that if it is our sincere desire to bring about and support a democratic government in Greece, we must shape our own assistance so as to contribute most effectively to that end.

To assure a thoroughly free election, my amendment directs the President to request the United Nations to appoint a commission to supervise the election. Since I recognize that for various reasons the United Nations may be unable, or possibly unwilling, to undertake the commitment, the President is directed, if such be the case, to inform the Congress of the fact and to appoint a five-man American commission to supervise the election.

In order further to assure Congressional participation in this course of action, my amendment proposes that if an American commission is appointed, it be subject to confirmation by the Senate. I have allowed for a leeway period preceding the election of 1 year after assistance is first made available to Greece on the ground that in that period relief operations will have reduced tension among the Greek people, restored a measure of calm and thereby contributed to an atmosphere in which a truly free election may be held. Furthermore, during that same period of time the United Nations will have the opportunity to decide whether it chooses to assume the responsibility of appointing a supervisory commission.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 3 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY].

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Chairman, I dislike to bob up so frequently, but it seems to me that this is a tremendously important amendment, and I feel that it should be opposed and defeated. The author of the amendment, unfortunately, did not discuss the first part of it, which in itself is quite important. The effect of the first part of the amendment is to declare an amnesty for political prisoners. Does that mean that the author of the amendment would like to open up the jails of Greece and turn out the criminals and guerrillas, so that they can overthrow the government? Apparently this is clearly the purpose of the amendment.

Shall we by this amendment attempt to direct Greece to hold another election? I wonder if the author of the amendment and those who will support it would be willing for Congress to pass laws directing Yugoslavia and all of the other countries which are puppets of Soviet Russia, and in which elections been held to hold other elections, to be supervised as contemplated by the gentleman's amendment. Frankly, I feel that elections in Yugoslavia and in other countries which have been overrun by communism should hold new, free and unfettered elections, but I certainly question the wisdom of an act of Congress directing that such elections be held. This is an unreasonable proposition and I certainly hope that it will not be seriously considered by this Committee.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. I yield.

Mr. VORYS. I recently talked in Cairo to Greek Republicans who opposed the monarchy, and they said they hoped that an election would not be held too soon, because if an election were held too soon the danger would be that the only choice would be between a monarchy and communism, whereas if sufficient time elapsed, there could be then a real choice between a republic, which they supported, and a monarchy.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. COOLEY. Of course, I yield.

Mrs. DOUGLAS. I would like to ask the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS] does he feel that 1 year is a reasonable length of time?

Mr. VORYS. I think Greece knows more about that than we do.

Mr. COOLEY. We have general elections in this country every 4 years and we seem to get along all right. When another election will be held in Greece, perhaps, is not so important, but the importance of this proposition is shall the American Congress direct or require, either directly or indirectly, the holding of an election in the far-away country of Greece, in which country we are told that more than 85 percent of the people even now approve the Government in existence there. Maybe the great powers should have supervised elections in other countries, and had they done so I venture to say that the situation in many of

the countries of Europe would be quite different from what it is today.

I insist that this amendment should be defeated, and by an overwhelming vote, to the end that Greece and Turkey and all other countries of the world will clearly and definitely know that America does not intend to interfere with the internal affairs of other nations, or attempt to dominate or direct the domestic affairs of other nations by remote control. We either believe in this bill or we do not believe in it. We are either for it or against it. We either want to follow Truman and Marshall and Vandenberg, and all of the other leaders of America, including our distinguished representative to the United Nations Organization, Senator Austin, or we want to follow the primrose path of weakness, which leads to conflict and bloodshed.

I hope that this amendment will be defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HUBER]?

There was no objection.

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Chairman, several days ago I stated on this floor—and I repeat now—that if we allowed political expediency to determine our vote on this measure we would all vote against it.

This morning five Communist veterans from my district called upon me and they asked me why I, as one who in the past had to some extent believed in the principles of Henry Wallace, could possibly support the Truman doctrine. I told them I could support the Truman doctrine because I had been given the great privilege of traveling through many of these countries that have been mentioned. I had the opportunity of being in Moscow, and, following that, in eastern and central countries—Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Turkey, and Greece. I was not wine and dined at the cocktail bars of the diplomats, but I talked to the average people—to the little people. Everywhere I went I found that in every country they were fearful of Russia and fearful of the future. I told those veterans that was one of the reasons I would vote for the Truman doctrine. I told them I would vote for it because I believed we were going to insure freedom to our part of the world—to this country—where I can walk out of the door and stand on the steps of the Capitol of the United States and say whatever I choose to say about the President of the United States, about the Chief of Staff, the Secretary of State, or anyone else.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. That aggregation of so-called Communist veterans was simply a mission from Moscow.

Mr. HUBER. Well, I do not know what the mission was, but I know that

they asked me as vets of this war if I knew what they had been fighting for. I said it was not only those who fought in World War II; it was those who fought in World War I, the Spanish-American War, the Civil War, and the Revolutionary War, to preserve the heritage that has been won for us at so great a cost. I did not have the privilege of serving in this war but I have stood by the graves of those who died, and have a true appreciation for the sacrifice they made. There is a great obligation on us.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. It occurred to me to suggest also that that mission from Moscow, to which the gentleman from Mississippi referred, came here and had their communistic convention, or whatever it was that met yesterday, with the ridiculous idea that they could influence the House of Representatives of the United States in its vote on this measure.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. Last night the principal speech was made by the leading Communist, William Z. Foster, who just got back from Moscow.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I may as well. I yield.

Mr. COX. Does the gentleman find any significance in the fact that the young Members of this House who bear the scars of World War II upon their bodies are generally for this bill?

Mr. HUBER. I believe the overwhelming number of veterans who have served in all the wars in which this country has engaged are and should be overwhelmingly in support of this bill.

Mr. JACKSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. JACKSON of California. Along the same line brought out by the gentleman from Georgia—and he has focused attention to a point I was going to make, one which I think the membership of this House can well consider—the vast majority of men who know war more recently than a great number of the Members of this House are for this bill because they feel that we do have to take a stand and they know that when you are speaking to a power which knows only the language of force you have got to answer with force yourself.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. MUNDT. I merely wish to suggest that perhaps the gentleman from Alabama was not quite right after all when he said that the Communists had the ridiculous idea that they could influence votes in this House by holding their convention here. I believe that by their opposition to this bill they have induced a lot of Members to support it who now realize where the strength of the opposition comes from.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman's time may be extended for an additional 5 minutes if he desires.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has not yet expired.

Mr. JARMAN. I still ask unanimous consent that his time may be extended 5 minutes.

Mr. HUBER. I appreciate the interest shown in my remarks.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I would suggest that the gentleman spend his additional 5 minutes in explaining why these questions cannot be handled through the United Nations.

Mr. HUBER. I may say to the gentleman from California that if he will explain why Russia cannot handle similar matters through the United Nations then I will be satisfied. This thing is not one-sided.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HUBER. I yield.

Mr. JUDD. I am sure everybody in the House fully realizes and deeply regrets that so many of the countries of the world, especially those devastated by the war, are disrupted and distraught, and their governments are in bad condition; no one pretends that the Greek Government is as good or as democratic as we wish; but is this not our situation, that the choice in Greece is not between the present Greek Government and something better, it is between the present Greek Government and something infinitely worse?

Which will be better for the Greeks, for us to help the government chosen by themselves maintain the nation's independence, while helping it to work toward more democracy and more efficiency and less corruption or, on the other hand, to abandon Greece to the control of a foreign power which has never yet given any people under its heel any chance whatsoever to develop democracy? Is not that our real choice, between the present Greek Government and something worse, not between the present government and something better?

Mr. HUBER. There is much truth in what the gentleman says. But we must not condemn all the young ex-soldiers who came down with this group. They are looking for a better way of life. Do not condemn them too hastily. If they could be assured of security in the future it would go a long way in changing their outlook toward our great form of government which guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or the right of the people peacefully to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

By unanimous consent the pro forma amendments were withdrawn.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, the question I asked the gentleman from Ohio was evaded and to some extent turned back to me; and, of course, I am not going to try to use my 5 minutes to show how this could be taken up through procedures which are set forth in the United Nations Charter. I know the Members of this House are familiar with them, and I believe many of them seriously considering this matter realize that such a problem could be handled through the procedures and methods set up in the United Nations Charter.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. Will the gentleman agree with me that every thing could be done by the President under the United Nations Charter if he but would? In other words, we would not need any congressional action if he would but do it that way.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. That is correct. He has the power to ask Mr. Austin to initiate the matter either through the Security Council or the General Assembly.

Mr. Chairman, at the proper time I shall move to recommit this bill, in case I am recognized by the Chairman of the Committee, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, with instructions to report the same back with the following amendment, and I want to take this time to read the amendment briefly and to explain briefly what it means:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof:

"SECTION 1. It is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States through the appropriate representative of the United States shall initiate in the Security Council of the United Nations and in other appropriate bodies of the United Nations proposals designed to ensure the security and national integrity of Greece and Turkey, and to resolve any related problems in the Near East and Middle East areas which are endangering the peace.

"SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President a sum not exceeding \$100,000,000 for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation of the Greek economy. The President may expend funds appropriated pursuant to this provision through existing agencies of the Federal Government and through transfer of such amounts as he deems appropriate to the Government of Greece and the Secretary General of the United Nations for expenditure by them. Such funds shall be expended for the purchase and other provision of supplies for the civilian economy of Greece, including incidental administrative, transportation, technical, and other necessary services, but no part of such money shall be used for the provision of military supplies or services."

Very briefly, I first ask to recommit the present bill. Second, it instructs the President to initiate through the appropriate representative of the United States, in the Security Council of the United Nations and in other appropriate bodies of the United Nations, proposals designed to insure the security and national integrity of Greece and Turkey and to resolve any related problems in the Near East and middle eastern areas which are endangering the peace.

As the Members of this body know, the Palestine question is now in the hands of the United Nations. To a certain extent a portion of the Greek situation is in the hands of the Balkan Commission. There is nothing involving Turkey at the present time, as far as the United Nations is concerned. But the Dardanelles is a problem which will remain regardless of whether this bill passes or not. When the \$100,000,000 which goes to Turkey is expended, the problem of the Dardanelles, and the problem of the distribution of oil in Iran and Syria and other places will still remain and, Mr. Chairman, we will have

to appropriate other hundreds of millions of dollars because the problems will still be there. That is why I say you cannot solve the problem of Greece and Turkey without solving the related problems which are contiguous and related thereto.

Third. An appropriation of \$100,000,000 is made to Greece immediately for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation in Greece. I supported the \$350,000,000 relief bill, and I opposed the Jonkman amendment that cut that amount because I felt at that time it cut down too much the need for relief in Greece.

The expenditure of this fund is for the civilian economy, and the reason I set the figure at \$100,000,000 is because the Food and Agricultural Organization which was embodied and created by the United Nations recommended \$100,000,000. That is why I set it at that amount. This cuts down the amount of this bill from \$400,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to comply with the FAO recommendation.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for two additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. BUCK. Mr. Chairman, I object.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, it prohibits an expenditure for military purposes and it provides that at the President's discretion such part of this fund as necessary may be transferred to the Greek Government or the Secretary-General of the United Nations for supervision in the expenditure of money in Greece.

Mr. Chairman, I trust that when this motion to recommit is offered we will have enough support on the motion to show that we still have some faith in the United Nations and that we are not completely ignoring the existence of such body.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from California has again expired.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Gladly.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section close with this address.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, how many amendments are pending on this section for which unanimous consent has been asked to close debate upon?

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk advises the Chair that there are no amendments pending on the desk on this section.

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana. Mr. Chairman, when the President of the United

States on March 12 delivered his now historic message on aid to Greece and Turkey, the occasion marked a significant turning point in America's foreign policy. In the words of the President:

One of the principal objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the wars with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will and their way of life upon other nations. * * *

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

Stated another way, the President of the United States, in the name of the people of the United States, on that day before the Congress abandoned, once and for all, the ineffectual and costly isolationist policy of the past—a policy which directly contributed to the devastating wars that the world has witnessed within this generation.

The issue in Greece and Turkey is identical with the one which prevailed when Japan marched into Manchuria, when Italy took Ethiopia, and when Hitler violated all of the treaties of his government, and by force, by threats of force, and by his Nazi fifth columns, conquered much of Europe without firing a shot.

The issue may be put by way of a simple question. Shall we face up to our responsibilities throughout this one world or shall we adopt a 1947 variety of appeasement and isolationism which must sooner or later bring about a Third World War that so many are already calling inevitable?

If we follow a course of appeasement, if we decide that what happens in the rest of the world is of no concern to us, then the Communist rulers in the Kremlin, just as the madman in Berlin of 1939, will decide that the western democracies are weak, and can be conquered by the same techniques of propaganda and boring from within as employed by Hitler. If, on the other hand, we meet our responsibilities and let the world understand that we will not shrink from them, the freemen everywhere will be encouraged and the voice of our great and powerful Nation, spoken in behalf of democracy and freedom will be heard in every corner of the world and the march toward communistic totalitarianism will be halted.

The need is urgent. The time is short. Greece and Turkey are vital. They command the Near East, Africa, and Asia. If they fall to the Russian fifth column from within, then before long, all of the world outside our hemisphere may be within the orbit of the iron curtain. If their position is held, most of western Europe will be saved, and constructive measures, such as the establishment of a United States of Europe, will make possible the economic rehabilitation of that continent. Such action should assure the continuation of world peace by convincing Moscow that our policy is one of justice, backed by all the strength and might of this great Nation.

Those who argue that we are bypassing the United Nations are either beg-

ging the question or opposing our policy by indirection because they know that we are confronted with acute internal situations in Greece and Turkey which cannot be handled at this time by the United Nations. They are also deliberately ignoring the fact that Russia has a veto power in that assembly which she would not hesitate to use.

America now faces the same challenge that it faced in 1914 and in the 1930's. If it follows the course of coming to the aid of stricken peoples and abandons isolationism and appeasement, the tragic and bloody history of 1917 and 1941 will not be repeated. If it follows the opposite course, a third blood bath may soon be upon us.

Let us be frank about this matter.

Are we willing for the iron curtain to be extended to the shores of the Atlantic, through all of the continent of Europe, through the Near East, and possibly throughout Asia and Africa?

Have we forgotten the bloody, dismal struggle which so recently engulfed mankind? Do hundreds of thousands of young Americans lie in hallowed ground and other thousands suffer in hospitals and institutions so that we might substitute Red dictatorship for black dictatorship? Shall we repeat in Greece and in Turkey and in western Europe the solemn tragedy of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, and Yugoslavia; or shall we use the moral power of this Nation for the cause of freedom? Freedom is an ancient word. It first gained its magnificence in the land of the Hellenes. To many of us who have lived under the blessed sun of the United States, it may seem like an academic word; but in those bleak nations behind the iron curtain, it is still the most glorious word in the minds of men. And yet, the issue involved here is just that simple. It is whether freedom survives on this earth, or whether some strange ideology, which proclaims freedom but practices tyranny, which talks about the rights of man but foists a brutal, soulless system of collectivism upon the minds and hearts of men, and which employs cruelties heretofore unknown to mankind shall prevail. For my own part, it is my firm belief that there can be no compromise with communism. That is the issue. If we compromise now, if we throw Greece and the nations of Europe into the waiting, willing arms of Red fascism, then we will face a third world war more horrible and more devastating than the one that this world has so recently experienced. If we fail in this duty, then we may as well withdraw our armies of occupation from Europe. We may as well remain away from the conference tables and prepare for the holocaust.

I read with interest Mr. Stalin's interview with Mr. Stassen. He talked about cooperation and said that our countries could live together in peace. I fervently hope that they can. But certainly Mr. Stalin would be more impressive if his deeds spoke out rather than his words.

The philosophy to which he subscribes, denies the validity of covenants, the validity of morals, the validity of religion. How then can western civilization trust his assertions? He talks about freedom,

when in his nation and in the nations that are dominated by communism there are more slaves than have ever existed in the entire recorded history of this world.

To compromise with communism is to compromise with an essential evil. It is no more possible than to compromise with cancer or tuberculosis.

The debate, however, has pointed up the need for something more than a negative policy in Europe. While we must oppose Russian expansion and while we must fight communism on every front, we also must put forward a positive program of democracy. The objections voiced to the extension of aid to Greece and Turkey have come from many thoughtful Americans who are justly worried about our precarious fiscal structure and who realize that dollars alone will not solve the problems of Europe.

These thoughtful Americans are properly concerned over our tremendous national debt. They show where we have already spent billions in England and France and throughout the world, and communism marches on. There must be some other way. Otherwise we will bankrupt America.

There is an alternative that has stirred the minds of men for many centuries. It is to be found in a federated western Europe. A resolution "that the Congress hereby favors the creation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations" is now pending in this body and in the Senate. That resolution has received support from the overwhelming majority of Americans, representing all political groups, from the press, and in public forums. Recently a group of 81 of the Nation's outstanding leaders in business, finance, religion and education, and journalism endorsed the plan as the answer to the recurrent problem of Europe. It is not a new plan. It has been supported for many years by great statesmen of Europe. Today its principal champions are Winston Churchill, Prime Minister Smuts, John Foster Dulles, Walter Lippmann, Prime Minister Attlee, and many others. George Washington once wrote to General Lafayette:

We have sowed seeds of liberty and union that will spring up everywhere on earth, and one day, taking its pattern from the United States of America, there will be founded the United States of Europe.

The great French writer, Victor Hugo, prophesied:

The day will come when these two huge unions, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, will face and greet each other across the Atlantic—when they will exchange their goods, their commerce, their industry, their arts, their genius, to civilize the globe, to fertilize deserts, to improve creation under the eyes of the Creator, and to assure the greatest benefit for all by combining these forces: the brotherhood of man and the might of God.

That day is at hand.

The Greek loan must be made, because, as I have pointed out, we cannot compromise further. But at best it is serving only as an oxygen tent for the patient. Similar loans have been made to France,

England, and to the Netherlands, and the condition of our ex-enemies does not need recounting at this time.

Greece is vital, but western Europe is even more vital, and now is the time, with Europe prostrate, for the ancient ideal of federation to bear fruit. As one writer has said, "What was once an ideal is now a necessity."

In the words of Winston Churchill:

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the small states have, indeed, made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn, and bewildered human beings gaze on the ruins of their cities and scan the dark horizon for the approach of some new peril, tyranny, or terror.

They may still return. There is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in the many lands, would as if by a miracle, transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today.

What is this sovereign remedy?

We must build a kind of United States of Europe.

America cannot bring about the United States of Europe, but by the adoption of the resolution now before the Congress the forces at work everywhere in western Europe will be immeasurably strengthened and those who hesitate now because of the opposition to Soviet Russia will be given the courage and the support to move forward.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened carefully to the debate on this measure for 3 days. I have opposed every amendment which has been offered to the committee bill. I shall continue to oppose amendments. I shall oppose the amendment which the gentleman from California contemplates offering.

The committee has done a masterful job in framing this legislation and the issues have been clearly presented to this body. Everyone here fully understands that. As the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. WADSWORTH], and our great minority leader [Mr. RAYBURN] pointed out on day before yesterday, the comparison existing between 1914 and 1939-41 is too serious to overlook, and all thoughtful Americans realize that we must no longer adopt a policy of appeasement.

I listened with interest this morning while one gentleman said, "Of what concern is it to us what happens in eastern Europe or what happens in Russia?" My mind went back to my first term here in this Congress in 1941 when we were debating lend-lease, and I heard those same words, and those same gentlemen making the identical assertions. After Hitler had conquered most of Europe, and when the British Isles were holding out all alone, those same gentlemen stood in the well of the House and said, "What concern is it to us what Hitler does in Europe?" Then, all of a sudden bombs fell on Pearl Harbor and it was of direct concern to every American. That is the same challenge that we face today, and we had better not make any mistake about it.

But, I want to take this time to point out what I believe is possibly an alterna-

tive to the direction we are headed. Many years ago the statesmen of Europe recognized the fact that as long as Europe was disunited, as long as we had countless little nationalities and countless little nations in Europe, we were bound to have these interminable wars and interminable struggles. Recognizing this recurrent situation, some months ago, in conjunction with some of my colleagues in the Senate, I introduced a resolution in this House favoring the creation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations. I am certain that many Members of the House have noted the overwhelming approval with which that resolution has been met by the press, in public forums, in educational, and in civic circles of this country. I am happy to say that that movement now has a tremendous momentum, and today the Moscow Conference having failed and our effort of cooperation with Russia having completely failed, we must have an alternative.

I say to the Members of the House, if they will give serious consideration and serious thought to the age-old ideal of a united western Europe, together in trade, together in commerce, and together in government, the 200,000,000 people of western Europe will be the answer to this problem, and I believe we will have some hope for peace on this earth; but as long as we maintain all of these separate entities, as long as we try to create artificial barriers in Europe, they are bound to overflow into our own Nation and we are bound to go into another and a more bloody world war.

I ask you to read when you have time the words of Winston Churchill, of John Foster Dulles, of Prime Minister Attlee, and the expressions of 81 prominent Americans which recently appeared in the press, representing every shade of political opinion in the United States, recommending and endorsing the Federation of Europe. If you will read those expressions, and if you will study them, we as Americans may find an alternative to the grave and chaotic problem of Europe.

(Mr. BOGGS of Louisiana asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin:

On page 6, line 1, strike out all of subsection (a) of section 4,

And on line 8 strike out the letter "(b)" indicating a subsection and on line 9 substitute the figure "200,000,000" for "400,000,000," and after the period on line 10 strike out all of the following sentence, and substitute a new sentence as follows: "Out of the funds provided herein the President is authorized to supply such financial assistance as may be requested by the United Nations to further the objectives of this legislation, but in no event shall it exceed \$5,000,000."

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, in view of the nature of the amendment I have offered, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 20 minutes, this not to include the 10 minutes already allotted to the gentleman from Wisconsin. I make this suggestion at the request of the majority leader.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, would it not be better to hear what the gentleman says concerning his amendment, so that we can see if any Member wants to discuss it?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman object at this time?

Mr. CHENOWETH. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, you will note if you have a copy of the bill before you that I am striking out all of subsection (a) because it is a request to advance \$100,000,000 without going before the Committee on Appropriations.

I see no reason why there is need for such quick action. I believe that the Department of State should justify the need for that sum of money before the Committee on Appropriations. There is nothing in the record, as I recall it, wherein there was a showing of such need. It seems to me, therefore, that if we are going to pass this legislation, let us be businesslike about it. Certainly, there is no justification for this provision to be in the bill.

I go on to the next part of my amendment, cutting down the amount from \$400,000,000 to \$200,000,000. I am wondering if Members of the House realize that so far as the record is concerned, Turkey, which is covered by this bill, has never made a request to this Government for any money. If I am wrong, I want the members of the Committee to tell me so. \$125,000,000 is provided in this bill for Turkey. I trust that the members of the Committee who want to ask questions will wait until I complete my statement.

So far as I can find, all we have concerning aid to Turkey is the statement in the report on page 3, as follows:

The situation in Turkey differs substantially, but she has found it necessary during recent months to apply to the United States for financial aid.

That is the statement made by the committee. What does Mr. Acheson say? The only testimony is this:

Today the Turkish economy is no longer able to carry the full load required for its national defense.

But in the statement on the same page Mr. Acheson does not say that there was a request for aid, and if he did I submit that that would be a self-serving declaration and a statement in support of his own position.

The report is very clear, however, so far as the Greek Government is concerned. On March 3 the Greek Government actually asked for this assistance. I could not find in these heavy secret documents that we have, 6 or 8 inches thick, anything to show that the Turkish Government has asked for this aid. As a matter of fact, they did ask it or need it. Turkey wants arms and not money.

I say there should be before this House something in writing to show that the Turkish Government wants this money. I submit the record does not indicate that, and if it does then I have missed it and I will stand corrected if the evidence can be produced.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I have it right here.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I hope the gentleman will wait until I complete my statement.

Mr. JARMAN. You ask for it and then you do not want it.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman declines to yield.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. In the latter part of this amendment I provide that the President would be authorized to advance out of this authorization \$5,000,000 to assist in carrying out the objectives of this legislation. If there is Russian aggression, let us find it out. Let us find out through the United Nations Organization. We have heard a great deal about isolationism. I wonder, in all this by-passing of the United Nations, who are the isolationists.

I want to call attention to a matter which I think is highly important because I believe it indicates that even as far as Greece is concerned, they can go to the International Bank and get this money. I am referring to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 7, page 4847, to an address delivered by the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. PATTERSON]:

A reading of section C of part 4 of the charter of the International Bank proves conclusively that this United Nations agency can be used to help the people of Greece. It says, and I quote, "If a member suffers from an acute exchange stringency, so that the service of any loan contracted by that member or guaranteed by it or by one of its agencies cannot be provided in the stipulated manner, the member concerned may apply to the bank for a relaxation of the conditions of payment." This certainly applies to Greece today as it seems to me.

The very first chapter of the bank's charter is even more specific in its application to Greece today. It says under section B the resource shall be used "for the purpose of facilitating the restoration and reconstruction of the economy of members whose metropolitan territories have suffered great devastation from enemy occupation or hostilities, the bank, in determining the conditions and terms of loans made to such members shall pay special regard to lighten-

ing the financial burden and expediting the completion of such restoration and reconstruction."

There you have it. It is all laid out. The International Bank can take charge of this matter, so why should we in all our largesse volunteer to hand out this money which our taxpayers are striving so hard to pay each year? We as Republicans, under the program outlined, have promised tax reduction and debt reduction and all that goes with it. Under no circumstances can we be justified in making not a loan but a gift of more than \$200,000,000.

Mr. KNUTSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. KNUTSON. Dean Acheson delivered an address last evening in place of the President, and he advocates rehabilitating the whole world. After we have bled ourselves white, who will there be to give us a blood transfusion?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The question answers itself, it seems to me. Of course, we will face economic ruin and we are on the verge of it today.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. JARMAN. I simply ask the gentleman to yield to produce the evidence he asked for a moment ago. I believe the gentleman made the statement that if there was any evidence that Turkey had requested this assistance, he would like some member of the committee to produce it. It is found on page 13, where I inquired of Under Secretary Acheson, as follows:

In other words, as I understand it, everything proposed to be done in this bill has been definitely requested by the countries concerned?

Secretary ACHESON. That is true.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Is that the best evidence the gentleman offers? It is a self-serving declaration. I say it is not the best evidence.

Mr. JARMAN. That may not be the best evidence but it is most excellent evidence.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Not for me.

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman asked for it and when he gets it he does not want it.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. You know as a lawyer that is not the best evidence. Produce a copy of a letter from the Turkish Government. That is what I am asking for. There is a copy of the Greek request in the confidential report prepared for the committee by the State Department.

Mr. JARMAN. If the gentleman wishes further evidence—

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I am asking you to produce it and you cannot.

Mr. JARMAN. The difference is I have confidence in the President and other officials of my country whereas the gentleman does not.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to renew the unanimous-consent request suggested by the majority leader, that all

debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. EATON]?

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I should like to ascertain how many seek recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair sees five Members indicating they desire time.

Mr. EATON. Then, Mr. Chairman, I modify my request and make it 20 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New Jersey asks unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 20 minutes.

Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will recognize the following Members who indicated a desire to be heard: Messrs. MACKINNON, VORYS, CHENOWETH, MILLER of Connecticut, and JARMAN.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, may the committee members be heard last?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio will be recognized last.

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. MACKINNON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MACKINNON. Mr. Chairman, on yesterday one of the illustrious Members of this House said that when you hear one person you have heard one-half of the story. That is not true on this issue, for when you have heard one person on this issue you have heard only one-third of the story. You have three views on this issue.

One group believes that the national interest of the United States is involved and they support the bill. There are two groups in opposition. First, the isolationists oppose it. Secondly, in opposition you have that group whose foreign policy has been such that they have not actively opposed the foreign policy of the Soviet Government and they have opposed the foreign policy of the United States. It is very easy to pick that group out. You know what their position was on lend-lease. They were demanding that Russia get more lend-lease. You know what their position was on the second front. For several years they demanded an immediate second front in Europe regardless of the inability of our country to prosecute effective military operations.

THE PARTY LINE

The party line that they have now developed on this particular bill is they say that they oppose military aid, favor relief to starving children, and then they say, "Besides, the United States cannot afford to give this relief in any amount." That argument is completely dishonest, because in one breath they say, "I favor partial relief," and in the next breath they say "I favor no relief." That is the party line argument on this bill today. To merely state it is sufficient. Its inconsistency is its own answer.

IDEAS VERSUS FORCE

One of the arguments that has been made, that seems to have some force with a number of people, is that you cannot

stop ideas by force. Their inference is that communism is an idea and hence it cannot be stopped by force.

But I say communism has no force as an idea. Communism has never been accepted by any country of the world except by force. Does any person—and I will yield the floor to anyone who has an answer on this one—can any person in this House tell us today of any nation in recorded history that ever voluntarily accepted communism? No person rises to suggest that there ever was such a nation—and I agree that there never was. Communism has never been voluntarily accepted by any country. It needs force to impose it and it needs force to continue it.

There is no question that when you run into force you have to make your position clear, and that is what this bill does. We are opposing communism.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

In closing I want to say that I regard this program as unfinished business arising out of our involvement in the war. It is nothing more than we did after the last war. We stayed until conditions were stabilized. For the same purpose today we are in Germany, we are in Austria, and we are in Italy. In those countries we are presently seeking to bring stability to their economy. They were our enemies a short time back. Should we not also seek to maintain a stable government for our friends who ask our aid? They were our allies in the war and are our friends now. I submit that they are entitled to our help now as much as our former enemies.

THE GREEK ELECTION

Some criticize the Greek Government. You can criticize almost any foreign government—in comparison with ours. But the Greek Government was elected by the Greek people in what our observers state was a free election. The statistics show that of 1,900,000 eligible voters, 87 percent voted and 68.3 percent favored the present Government. This leaves 31.7 percent opposed. In other words the vote was 2 to 1 for the present Government.

That is a more substantial popular majority than any President of the United States ever received in recorded history. No person can truthfully say that the Government in Greece does not have the popular support of the Greek people.

USE THE UNITED NATIONS

Some say we should use the United Nations. I agree with that proposal and the bill contains ample provisions for the use of the United Nations if that body wishes to assume jurisdiction, but we have already seen the power of the veto in Russia's hand to delay effective action on this very issue.

RUSSIAN VETO

Russia vetoed the initial attempt to investigate the Greek border dispute. Subsequently the investigation was only authorized when Russia refrained from voting. Do we want to permit the Soviet to use such dilatory tactics? That is their game. Everyone knows it. The veto power gives them the authority to delay action—and they use it. This issue in

Greece and Turkey involves internal stability. Thus it is not a proper case for the United Nations. It does not involve international issues with respect to those countries. By the very charter of the United Nations they have no jurisdiction. Our delegate from the United States has pointed out that this bill does not bypass the UN. I agree with that analysis of the problem.

THE ISSUE

The issue in this bill is clear. Are we going to appease Russia; are we going to jump through the hoop at the Soviet wish? We only intervened in Europe in World War II after the most constant demands from Russia. They demanded arms, munitions, and a second front. We finally opened the second front and the war was soon over. Now the Soviet line is to say, "Get out now, leave Europe to us." To this demand I say we did not intervene in Europe to permit Communists, Fascists, or other groups alien to their own country, to have free reign to aggressively overrun the remnants of European civilization. By our position as victors we owe a duty to the world to restore stable governments before we pull out. Let us all support this bill to do that for Greece and Turkey—our allies.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

(Mr. MacKINNON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. MILLER].

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Mr. Chairman, it is unfortunate in the closing hours of this debate that has been going on for four days that some Members' patriotism so runs away with them that they have to charge those who honestly and conscientiously oppose this bill as following what is referred to as the "party line." I am not at all disturbed about anybody questioning my Americanism or my patriotism. I do want to ask one question and I hope before the debate closes someone on the committee or in the House will answer it for me.

I listened this morning to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] speak of the wave of communism sweeping over Turkey and over Greece, then across the Mediterranean over Italy and over France, and so on, possibly over the Atlantic to the United States. I concede that it is certainly a threat and that all this world is threatened with the spread of communism. Assuming all that to be true, will some member of this committee explain to me why, to deal with such an important problem, in view of our participation in the United Nations and our promise to the American people, we were going to deal in association with the other nations of the world, that we should embark on this lone-wolf program on our own.

Some may say that other nations cannot contribute their share in money toward this effort to stop the spread of communism into Turkey and Greece. If they cannot appropriate \$100,000,000 or \$400,000,000, if they would appropri-

ate a quarter of a million dollars to this program and associate themselves with this Government, I would feel much happier about it and I could then support this whole program. But I do not want to see the United States Government embark on this program with no assurance, certainly no assurance has been given us throughout this debate, that the program has the support, at least the moral support, of other nations associated with us in the United Nations. If they cannot furnish financial support they certainly can make known their support in other ways. I wish that somebody could show me how we can do this job so much better alone than with the help and cooperation of other nations.

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I yield to the gentleman from New Jersey.

Mr. MATHEWS. Is it not true, sir, that when we approve this action we are taking, it means that any other nation may take any action it sees fit so long as it says it is carrying out the purposes of the United Nations?

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. We are formulating our own program and carrying it on alone, so far as I am able to find out.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. I want to remind the gentleman what the United Nations representative of the United States, Senator Austin said:

In my opinion, the United States program of aid to Greece and Turkey does not bypass the United Nations.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I heard that statement read and I may say it does not answer my question. I have not said anything about bypassing the United Nations. I am asking why other nations that are in the United Nations cannot cooperate in this program. I heard the statement read by the chairman of the committee yesterday and I have great respect for Senator Austin.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. In all fairness, the House should be reminded also of what the Secretary-General of the United Nations said on this subject.

Mr. MILLER of Connecticut. Yes. I go back to my question which was: "Why do the proponents of this bill think that the United States acting alone can do the job better than it could be done in cooperation with other nations?"

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Connecticut has expired.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, the author of this amendment, as I understood him a moment ago, stated that Turkey had not applied for this assistance and challenged anyone to prove otherwise. I thought I did so by quoting the Under Secretary of State of the United States, who at the time was Acting Secretary of State. I do not know

whether he is a Democrat or a Republican, just as I do not know what General Marshall's politics is; but he is the Under Secretary of State of the United States and, for my part, I am willing to take his word on a matter with the responsibility for which he is charged and on a matter about which he naturally knows more than could any Member of this body. Furthermore, he is an exceptionally able official to whom I heard one of our best Members refer during this debate as the man who had the most alert and most brilliant mind with which he has come in contact.

However, I find, after my colloquy with the gentleman—for whom I have a very high regard, but who I think should be more careful with his challenges and his statements—that the President of the United States in his message made the same statement, and I say to you, my colleagues, I care not who the President of the United States be, whether he be Democrat or Republican, I am willing to take his word on a matter such as this, and I quote from the President's message:

Since the war Turkey has sought financial assistance from Great Britain and the United States for the purpose of effecting modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity.

Now, for my part, Mr. Chairman, and my colleagues, I am perfectly willing to believe those two officials of this Government and not be pin pricked and issue challenges about whether they are telling the truth or not.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, an able member of our committee.

Mr. FULTON. The gentleman from Wisconsin said he searched the committee report and looked through it carefully and could not find it. He must have missed page 1, because there Mr. Acheson says that at various times during recent months the Turkish Government has applied to the United States for financial aid. And, there is no quibbling about that.

Mr. JARMAN. Indeed, there is not. I thank the distinguished gentleman, and I read to the gentleman the Under Secretary's reply to my question, in which he reiterated that fact.

Now I gladly yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I want to again ask both of you gentlemen, who are lawyers, if you would accept that as proof in a court of law?

Mr. JARMAN. Absolutely. I would accept the statement of my President and my Under Secretary of State as proof.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That sounds fine, but that still is not proof. That is a self-serving declaration.

Mr. JARMAN. Are we in a court of law here?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. You might be.

Mr. JARMAN. Is this a court of law?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. It is anything that you make it.

Mr. JARMAN. Yes, and we have established it without reference to the

precedents of the courts, too. We do not have to go to courts to get precedents. We have them of our own.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. The challenge is still open to produce the proof. Turkey has never asked for this loan, in my opinion.

Mr. JARMAN. I repeat, I have confidence in my President, whether he be a Democrat or not, and should the gentleman on the other side ever be so fortunate as to have a President I would have confidence in him, whoever he be.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is the gentleman's privilege.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, I think the gentleman from Wisconsin, having challenged both of us as lawyers, has gotten himself a little outside in saying that opinion evidence is admissible.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH].

(Mr. CHENOWETH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks).

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHENOWETH. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I think on this issue of whether or not Turkey made a request we should read the President's message delivered at the joint session of Congress. With respect to Greece he specifically states that Greece has asked for this assistance. You do not find any language as strong as that with respect to Turkey in the President's message.

Mr. CHENOWETH. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH]. I wish to commend him for the splendid and brilliant leadership he has exercised in handling the opposition to this legislation.

It appears that Turkey has asked for no assistance. I understand that Turkey has no financial crisis like Greece. Unless the purpose of this bill is entirely military, I cannot conceive how any Member of this House can vote to send money to Turkey.

We are told, however, we should support this bill because it has the approval of the President and the Secretary of State. Our leaders have made some tragic mistakes. They have formulated policies which even the proponents of this bill admit have been unwise and unsound. Surely we must make an important decision like this for ourselves.

Largely because of pursuing wrong policies this country became involved in World War II, which cost the lives of 300,000 American boys. The debate today reminds me very much of the discussion of the lend-lease bill in 1941, which was represented as a peace measure. We soon discovered it was a step toward war. We won the war, but now we are again disillusioned; after defeating our enemies we are now told there is a new threat to our security. This measure is a subterfuge and a bald-faced deception. The title implies this is a bill which authorizes aid to Greece and Tur-

key. You know, and I know, it is purely a military move. Yet we are being told we must continue to follow leaders whose blundering policies have precipitated the situation in which we find ourselves today. Our first responsibility is to the people we represent. It is my opinion the overwhelming sentiment of this country is opposed to this legislation in its present form.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CHENOWETH. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. This is the same leadership that in the last 2 years has spent \$18,000,000,000 to promote communism, and is financing communism.

Mr. CHENOWETH. The gentleman is absolutely right. We are still shipping supplies and materials to Russia. It is impossible to reconcile these conflicting positions. I have never understood the influence which has enabled communistic Russia to obtain unlimited amounts of equipment and machinery from the United States.

Mr. Chairman, let us look for a moment at this bill. It states that it provides for assistance to Greece and Turkey. However, I think the mask has now been drawn aside. The intent of the bill is clear. You have seen the amendments, limiting the military personnel to 100, or 200, voted down. Those sponsoring this bill vigorously opposed any military limitations.

It is proposed to send members of our military forces, but we are assured they will act in an advisory capacity only. I submit there is no precedent for such a step and that it now appears obvious from admissions made on the floor by those in charge of the bill that our military operations will not be restricted to advice only. A motion to recommit this bill to the Committee on Armed Forces would be very proper.

Mr. Chairman, I have before me an article written by Mr. Palmer Hoyt, Jr., Denver Post correspondent, who made a recent tour of Greece. He urges us to help Greece rebuild, and not to fight a war. I wish to read a few lines of this report on Greece, as the observations made by Mr. Hoyt are very pertinent to the bill we have before us. He says:

The United States can compete successfully with communism in Europe. It can compete successfully with communism elsewhere, too, but in order to do this the Government must adopt a positive policy of aid to countries whose economy has been threatened by the war or its aftermaths.

The Greek-Turkish aid bill is a case in point. Right now it is important that these countries receive financial aid. Greece, especially, has need of food and clothing for its people. It needs money to rebuild a shattered economy.

But the Greek-Turkish aid bill is being talked about, in Athens and America, in terms of military supplies and money to support the army in its fight against what the rightist Greek Government at least, calls a Communist threat.

It is true that communism threatens Greece. Nevertheless, the point of attack should not be through the Greek Army, fighting Communist and non-Communist guerrillas in the hills. If the American grant is to be successful the attack must come through the country's economy.

When the army uses funds to wage war, a lot more houses and roads and people are destroyed. The survivors find conditions difficult. Then they are easy prey to totalitarianism—Communist or otherwise.

I agree with Mr. Hoyt, and I submit we are making the wrong approach to this whole matter. We want to rebuild Greece, and not destroy her. As Mr. Smith has pointed out, the International Bank has been set up to aid countries like Greece. I feel certain satisfactory arrangements could be made to obtain the credit she needs.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. VORYS].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, further commenting on whether Turkey requested aid, in the questionnaire found on page 366 of the hearings appears this statement from the State Department:

In order to prevent a deterioration of the Turkish economic situation, which might weaken the country and compromise its position, Turkey has requested American financial assistance which the President proposes that we grant.

Under Secretary Acheson, at the very start of the hearings, said—see page 1:

At various times during recent months the Turkish Government has applied to the United States for financial aid.

Apparently the opposition feels that if a country asks a whole lot of times that does not count as a request, but if a country asks once that counts as a request.

I am one of those who opposed the way the evidence was brought before us on the relief bill a few weeks ago. We were not told what the money was to be spent for and where. Possibly as a result of the protest, that many of us made the secret document furnished the first day of the hearings on this bill was thrown open, and detailed information has been given in the hearings as to how they propose to use this money, not only for military purposes, but to rehabilitate the economy of Greece.

The military part is \$100,000,000 for Turkey, only part of which is to be for arms and ammunition, and \$150,000,000 for Greece, only a third of which is to be for arms and ammunition. The other \$150,000,000, and you can see the details on page 3 of the report, is composed of \$20,000,000 for agriculture, \$50,000,000 for reconstruction—and the items are noted—and \$80,000,000 for consumer goods.

I have here a 1,000-drachma note that I got in Greece. I may say that I got it legally. At that time there were 5,000 drachmas to the dollar at the legal rate of exchange. Here is a 10,000-drachma bill. The 10,000 drachma bill is worth 2 bucks legally, \$1.25 on the black market. The 1,000 drachma one is worth 20 cents legally, 12½ cents on the black market. The exchange varies so rapidly over there in the skyrocketing inflation that is going on that it is hard to keep track of your money.

It cost me 8,000 drachmas to buy 6 post cards and the Embassy driver got 375,000 drachmas a month. One of the things that must be done to stabilize

Greece is with reference to their exchange. That is a part of this bill.

Another part is provisions for physical rehabilitation of their economy.

Another part of it is to furnish Greece military assistance, advice, and supplies, so that Greece can drive the Communist-supported guerrillas out and maintain her integrity.

This is a very ambitious program. It is going to be difficult to accomplish. It has its risks, not only possible military risks, but the risk that the economic program may fail. We increase the risks by cutting the program heavily at the start.

This is only an authorization bill, and the appropriations will be checked carefully by our appropriations committee. I suggest it would not be wise to cut this authorization now and I hope the amendment is defeated.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired. All time has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin) there were—ayes 49, noes 121.

So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin: On page 6, after line 13, add a new subsection (4) (c):

"That forthwith and immediately upon the taking effect of this act the Government of the United States and all agencies thereof shall cease and desist from sending any materials, granting any credits, paying any moneys or anything of value whatsoever, either under lease-lend commitments or otherwise, to the government or governments of any country or countries that in the opinion of the President of the United States are threatening, or during the life of this act do threaten, directly or indirectly, the integrity or sovereignty of Greece and Turkey."

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, while this amendment sets forth a policy which many of us are strongly in favor of, I am sorry to say I must raise a point of order that it is not germane to this bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I believe this amendment is germane. I think it is highly necessary that we indicate in this very act wherein we propose to assist Greece and Turkey in resisting aggression, that we also indicate very clearly by the same token that we do not wish to send anything over there to any countries that are threatening or endangering the very countries we are attempting to assist. I think it is germane.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. CASE of South Dakota). The Chair is ready to rule. The Chair invites the gentleman's attention to the fact that the amendment proposes that the Government shall cease and desist from sending any materials, granting any credits, paying any moneys or anything of value whatsoever either under lease-lend commitments or otherwise, to the government or govern-

ments of any country or countries, and so forth. In that respect it would in effect place limitations upon existing law and go far beyond the scope of this bill and is neither germane to the bill nor to the section to which it is offered.

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, it is limited to those countries that threaten Greece or Turkey. It does not pertain to the entire lend-lease program. It is only to those countries that threaten the integrity of Greece or Turkey.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has taken note of that but believes that that in no wise counteracts the point which the Chair has made.

The Chair sustains the point of order.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, the discussion of this bill has constantly revolved around the subject of communism. The specter of aggression by the U. S. S. R. is the one great fear-impelling shadow that has overwhelmed this Congress in a wave of hysteria. The implication of isolationism or pro-Russia has been cast upon the opponents of the Truman doctrine. I refuse to accept the implication of being isolationist or pro-Russian.

I am fighting today for what I believe to be the best interest of the American people. I am fighting today for the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter. What is the basic principle? It is found in article I:

To take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and the bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Notice the phrase "to take effective collective measures for the removal of threats to the peace and for suppression of acts of aggression." Collective, not individual. Multilateral, not unilateral. Upon this great principle the League of Nations was formed. Because this principle was not followed the League disintegrated when Japan started aggressive action on Manchuria.

We have another chance to make an international organization work for international peace. An improved organization whose procedures and methods were improved over those of the League. Again it is based on "collective" investigation, consideration, and action against aggression.

The United States took a leading part in the formation of the United Nations. It is our own making. We are its strength. Our faith and confidence in it is its lifeblood.

We have been told that the United Nations is too weak to handle the Greek-Turkey case. We have been told that it is impotent.

It was not too weak when the sovereignty of Iran was violated by the actual

presence of Russian soldiers. The Security Council acted and the Russian Army withdrew from Iran.

It was not too weak when the Lebanon-Syria crisis occurred. The Security Council acted and the British and French soldiers obeyed its edict.

In the complaint against Indonesia by the Ukarainian Republic, the Council considered the charges but they voted against investigation. In the case of the Poland complaint that Spain was a threat to the peace, Russia exercised her veto. The Security Council thereupon formally returned the complaint to the General Assembly. The General Assembly, after due consideration, unanimously decided to drop the matter.

Let me point out here that the veto by the parties directly concerned is permitted upon certain serious charges which involve the use or threat to use military personnel. However, in the case of appeals for investigation, the parties involved do not have the right to use the veto.

Why then do we not follow the four precedents of multilateral consideration within the framework of the United Nations?

Is it because we are afraid of the decision United Nations might reach?

It is because we are embarked on a course of unilateral, military, imperialism which is in contradiction to the principles of the Charter?

Has the virus of world empire entered the veins of our democracy?

Are we ready to junk the United Nations by denying it the chance to grow with its responsibilities? These questions must be answered in the light of moral and spiritual values, or we stand convicted of violating our pledges to the United Nations principles.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. EATON. Are there any amendments pending to section 4?

The CHAIRMAN. There are no amendments at the desk.

Mr. EATON. Then I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section do now close.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read as follows:

Sec. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 6, line 21, insert at the end of the section the following:

"The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

"(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

"(2) If the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

"(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other inter-governmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

"(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JAVITS: Page 7, line 14, after paragraph 4 insert:

"5. If the President finds that the government of any country receiving assistance hereunder is not representative of a majority of the people of such country or is not taking the governmental and economic measures essential to the reconstruction of such country."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes on his amendment.

(Mr. JAVITS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to qualify this amendment on the technical phases first. It consists of two parts. It states first that the President shall withdraw assistance to any country if he finds that the government in that country does not represent a majority of the people in it. And I draw the attention of the members of the committee to the first proviso of the Vandenberg amendment which says that if requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey respectively representing a majority of the people of either such nation, the President, is directed to withdraw assistance from any such country. So that we have written right into the bill the necessity that the President shall make that kind of a finding before he responds to any request to withdraw assistance to any such nation. All I say is that the President withdraw even if he is not asked to withdraw, if he finds that the government of the country assisted does not represent a majority of the people of that country.

The second part of my amendment requires that the government of any nation assisted is itself taking every governmental and economic measure necessary for its own reconstruction. In other words, it is doing everything possible to help itself. I call the attention of members of the committee to the fact that this particular provision was written into the relief bill by us in the Foreign Affairs Committee. The situation, therefore, is as follows: When the money devoted to Greece's relief, which will be fifty or sixty million dollars, is used up, our own administrators over there will be no longer bound by the provisions which we have in the relief bill unless we write that into this bill, too.

Why have I proposed this amendment? I am a member of the committee and I do not want to delay the debate, but

I feel in good conscience, and bespeaking the minds of Members of this House who are in the middle of the road—not those on the extreme right or those on the extreme left—just the sober people who are worried about the implications of this legislation, that this amendment is essential. Why?

We have to remember two things about it: One thing that worries us, who are of the middle-of-the-road point of view, is that this legislation should not be a signal to any extremist to the effect we are going to have a political witch hunt in this country, or a wave of reaction imperiling civil liberties in the United States. I think too much of our own devotion to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to place the greatest stress on that, and I for one will be eternally vigilant on this floor to fight as I have fought for the civil rights of all, regardless of whether I may disagree with them. Therefore I feel it is enough to make that point at this time. But the second point does hinge a lot on this amendment. We must notify these people overseas, these people in Greece, that it is not our intention to shore up governments which leave a great deal to be desired as the Government of Greece itself does, and our own President said so and the witnesses have said so. We have got to let those people in Greece know that it is not our intention to support a reactionary government and shore it up, that we are not telling them they have to take this government or else they will not get this money. We have to let them know that they have freedom of action and that the only government we intend to deal with is one that represents a majority of the Greek people. That is not telling them how to run their internal affairs or anything else. That is just plain, decent being an American.

Mr. Chairman, may I emphasize this further fact: Let us get away from the idea that this program is antianbody, that it tends to stop anybody. All we are trying to do is fill a vacuum. There is a vacuum in the world. It is the vacuum of despair, it is the vacuum of an unreconstructed, devastated world. Into that vacuum may pour an extremist philosophy, the philosophy of communism. All we say is that we will fill that vacuum and that we want to let the decent judgment of the majority of the people of every country determine how they are to live and be governed. That is all my amendment seeks.

After I was in Greece in December 1946 I came back here and reported to this House that the guerrilla fighters were very many of them, not a lot of long-haired people running around fighting for communism; but that they were a decent people, despite over the political and economic situation in Greece; that there had not been less extremism and punishment of the common people in Greece from the Chite bands of the right than there had been from extremists on the left.

This is an amendment of common decency. It seeks only to give these people the right of self-determination and that we in the United States shall back the demands of a majority of the people with our own faith in the love of freedom and justice of the Greek people.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. KEATING. May I inquire whether this amendment was offered in committee or not?

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad the gentleman makes that inquiry. In the committee I offered an amendment which was generally along the lines of the amendment offered by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] about elections and democratic government, but I could not work out the language which would give a certain leeway that hers did not have. The particular thought in this amendment was not offered to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pending amendment.

Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, the amendment proposed by the gentleman from New York permits the President to discontinue the proposed aid in the event he finds that the Government of Greece is not representative of the people.

Mr. JAVITS. I am glad to confirm the gentleman's impression.

Mr. RICHARDS. Mr. Chairman, if that is the case it is an unnecessary amendment because the President already has been given that discretionary power in the bill as it is. In the enacting clause of the bill you will find these words:

The President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their Governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. May I make the point which I made previously, and reiterate it, that this is assurance to the Greek people that we are not giving this relief or assistance only if they keep this government. This is serving notice on them that in case it represents a majority of them, whether it is this one or another one, we will help them and that the important feature is in getting that message across from the people of the United States as represented by this Congress to the people of Greece.

Mr. RICHARDS. In reply to the gentleman I will say that a great deal of assurance has been given the Greek people in the other provisions of this bill, and I think it would be unwise to clutter up the bill further with his amendment.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RICHARDS. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. The main object of this bill is to protect the people of the United States, at any rate.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I rise to inquire as to the exact parliamentary situation at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The parliamentary situation is that a committee amendment is pending to which the gentleman from New York has offered an amendment on his own behalf.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS], and I support it for two reasons. In the first place, as the gentleman from South Carolina has pointed out, there is now language in the bill which at least hints at the fact that this legislation is supposed to do the thing that the Javits amendment spells out specifically, and that is to give the President the authority to discontinue this relief if he finds that the Government in Greece or Turkey is not representative of the majority of the people. The Javits amendment simply expands that hint to a mandate.

It is our desire in this legislation not alone to stop communism and military aggression at the borders of Russia, but to help create conditions which will be resistant to the growth of communism from the standpoint of the infiltrated methods of the agents sent out from Moscow. If conditions are unjust and if conditions are unfair we find a fertile field then for the growth of communism. This kind of an amendment in the first place, therefore, gives assurance to the people of Greece, many of whom believe in a republican system of government such as we have over here, rather than in either a monarchy or a communistic dictatorship; it gives them assurance that the intention of the Congress and America is to see that our advice and our counsel and our aid is directed to the end that gradually and steadily there will be better recognition of human rights in Greece and Turkey.

In the second place, I like his amendment because it does in a rational and reasonable way the thing which the Smith amendment proposed to do in a very abrupt manner. I voted against the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] to reduce this from \$400,000,000 to \$200,000,000, because we have no evidence whatsoever to indicate that \$200,000,000 will do the job. On the other hand, this proposes that the President can withdraw this aid should he find that the governments of either country are failing to take the necessary economic and commercial steps to underwrite their own economy. It is along the same line in that connection as the Mansfield amendment. It is encouragement for them to develop a just and equitable tax system. It is encouragement for them to assume more and more the burden of their own economy and their own government. It is an indication that we do not expect to continue indefinitely and forever a program of financing and supporting these foreign governments which now find themselves up against a dire emergency. And it encourages both Greece and Turkey to broaden the base of popular support for and participation in their governments.

So, it seems to me that this amendment is constructive. Certainly it is not a crippling amendment. This amendment will indicate, in the first place, that we are urging those countries to work toward the American concept of govern-

ment and freedom and, in the second place, we are serving notice that they must take steps on their own volition to improve their internal conditions and to maintain their own security, because while we are stepping into this breach as an emergency, we are not underwriting these countries as a program to go on ad infinitum.

If this legislation is to help promote peace and stability in the world it must be followed rapidly with the development of some such sort of comprehensive, consistent, clear-cut, constructive program of relationships between the United States and Russia as the one I outlined as objectives in my talk the opening day of this debate. This legislation can hold the line for a time but it cannot solve the prodigious problems which now perplex and bedevil the world. By the same token, if this legislation is to achieve the maximum dividends for Greece and Turkey it should be so administered as to make both countries self-supporting as soon as possible and so as to enable them to move steadily and smoothly in the direction of governmental set-ups which are more and more to be found in the hands of an increasingly large number of people in both countries. The Javits amendment in my opinion will help achieve this result and I have worked with him at some length on his proposal.

Just as it is the hope of Congress that the whole problem confronting Greece and Turkey may gradually be turned over to the United Nations for administration and assistance so, too, it is our hope that in both countries their respective governments may become more and more representative of all the people and that they will increasingly protect and defend the human rights and the individual liberties of all their people.

Mr. MATHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I simply want to ask the gentleman from New York who offered this amendment a question. I may misunderstand his amendment; but, as I understand it, if, after the United States of America put in, say, 90 percent of this money, the President came to the conclusion that the existing government did not represent at that time a majority of the Greek people, would we just walk out and leave everything we put in there in the hands of a government which did not represent the majority of the people?

Mr. JAVITS. We are giving the President that amount of discretion, and we assume that he is keeping check on it and will keep check on it constantly as we go along, while the 90 percent is going in and before the additional 10 percent goes in, as the gentleman states.

Mr. MATHEWS. That is exactly the situation I have put up to the gentleman. If after the 90 percent is in the President determines that the government does not represent the majority of the people, and we should do what the gentleman sets forth in his amendment, then we leave the 90 percent that we put in in the hands of a government which does not then represent the majority of the people.

Mr. JAVITS. May I point out to the gentleman that that is just the problem this amendment is designed to meet.

Mr. MATHEWS. It seems to me that is just the problem it creates.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATHEWS. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CRAWFORD. On page 6 the President is directed to withdraw if the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable. You may have put in 99.74 percent of the \$400,000,000, but the Council or somebody else can then say, "It is undesirable; step out." If you ever had a screwball proposition submitted to you in your life, this is the perfection of one.

Mr. MATHEWS. I agree with the gentleman from Michigan. It has been said on this floor that this policy is absolutely necessary to the security of this country. We have gone around the United Nations for that purpose. Are we now going to say that regardless of the essential necessity for that policy for our security we will abandon it the minute the United Nations tells us to?

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATHEWS. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. KUNKEL. How are you going to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear? No matter how you amend this bill it still is the United States reinforcing the Truman doctrine, which is the permanent global policy of interfering everywhere in the world.

Mr. MATHEWS. I agree with the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATHEWS. I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. O'KONSKI. May I say to the gentleman from Michigan that he left out one very important sentence in the paragraph he read, that is, that we cannot save our faces by using the Russian policy of "I veto."

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MATHEWS. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. JAVITS. I should like to make it very plain that the statement of the gentleman from Michigan has no application whatever to my amendment. It refers to the committee amendment, which will come up later. My amendment does not deal with the text which the gentleman from Michigan read.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. JAVITS] to the committee amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. JAVITS) there were—ayes 6, noes 104.

So the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment to the committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin to the committee amendment:

On page 7, strike out all of the language after the figure "(2)" down to and including the semicolon and substitute the following:

"(a) As a condition precedent to the rendering of any assistance pursuant to this act, the President is directed to refer the question of Communist aggression to the United Nations Organization;

"(b) If the President finds that the United Nations has failed to act within 60 days after the enactment hereof, he is directed to carry out the provisions of this bill."

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of order. I make the point of order that the amendment is out of order because there is no reference in this bill to Communist aggression.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, it seems ridiculous to me, although I may be caught in a parliamentary situation, that we have legislation based upon the request of the President of the United States who says this aid to Greece and Turkey is necessary because of Communist aggression, and that my amendment which goes to that situation should be ruled out of order. My amendment goes to the point of asking that this matter, if there is such a thing as Communist aggression afoot, be referred to the United Nations, the Organization set up to accomplish the very thing that the President complains of. I will have to confess, so far as the wording of the bill is concerned, there is perhaps no reference to it. I would like, however, to ask unanimous consent to strike out from my amendment under subsection (a) the words "Communist aggression" so that it would read:

As a condition precedent to the rendering of any assistance pursuant to this act, the President is directed to refer the question to the United Nations Organization.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will put the request to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] to modify his amendment by striking out the words "Communist aggression."

Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Alabama care to withdraw the point of order?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly withdraw the point of order, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The point of order is withdrawn.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be again reported, as modified.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, the Clerk will report the amendment as modified.

There being no objection, the Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin to the amendment:

On page 7, strike out all of the language after the figure "2" down to and including the semicolon and substitute the following:

"(a) As a condition precedent to the rendering of any assistance pursuant to this act, the President is directed to refer the question to the United Nations Organization.

"(b) If the President finds that the United Nations has failed to act within 60 days from the enactment hereof, he is directed to carry out the provisions of this bill."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Wisconsin is recognized.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. DONDERO. Does the gentleman's amendment in substance turn this matter over to the United Nations?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. It does, and it remains in the hands of the United Nations for a period of 60 days. If there is no action by that organization the President is authorized to proceed under this legislation.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. CRAWFORD. In other words, it gives the United Nations an opportunity to act before we spend the money?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right.

Mr. CRAWFORD. And before we become so deeply involved?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Before we open the door. Absolutely.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Instead of going ahead with all of these plans and then giving the United Nations a chance to throw us out of it desires to do so?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. That is right.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. You say the United Nations should act. By that term, if the United Nations should start to do something within the 60 days and they do not finally conclude their deliberations, they can continue and continue and continue, because it is not final action you are looking at. It is merely that they can start action.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. My answer to that is that we will assume those who have charge of such matters will not allow such a situation to arise. They are prudent men.

Mr. Chairman, I regret very much that this attitude of hurry and rush is evident. I know the Preakness race is on tomorrow but I am sure there is time tomorrow to get to that.

There has been in my mind for a long time a question as to just what kind of an organization we have set up in the United Nations. I am sure that as you read your mail and you read the daily press you know that the mothers and fathers of this country are concerned about whether or not we are going to bypass the United Nations, because when you vote down this amendment, or any amendment whereby you refuse to recognize the United Nations, you might just as well build on John D. Rockefeller's estate in New York a mausoleum to the memory of the United Nations. Nothing more nor less. I am amazed at those in this body today who have had something

to do with bringing this baby into existence and see them repudiate their previous action. We see today only a lip service to the United Nations.

I think it is begging the question when you say it is foolish to take this matter to the United Nations because it cannot act. Sixty days is not a long time. It is true that the President on March 12 said that there was a terrific crisis existing, but nothing much has happened, has there? So, I say it seems to me that we can well afford to stop, look, and listen at this point and give the United Nations a vote of confidence, because if you do not, tonight over the radio and the telegraph will go to all parts of the world the statement that the United States has backed out of the United Nations.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I ask for recognition.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, may we have some decision on the time to be consumed on this amendment?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from New York yield to the gentleman from New Jersey for a unanimous consent request?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this amendment and all amendments thereto close in 10 minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, I shall have to object unless the chairman of the committee revises his request.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my request until we can get a little clearer picture of the situation.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York yields back the balance of his time.

The gentleman from Mississippi is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I did not yield back the balance of my time; I gave the privilege of using my time to the gentleman from Mississippi, because if I yield back the balance of my time I would not have any left for myself.

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Chairman, as one who has long advocated an abandonment of the policy of appeasing Russia, and who has given much serious deliberation and study to this question of stopping that aggressor by providing assistance to Greece and Turkey in their effort to combat communism, I must cast my vote for this bill.

The issue confronting the Congress and the country is, in my judgment, most momentous and far reaching in its applications. There have been few, if any, of more transcending importance before the people of the United States since the unfortunate fratricidal strife, known as the Civil War. And yet it is a very sim-

ple issue, for there are few intelligent people in the world today who would still attempt to deny that the Soviet Russian Government under the domination of Generalissimo Stalin and his little band of advisers, constituting the politburo, is a totalitarian and despotic government, bent upon territorial and idealistic world expansion. Moreover, it must be apparent to students of current world affairs that the little, but strategic countries of Greece and Turkey, are the immediate objective of that policy. The immediate question, therefore, is whether these small countries shall be added to the list of such countries as Rumania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, who have been taken within the communistic orbit over their impotent protest.

In the fall of 1945, as chairman of the Postwar Economic Policy Committee of the House of Representatives in the Seventy-eighth and Seventy-ninth Congresses, it was my privilege, together with a half dozen of my 17 colleagues comprising that committee, to make a 2-month, on-the-spot study of the economic and political conditions in 13 European countries. We then interviewed the rulers and the outstanding national figures in all of those countries, including Generalissimo Stalin himself. It was the firm and unanimous conviction of our committee, after a completion of that study, that there is no substantial difference in either the Russian system, as it exists today under Stalin, and the German system, as it existed immediately prior to World War II under Hitler. The individual had about as much freedom under one as he has under the other.

The Allies, under the then leadership of Great Britain, had a glorious opportunity to stop Hitler, when in wanton disregard of existing treaties by a process of infiltration and intrigue, he violated the sacred rights of other countries, but instead, the democracies under that leadership tried the policy of appeasement. And under the Chamberlain umbrella policy, Hitler then began his mad march, subjugating and enveloping country after country.

History has a way of repeating itself. Today in a world situation not dissimilar to that, President Truman, with the able counsel and backing of that great soldier and statesman, Gen. George C. Marshall, our Secretary of State, together with the advice and assistance of such able statesmen and real Americans as VANDENBERG, of Michigan; CONNALLY of Texas; and EATON of New Jersey, has embarked upon a firm policy of cessation of appeasement; stopping the aggressor; and preventing the further spread of communism. The first step in this program is this \$400,000,000 loan to Greece and Turkey.

Since I am sure that we are all agreed that something must be done to stop the aggressor lest we have a repetition of that gory strife, known as World War II, what alternative is advanced? What do the opponents of the President's plan have to offer? Do they propose to continue the policy of Russian appeasement so strenuously advocated by Mr. Henry Wallace? Or in the alternative, do they propose that we should sit idly by and permit the Russian policy of waging a

war of nerves, of obstruction and infiltration, until it is too late?

The only alternative so far advanced has been that this whole matter should be referred to the United Nations. Can anyone seriously contend that such a policy could be effective? Is it not perfectly apparent to all that Russia would exercise her right of veto and the Greek-Turkish assistance would be hopelessly shelved even as every other serious proposal made by the United States, Great Britain, or France has been obstructed and barred from realization? To advocate the referring of this matter to the United Nations is simply equivalent to saying that one is against the necessary assistance to these two small countries to prevent their being taken into the Russian sphere.

The civilized world today, as a result of the recent global strife, is in a state of moral, economic, and political unrest. The Soviet Government of Russia is capitalizing on that situation. Russia wants war no more than we want war. She is not prepared for war. Her rulers are taking advantage of the weakened condition of England and France and of our known and fervent desire for peace to expand and grab everything she can short of war.

Mr. Chairman, no one dislike the idea of adding to our already staggering national debt by foreign loans more than I do. As a matter of fact, for the past year and a half I have insisted that our own economy be given first consideration. Only last week in this House I voted against the \$350,000,000 foreign-relief bill. But, like you and other representatives of the people here today, I am confronted with a duty to perform. We are all agreed that we cannot afford to retreat. We cannot have another Munich. The Commander in Chief, who speaks for our foreign policy, has told the world that this was the way to stop the dictator, Stalin, and the further spread of communism. If we turn him down here today, it will mean that Russia will take that as her license to continue her onward move, even as Hitler took the retreat at Munich as his license to proceed. So, as much as I dislike the idea of this foreign loan, I feel in duty bound to vote for it. In other words, I feel that any other policy would be unfair to the millions of our young veterans who risked their all to win the war. What is the risk of the loss of a few million dollars more invested in the objective of winning the peace when we spent countless billions to win the war? What will we have gained by the expenditure of these billions of dollars of American resources and the loss of so many precious lives in that war if we now permit the setting up of another dictator in the place of the one we destroyed?

Mr. Chairman, just a few months after the Battle of the Bulge, and while I was on the mission to which I earlier referred, I visited an American cemetery in a clearing of a forest on the outskirts of Luxemburg. There I witnessed a scene that has been intensely imprinted upon my mind. Hundreds of German prisoners of war were being utilized to set in order a large cemetery in which were buried several thousand of our gal-

lant American soldiers who sacrificed their lives in that battle to stop the last German drive. They were busily setting up thousands of tiny white crosses to mark the last resting place of these heroic boys. As we approach the final argument on this legislation I feel that I must keep the faith with them. I have no other alternative.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

(Mr. COLMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to this amendment. I doubt if anyone in this House has worked harder through the years for an effective world organization to establish and maintain peace than I have. Although from a staunchly Republican family, I cast the first vote of my life for the Democratic Party in 1920—Cox, and the only vote I ever cast for Franklin D. Roosevelt—because I thought the most important issue then was the League of Nations.

After 19 years as a surgeon I gave up the security and deep satisfactions of my profession to enter public life because it did not make sense to spend one's life bringing children into the world, nursing them through all sorts of difficult illnesses, bringing them to clean eager manhood, and then sending them out to be killed. Nothing we accomplish domestically can endure if we have a war every 25 years.

I became convinced that the only way to keep the United States out of war is to make sure there is no war for her to get into; that the only major war we can keep out of in this shrunken world is the war that is not.

I could see no way to prevent world wars except by getting some sort of world organization which would be able to work out just and reasonably satisfactory settlements of disputes between nations before situations deteriorate to the place where men see no other way out than by going to war. It must be able to deal with wars like with fires, put them out before they get going in such a way that our own house is endangered and we cannot in self-defense stay out.

All my adult life I have worked harder for such a world organization than for any other single cause. I think I can claim to be interested in the United Nations. When the United Nations Charter was adopted I was unhappy about some of its provisions, especially the veto, and said so. In a speech on a nationwide broadcast, reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 29, 1945, almost 2 years ago, when the San Francisco conference had just ended, I urged that we enter the organization because it seemed to me "Our choice is not between this and something better, but between this and nothing, which is worse." I further said:

While I do not believe the charter is as bad as some people would have you think, I also do not believe it is as good as some others portray it to be in their concern to make sure our country will participate this time. I deplore that over-enthusiasm, because it will almost certainly lead to over-disillusionment, producing three isolationists where only one grew before.

I warned repeatedly against over-selling.

I think the confusion and dismay we are in today is largely the result of that over-selling. The American people believed all they were told by the propagandists and naturally came to think that the United Nations in its present form was set up to handle situations like the internal disorders in Greece and so they come and say, "Turn it over to the United Nations. Let it do its stuff."

They do not realize the tragic fact that the UN is not set up to deal with this kind of an internal situation. It was authorized to deal with troubles between nations, but not to deal with troubles within a nation. In fact it is specifically forbidden in its own charter to deal with a situation such as exists in Greece. Article II, paragraph 7, says:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present charter.

It was set up to deal with old-fashioned military aggression from outside a nation. Many indulged in the wishful thinking that after we disposed of Hitler and Japan, there would be no more aggressors. And then its first big test comes on aggression by one of its own Big Five—not by old-fashioned military attack, but working by infiltration from within, another member nation. The organization was not set up to deal with such aggression from within. To ask the United Nations to take over the problem of restoring internal order and peace in Greece so reconstruction can begin there, is to ask it to violate its own charter.

Secondly, everyone knows it does not have as yet the tools with which to do the job, the money, or the men. Thirdly, action by it against the Communist insurrectionists in Greece would be blocked by the Russian veto even if the Organization had the authority in its Charter, and the tools.

What happens to a bird which is pulled out of the nest and called upon to fly before it has feathers? And especially if one wing is tied down, as the UN is by the Russian veto.

I regretted the veto arrangement because it was a monkey wrench carefully placed in the UN machinery in such a way that it could block the turning of a single wheel, beyond discussion, if one of the Big Five so desired.

I said in June 1945:

This Charter with all its inadequacies does provide machinery by which I think the nations can settle peaceably the conflicts that exist now and those that will inevitably arise. It is workable if there is the will and good will to make it work.

Mr. Chairman, the record proves that all the major nations, save one, do have the will and good will to make it work, but that the one nation does not.

President Truman at San Francisco rightly said the Charter was only a first step. But Russia has insisted on blocking the necessary next steps. Let us not have our people fooled any longer. Let

us frankly recognize that as long as one Big Five nation does not have the will or even the willingness to let the machinery work, then the machinery, no matter how good it looks, is useless for such a crisis as we face today—until the monkey wrench is removed.

We all remember vividly the last time that the former President of the United States, President Roosevelt, spoke from his chair in this well. He was just back from Yalta. He told us frankly he did not like some of the compromises he had agreed to. But he said they seemed necessary in order to achieve two most important objectives. One was the assurance that Poland would have the chance to become strong, independent, and prosperous, the other was that Russia would come along into the United Nations. He apparently assumed that if she came in, she would come in for the same reasons we did, to help solve world problems. History proves how tragically he was betrayed or out-traded on both counts.

Perhaps you remember the magazine articles written about the Tehran Conference by Ernest Lindley and Forest Davis, with President Roosevelt's blessing. They described his so-called grand design—getting Russia into the United Nations, yielding to her on matters of principle pledges, and territory, for example, Poland's, was considered justifiable as a temporary expedient, if it succeeded in getting Russia to join up. Well, she joined up, but not to help develop a workable organization—rather to make sure that it did not work. That, in my judgment, is the climactic tragedy of President Roosevelt's life—the tragedy of Europe's life, the tragedy of the world's hope that it would get a United Nations that could deal with situations like that within Greece. It ought to have been able to, but the plain fact is that it cannot.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired.

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be permitted to proceed for five additional minutes.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, reserving the right to object, and I do not intend to object, but I serve notice on the House now I will object from here on unless time is extended so that we will have a chance to debate. That means all requests.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, further reserving the right to object, I am wondering whether, as soon as the gentleman concludes, a motion will be made to limit debate. If so, then I think some of the rest of us ought to be given a little time, too.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I am very reluctantly forced to object to yielding additional time even to a member of my committee.

Mr. JUDD. If you want the United Nations to succeed, as I do, then do not pass the pending amendment and torpedo it by asking it, in violation of its own Charter, to take full responsibility for something it simply cannot accomplish in its present form. Rather, let us do soberly and well the job before us

while helping develop and strengthen the United Nations until, please God, it can be improved so as to make it capable of enacting, interpreting, and enforcing world laws for relations between nations.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last three words.

Mr. Chairman, I listened with a great deal of interest to the statement made by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. JUDD]. Evidently it is his desire that we rush in, as a Nation, where angels fear to tread.

I would be impressed with the argument the gentleman has made about the United Nations being weak, and unable to do anything in support of the very purposes for which that organization was created, to wit, to preserve the peace of the world and to protect the territorial and political integrity of the smaller nations of the world, were it not for the fact that just a little over a year ago in a very similar situation, when Russia actually had troops within Iran, one of the countries you will be sending money to within the next 6 months—remember my prediction. The Iranian Government appealed to the United Nations and that organization so marshalled the forces of world opinion that Russia was compelled to withdraw her troops.

I say again, how much better it would be if we keep the pledges, if we would live up to the solemn covenants we made at San Francisco and move to meet this Greek-Turkish problem as a member of the United Nations. I know and you know that we would pay most of the cost and furnish most of the men, we would give the great part of the support to the United Nations for its efforts to preserve peace, but we would at least be operating under the cloak and authority of the United Nations, and would show, by our action, that we actually believe in the things we have preached—sincere cooperation with the other nations of the world.

Yes; I have heard a great deal of talk on this floor in the last few days about isolationists and internationalists. I will tell you who are the isolationists in this House today. They are those men and women who are, by their support of this legislation, about to destroy the United Nations. Oh, you talk about covering up. Remember that you are going to destroy the United Nations and its usefulness when you bypass it, and that is exactly what you are doing by this bill.

I was a nationalist, if you want to call me that. I believe that we should have made an honest try to stay out of the last war. I did everything within my power to keep America at honorable peace with the rest of the world. Then, after the war was over I was sold the idea, by some of these men who talked about peace measures prior to the last war, that we had to cooperate on an international basis, and that we had to support the United Nations. To my astonishment, when this legislation is presented to the House these very same gentlemen are running right out on the very same promise and pledge they were able to get me to make, and in support of which I cast my vote for the Fulbright

resolution, and for every bit of enabling legislation to make the United Nations work.

I think history will tell us who are the internationalists, who are the ones who want to cooperate with the rest of the world against aggression and to preserve the peace, and who are actually now the isolationists. These isolationists are now saying to all civilization, "We will not cooperate with the United Nations. We will not cooperate with the other nations of the world. Instead, we are demanding that America go it alone. We do not want the help of any other nation."

Undoubtedly those who are now the isolationists have the votes to pass this bill, but remember, by the passage of this enactment you are driving a dagger into the very heart of the United Nations. You are destroying the very organization which has been, and is, the one great hope of the world for peace.

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in order that the Committee may not be misled, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that there are no Russian troops either in Greece or in Turkey, as was the case in Iran. I cannot refrain either from expressing greater confidence in the membership of this body than that evidently entertained by the gentleman from Ohio who just spoke. If I understood him correctly, he said that the isolationists are those who wish to destroy the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, I cannot refrain from challenging the statement that there is any member of this body who wishes to destroy the United Nations. I simply do not believe that. My confidence in them is such that I can not bring myself to agree with that.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LODGE. Is it not true that if we give the United Nations something that it cannot do we will probably destroy the United Nations?

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman is not only eminently correct but that is probably the best, the surest, and most positive way to destroy it.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield to me for an observation?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. COX. In spite of the statement made by my distinguished friend, the gentleman from Ohio, it is impossible for me to believe that he favors our imposing a limitation upon our right to exercise the law of self-defense when the safety of the Nation is imperiled to make it contingent upon the consent of some international power.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. RICH. Why is it that we are here now trying to take the initiative as a nation individually, single-handed, and

alone, without going out to these countries that you have tried to band together, such as the Pan American Union, for example, or some other foreign nation, and ask their aid and assistance to join with us now to do the job you are trying to do. No; we want to do it alone; we want America to go over there and take charge of Europe. I say when you do that you will wreck our country.

Mr. JARMAN. May I answer the gentleman's question by inquiring whether he was in favor of the extension of UNRRA the last time it was voted on?

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. JUDD. Is not the essence of the Iranian situation this: That was an issue between two countries—Russia and Iran. The United Nations had jurisdiction. It could operate, and it did.

Now, we are dealing with a situation not between two countries, but within one country, Greece, which is a totally different situation. The United Nations does not have similar jurisdiction.

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman is correct, and he will also recall that the Russian troops were already in Iran.

Mr. JUDD. Yes. May I say a further word? President Roosevelt put all our chips on the gamble that if he could get Russia to come along into the United Nations, she would join for the same reason we joined, namely to help solve world problems. Now, it is tragically clear that she came in not to get solutions to problems but to block solutions. We face the hard realization that her purpose in joining was not to make the United Nations work but to do everything possible to keep it from working. To ask it now, stymied as it is from within, to take over this problem would be to sound its death knell.

Mr. JARMAN. The gentleman, who is one of the ablest Members of the House, is eminently correct.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. May I say to my distinguished friend that I fear the apologies for this action today will be heard for a long, long time.

Mr. JARMAN. Does the gentleman mean his action?

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. No; I mean the action of those who will bypass the United Nations by voting down this amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma who has not had enough time to speak.

Mr. MORRIS. I know it is a little distasteful for a new Member to speak, but I think we should speak what is in our hearts.

Mr. JARMAN. I yielded to the gentleman to ask a question.

Mr. MORRIS. I am going to ask a question. You referred to the fact that I had spoken. I spoke from my heart and for my country, sir; the best I knew how.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

(Mr. CARSON asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Chairman, the House, in my opinion, is considering the most important matter that will face the Eightieth Congress. This, I believe, is the most important decision that ever confronted me.

The sudden and alarming deterioration of the affairs of the world at large and in Europe particularly requires us in the interest of national safety, and in the cause of world peace, to review the entire international situation in order to clarify our position and determine the best use we can make of our great, but not unlimited, resources.

We must assume our responsibilities which this deterioration has forced upon us. We must carefully define those responsibilities and decide for what purpose they are being undertaken. We must determine where we can do the most good and how we can protect and enhance those principles for which we recently fought. God grant us sustained determination and guidance to use our talents well. May our actions help solve the greatest objective of mankind—peace—not by force but with freedom, remembering always that the more virtue we have the fewer treaties we shall need.

The President has definitely committed our Nation to all-out diplomatic action. In other words, the honor and prestige of our Nation is at stake. It will take all our wisdom and skill to fill this new role, into which we are virtually being forced, in the great American tradition.

The formation of a sound and efficient military policy which will provide effective support of our foreign policy and at the same time promote efficient and reasonable economy is indeed a difficult task.

In the debate this week we heard cries of imperialism. I am proud of the record of our great country. We have never been the aggressor but have always been the protector. A year and a half ago we had incomparably the greatest military machine that the world had ever seen—in the air, on the land, on the sea, and under the sea. If we had a single ounce of imperialism in our souls, a single design on Russia, we could have imposed our will on her, or on anyone else, for that matter. What we did with our great military forces is a matter of history.

Then we hear again that we could afford to disarm because we have the atomic bomb. Let us look again at our record. We told Russia that we would give her all the atomic secrets, conditioned only that any use she made of atomic energy must be under the control and full inspection of a real International Commission. This, to my mind, was the most outstanding, the most far-reaching proposal any strong, sovereign, victorious nation ever made in all history.

Russia can have the atomic bomb under exactly the same conditions as we ourselves have it. We have done everything we could, and perhaps more than

we should, to try to show our friendship and good will toward Russia. To our great disappointment, our relations have grown steadily worse.

This is not a contest for supremacy, but a contest between two different ideologies. The eyes of the entire world are upon us. We are not only determining whether the people of the world shall have a chance to go the way of freedom but are determining whether we ourselves are to be a safe, solvent, and free people.

Millions and millions of men and women who love freedom will fight and die for it, if they have hope. We can give them that hope and can inspire them to hold fast to their religious beliefs.

In supporting this measure I have relied upon the protection of a divine providence that our sacred honor and our beliefs shall not perish from the earth, and that we shall be instrumental in establishing unity and human freedom throughout the world.

(Mr. GOFF asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks in the RECORD.)

(Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN asked and was granted permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Minnesota is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. H. CARL ANDERSEN. Mr. Chairman, for 4 days I have listened very carefully to the debate upon the President's proposal to expend \$400,000,000 and give military and naval advice to Greece and Turkey in an effort to preserve their independence of Russia. We are embarking upon a new and dangerous foreign policy of intervention in behalf of weak nations and the preservation of their liberties.

When the President first came before the joint session of Congress on March 12, and asked that Congress make this most important decision since the declaration of war, there came to me the thought, "Just how far shall we go? Shall we commit ourselves to the stupendous task of stopping the expansion of communistic Russia throughout Europe?"

Every day since then I have studied this problem from every possible angle. Many of us here, I know, have prayed for knowledge to do what is right in this hour of decision.

I personally have been much disturbed since VE-day 2 years ago over the domination by Russia of a dozen small nations formerly independent and now satellite states of Stalin. There seems to be very little hope that Finland and Poland will again be free or that these dozen nations will ever emerge from behind that iron curtain of darkness, despair, and communism, where freedom of speech and of worship is not permitted.

The debate here for 4 days has convinced me that the United Nations Organization is not able to assure Greece and Turkey their continued freedom from the ever grasping claws of the Russian Bear, intent upon aggression. I

am also convinced that this debate has proven that the United States is the only power capable of stopping Communist Russia in its creeping expansion throughout Europe. The conclusion has been forced upon me reluctantly, Mr. Chairman, that it is our duty, whether we like to face it or not, to stop further encroachment by Russia upon weaker nations.

As has been stated here often, if Greece and Turkey go communistic, it will be but a matter of time before that blight will fall upon Italy, Switzerland, and France. What then can we expect to happen to honest little Finland's neighbors, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, not to speak of Great Britain. It seems to me there is but one answer and that leads us to the question, Can we afford to let this happen? My answer is "No," not even if it costs us billions of dollars to prevent it.

Yes; frankly, it may be that intervention in Greece and Turkey will lead to war. Just as frankly, we do know that, if we do not intervene and do not help the small nations of Europe keep out of the clutches of Russia, war is sure to come, 5 years from now perhaps, 10 years, who knows when.

I hope and pray that the passage of this legislation, coupled with a hard-fisted nonappeasement foreign policy, will prevent World War III. It is with that hope and prayer that I am today voting, as are most of you, for this bill. God alone knows whether we are doing right or wrong.

Mrs. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last seven words.

Mr. Chairman, I have listened to this debate for 3 days, and to say the least, it is a bit confusing and full of contradictions. Many issues have been brought into the discussion that do not properly belong and certainly have no bearing on appropriating \$400,000,000 to aid Greece and Turkey to survive as free and independent nations. The position is taken in the bill that we have a responsibility to maintain peace and we believe that our own country will suffer whenever totalitarian regimes are imposed on free people. With this position I am in complete agreement. I intend to vote for the bill and against any crippling amendments. First, because the President of the United States in his message to Congress made clear to me that this aid is necessary to implement the position we have taken to establish freedom throughout the world. Second, because the President has been supported in his request by the Secretary of State, by a former President of the United States, by our top men in the United Nations, and by many commissions and individuals who have made an objective study of the question. They are the people who are in position to know much more than we are, and I am satisfied that in following their considered judgment and reports I am on safe ground. And last, but by no means least, if I needed to be persuaded, I would find much comfort in the fact that most of the opposition to this bill is furnished by Members who before 1941 opposed every effort we attempted to

prepare for a war that everybody should have known was inevitable if we were to remain a free people. Not until we were attacked by Japan did they realize that the United States was next on Mr. Hitler's list of countries to be conquered. It was a small group in the Congress during those frightening days that really had the courage to do the right thing. We succeeded then and we shall succeed today because real Americans usually see straight, even though we may have many differences of opinion. Let us by our big vote here today prove that America can be depended upon when the choice is, as between great strength and courage, to do the right thing or appeasement which could easily lead to destruction.

It took billions of dollars to win the war, much time and a tremendous amount of sorrow and suffering. We cannot change these facts. Let us be realistic.

It will take many more billions and probably much more suffering before a just and lasting peace is secured; but we cannot falter now, we must go on. With the help of God and an informed courageous people we shall reach the greater goal, and that goal is a just and lasting peace throughout the world.

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in my replies to the few letters I have received both for and against this Greek-Turkey aid, loan or gift bill, I have answered by saying, "This is the sort of a decision which tries one's very soul," without committing myself one way or another, for the very good reason that up to until yesterday I had not fully made up my mind as to how I should vote on this bill with all its far-reaching implications.

I have now come to the very definite conclusion that if this bill, as now written, finally becomes law it will not give relief to the suffering people for which it is intended, nor will it tend to frighten the Communists out of Greece and Turkey, or any other country, but to the contrary by sending military personnel to Greece and Turkey, it will, in my studied opinion, cause internal revolution there, which will really put us to the acid test of full military intervention, and possibly start World War III, or else be obliged to back out with our faces red, and be the laughing stock to the rest of the world, especially in the eyes of Stalin and the Communists both over there and right here within our own shores."

The administration in power has given aid and comfort to the Communists both here and abroad for many years just to garner their support and votes, and are still doing it, as is evidenced by the fact that our Attorney General still gives only lip service to the law which requires him to rid from Government employ any person belonging to any organization which advocates the destruction of the American form of government by force and violence, as is the purpose of the Communists. And if we are obliged to back out of Greece and Turkey, the Communists here will gloat and be even bolder and become more powerful.

I say, we in America had best clean our own house of the destructive forces within our own shores before we attempt to force them out of other countries far across the sea. And in my humble opinion we will fail miserably if we make this weak attempt to drive the Communists out of Greece and Turkey.

In addition to the danger I have so far pointed out, I again want to remind you, my colleagues of this House of Representatives, that there is a limit to our ability to pay and pay and pay. And if we pass this bill in addition to all the other gifts, loans, and so forth, we will be called upon to make to the other countries now forming in line with their hands out to Uncle Sam, if this bill is made law, to say nothing about the thirty to forty billions of dollars required to pay the running expenses of our own Government, how in heaven's name can we avoid national bankruptcy when we look squarely at the whole picture? Surely such a condition will soon confront us unless we stop this spending spree now.

In one of Lenin's last speeches, he said:

We will force America to spend herself into bankruptcy, then we will take her over.

Mr. Chairman, if we permit this spending spree to go on much longer, then just as surely as we live, Lenin's prediction will come true. God forbid that we should be so stupid. What will the good people of the world profit, even if we do succeed in driving Communists out of Greece and Turkey, if at the same time we extinguish the only lamp of liberty in the world, America?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, the amendment that is pending, offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH], imposing, if adopted, a condition precedent to this bill going into operation, I hope, will be defeated, as has been other amendments. The adoption of this amendment would for all practical purposes defeat the bill that we have under consideration. It has been pointed out by myself, the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd], and other Members, that this bill does not bypass the United Nations. I was amazed at the argument made by my distinguished friend the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown] to the effect that he now is an internationalist. The gentleman pleads guilty now to being an internationalist. But based upon the evidence that I know in relation to him, and insofar as I can arrive at a judgment on this evidence and his confession, I think the confession of guilt is under legislative duress, and because of that, if I were sitting as a judge, I would rule it out as inadmissible and find the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Brown] not guilty of being an internationalist.

Mr. Chairman, so far as I am concerned, there is only one question that concerns me on all legislation of this kind, as well as the legislation which

preceded Pearl Harbor and during the war—that is, what course of action at a particular time is for the national interest of my own country? I recognize that Members may have honest disagreement on this question. So far as I am concerned, Greece will be taken over by the Communists of that country unless we take affirmative action, and, after being taken over, the Government of Greece, like other countries that we are aware of, will become a satellite of the Soviet Union. I am satisfied that if we sit idly by and do nothing in our own national interest Italy will be the next country. We know that France is already fighting with its back to the wall. I am satisfied that if Italy goes, or if France goes, the Mediterranean goes with it. That will mean all of Europe. That also means that international communism or Red fascism will envelop all of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, I take the position that such will not be for the national interest of the United States. What are we going to do—sit idly by, adopt the negative attitude, and see country after country taken over by default? Russia does not have to act. Russia has it groups working in every country. They are backed by the spirit and indirectly by the forces of Soviet Russia. They operate upon discontent, through fear, through any means—lawful or unlawful—or a combination of both—to attain their ends. They have their representatives and agents in each country to get control of the government of a country and then, once having control, use repressive and vicious measures upon the decent elements of such countries, and, if necessary, to liquidate them.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. What Russia is doing, as the gentleman said, cannot, according to the United Nations Charter, be brought to the attention of the United Nations.

Mr. McCORMACK. Exactly. Russia says, "We are not doing it as a nation," and, theoretically, from a legalistic point of view, they are correct, but from the practical angle everyone on the floor of this House knows what is going on.

Let me ask this question: Suppose we do nothing, what do you think will happen to Greece? Is it likely within the near future that they will be taken over by the Communists within Greece, assisted by Yugoslavia, Albania, and back of it the Balkans that are now under the control of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union itself?

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for one additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. If that happens, will that be in the national interest of the United States, is the next question?

All right. Suppose Greece goes. Does any Member in this body think that Italy, already under pressure, and the only nation outside the iron curtain that is compelled to have a coalition government today, with Communist members in its cabinet, can survive? If Italy goes, will that be for the national interest of the United States?

Now, I respect the views of those who disagree with my reasoning, but that is the way my mind operates. If we do nothing, it is only a matter of time when Greece will go, and I say as an American that will not be for the national interest of my country. Then a month or 2 or 3 months from now, pressure on Italy will become intensified, and if Italy goes, I say as an American that this will not be for the national interest of my country, and it is on that ground that I take my position.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. Chairman, I feel that it is in order to again quote Shakespeare who in one of his plays, one of his characters, the King, in speaking of the conditions of the Government in Denmark, observed that, "The people muddled, thick and unwholesome in their thoughts and whispers."

I think you can take the debate on this bill, and analyze it studiously and carefully and come to the conclusion that the American people are muddled in their thinking, and especially the Congress of the United States is muddled in its thinking. We have the "four freedoms," the Atlantic Charter, the Declaration of the United Nations, the United Nations Organization, Bretton Woods, all of the side agreements which have been mentioned numerous times in this debate, the British loan agreement, and the International Trade Organization in which we set forth the aims and objectives of the people of the United States in cooperation with other nations and with respect to international relations. We certainly put faith in the United Nations Organization, and yet this very day we have from the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, the five-point program to implement the so-called Truman doctrine, which, as set forth in this debate, shows that it cuts directly across the face of these other international agreements to which I have referred. And in Dean Acheson's statement he points out that, "We must take whatever action is possible immediately," irrespective of what the United Nations Organization may desire to do or what it has the power to do.

I am familiar with the debate which occurred in the other body with respect to subparagraph 2 on page 7 of this bill, and if the argument presented by the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] is accepted for argumentative purposes or otherwise, if the United Nations Organization is not in position to assume responsibility on this issue, then will some member of the committee in his own time tell us why on earth the lan-

guage, lines 1 to 7 on page 7, is in this bill? Why do we propose to turn over the destiny of the United Nations as affected by the communistic doctrine and philosophy and aggression and approach when we say in the language of this bill that the President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein if the Security Council or the General Assembly finds that this aid is undesirable in these two countries?

In that language you give the United Nations the power to stop your program. That is exactly what you do. If the United Nations has no power to act, as stated under the Smith amendment, what is this language doing in the bill? Our people on this floor have a right to be confused with respect to this debate and this presentation, and the people out through the country have a right to be confused.

Here during the first 3 months of this year we exported on the basis of an average annual performance nearly \$15,000,000,000 worth of goods from this country. It outclasses anything we ever did in peacetime other than during the period we were shoving lend-lease goods out to the world. Yet one of the five points listed by Dean Acheson is:

1. Vast increase in American exports to narrow the financial gap between—

Between what?—

what the world needs and what it can pay for.

One of the five points is to shove the substance of this country out to the four corners of the earth. It squares absolutely with Lenin's proposal to whittle us down. Whatever the American people want they may have, but I shall not support this bill because I do not believe it is what the people want. Their secondary reaction to this proposal when its full force and effect falls upon them will be most interesting.

If the United Nations is to have the say as to what we shall do, it should be said before we spend the \$400,000,000 and further involve ourselves.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, we have had a very illuminating discussion here. I should like to raise the question now as to closing this debate. I wonder how many there are who want to speak. I had the very unpleasant duty of objecting when a very eminent and able member of my committee wanted to add to his 5 minutes, because I wanted everybody to have a fair show. I should like to say about three sentences myself on this subject before we get through. How many now want to further illuminate us on this section?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair counts 14 Members on their feet. Does the gentleman care to submit a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. EATON. I will take my seat with an earnest plea for mercy.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Why does not the gentleman try to get an agreement as to a time to close all debate on the bill, say a quarter past 5, and let those who are standing be recognized in that time.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all debate on this section and all amendments thereto close in 35 minutes.

Mr. SADOWSKI. I object, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

(Mr. MUNDT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the amendment supported by the gentleman from Wisconsin and would like to reason with the Committee briefly about some of the fundamental decisions we are about to make on the final roll call vote.

Like the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] I feel the time has come to focus our attention not only on what we propose to do in this legislation but on the conditions which would prevail throughout the world should we fail to act favorably on this legislation at this time. We dare not overlook the fearful alternatives which we now confront.

Ever since the war America has been suffering from the lack of a consistent and comprehensive foreign policy and program. Perhaps that was an inevitable consequence growing out of the great conflict, but more probably it is the direct result of the Roosevelt era of appeasing communism. But in all events we find ourselves, on the one hand, spending billions of dollars and maintaining vast armies abroad for the purpose of averting war, for the purpose of stopping the forces of dictatorship from arising in Europe. For the past 2 years, at the same time that we have been doing that, we have been appeasing abysmally another great dictatorial force—the Communist forces of Moscow.

Since March 12, for the first time we are beginning to fashion a consistent foreign policy, comprehensive and clear-cut and understandable, whereby while we do maintain armies abroad and spend billions of dollars in Japan, Korea, Austria, and Germany to hold down the forces which we defeated—the forces of dictatorship—we also propose now to stop similar dictatorial forces from aggressing further down toward the Mediterranean into Greece and Turkey. We now at long last propose to prevent Stalin from doing that which we have prevented Hitler from achieving. So for the first time in many years we are acting consistently.

I submit that those who oppose this legislation today should present something as consistent as the program offered by those of us who favor this legislation, even though we favor it reluctantly and as the least evil of the alarming alternatives which have been forced upon us all.

We present a program from our committee now based on consistency to resist these forces of evil wherever they raise their heads and to set up barriers against them. If you do not think we should do that, if you talk in terms of economy or terms of isolationism or terms of anything else which require you now to oppose this legislation, to be consistent then you should submit leg-

islation or proposals to the Congress and your countrymen asking us to withdraw our Army from Germany and Austria; to withdraw our army of occupation from Japan and withdraw our army of occupation from Korea because why should we keep hundreds of thousands of men there and spend billions of dollars if we are going to permit the floodwaters of the Red torrent of Russian dictatorship to sweep down through Greece and Turkey, Iran and Iraq, Italy and Europe and then eventually down through South America to our own American shores?

I think that we all have the responsibility of being consistent in this action. I submit this situation to you. Not one Member of Congress that I know of has arisen to protest against the fact that we have 5,000 American soldiers now in Trieste for the specific and identical purpose that we are now proposing to extend \$400,000,000 of aid to Turkey and Greece.

The only conceivable reason our money, men, and materials are in Trieste is to keep the Russian Communists out. There is no other reason. Nobody protests that. But what good will it do to keep the Russian forces out of Trieste if we are going to hang the welcome sign up by defeating the proposal now before us and let them come into Italy and Turkey and Greece.

You should be consistent in any position you now assume. If you believe America should withdraw entirely to its shores, that we should pull back our armies of occupation, that we should to put up the white flag of surrender to the red flag of communism all over the world, well, at least a program of consistency can be built along that line. Personally, I cannot support such a complete surrender of everything for which World War II was fought. However, I cannot follow the line of reasoning of those who say it is within the realm of consistency to spend money and materials and send occupying armies of men in some of the countries of the world to stop the forces of aggression, and then refuse to give any aid whatsoever at a place where every military leader in America tells us the danger is greatest at the present time. So I urge you to defeat this amendment and to support the legislation. We owe it to our armies of occupation abroad either to back them up or bring them home.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT], has expired.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last 10 words.

Following out the program of consistency that was so eminently described by the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT] I would like to talk a little myself about consistency. Picture the position in which we find ourselves throughout the world today and before the people of America and the people the world over. Here we are, arguing over a \$400,000,000 appropriation authorization to stop communism in Greece and Turkey. In other words, by this act we are virtually telling the Greeks and Turks what they shall do with their problem of Communism. While we as Members of Con-

gress are arguing and trying to tell Greece and Turkey what they should do with communism, right in the very House that we are debating that issue we have in the galleries from 100 to 200 Communists, right in the United States of America, listening to us. Last night they had a convention of 500 Communists in the city of Washington, talking on how they are going to take over Washington, D. C., when they have their first mayoralty election. Here we sanction and we approve of the activities of the Communists in our shores. Now we are going to spend \$400,000,000 to tell the Greeks and Turks what to do with their Communists. We are going to ask them to outlaw the Communist Party; to imprison and disarm and to shoot every Communist that exists in Greece and in Turkey. We are going to ask them to do what, as Members of Congress, we do not have the courage to do right in the United States.

Mr. MACKINNON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes; I yield.

Mr. MACKINNON. The Communists oppose this bill and you oppose the bill. Now, you are not a Communist,

Mr. O'KONSKI. No; and I am not a Stassenite, either.

Mr. MACKINNON. You cannot both be right, can you?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I will say this to the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO]: He and I have voted in opposite directions for the last hundred votes that have been cast. This is the first time we are together; but those who are accusing me of voting with him at this time have nothing to say about the 100 times that they voted with the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] in the past. I think the gentleman from New York [Mr. MARCANTONIO] is right once, for the first time out of a hundred, and I am going to follow him.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. I yield.

Mr. BENDER. And they do not make any point of the fact that you are voting along with HARRY BYRD? They make no point of that at all? They try to conceal that fact.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Well, I vote my own vote. I do not care how anybody else votes. Anyway, we are going to tell the Greeks and the Turks how to treat the Communists when we have them running free right here within our own country and doing absolutely nothing about it. What we do not have the courage to do we are going to ask the Greeks and the Turks to do. Is that consistency?

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Yes; I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of Oklahoma. I know you are anti-Communist. The very thing you mention about this meeting in Washington last night has me bothered, as it has you.

The gentleman from Wisconsin well knows that if this group that met here last night were doing here what they are doing in Greece, if they were armed guerrilla bands trying to overthrow this Government, there could be but one

result. The gentleman does not doubt for 1 minute what action this Congress would take. In other words, we are faced with just a little different situation here in trying to handle this problem in this country than is the Government in Greece. The problem in Greece is that the guerrillas are actually trying by force of arms to overthrow the Government.

I say to the gentleman that if these hundred Communists in the gallery, 150 or 300 who may have been here today, were actively engaged in trying to overthrow the Government, he knows what the answer would be. The two situations are not the same.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Chairman, I yield to the gentleman from New York, having mentioned his name.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. I simply wanted to say that I am overwhelmed by this attention. The gentleman says sometimes there are a hundred with me or a hundred against me; and at last the gentleman is with me. I do not know what is going on any more.

Mr. O'KONSKI. The gentleman from New York is right for the first time in a hundred votes and I am going along with him.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

At the outset let me state that I am ready to vote relief funds for the distressed people of Greece and for the unfortunate people of other lands. But, Mr. Chairman, that is not the question here involved.

Without a question of a doubt, history will record that the proposal here today is the most significant event in our foreign policy since the Declaration of Independence. It may exceed—it may well transcend—in importance our declaration of war in 1917 and in 1941. In each of those wars we had allies. But here today we are out on our own. If we delve through the fog and mist of the uncertainties of today, it seems to me that we can find a yardstick that will dictate our proper course of action.

The British Empire endeavored to maintain peace for over a century. Today it stands exhausted at home. Segments of that once great Empire are breaking away. It seems to me that before we embark on a course of unilateral action, we should know just where we are going. If we go into Greece and into Turkey today then, most certainly, we shall be obliged to go into Korea, into India and into many other countries throughout the world. Russia will see to that. The decision in that regard will be Russia's and not our own.

Let us see what the world situation is. Only three countries are on a balanced budget—Canada and this country in the Western Hemisphere and South Africa. Inflation is the most important single curse affecting the vast majority of nations. Of course we must alleviate human suffering, but we also owe a duty to this country to see that when we help an impoverished world we do not endanger the financial security of the

United States. The gentleman from Ohio spoke of the radical inflation in Greece, but I am fearful that the action here today will increase the possibility of radical inflation here in America. Therefore, it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that before we undertake this responsibility we should endeavor to obtain the cooperation of all peace-loving peoples of the world not presently within Soviet domination.

We can use the power and force of the United Nations to mobilize the people of the world against aggression and at the same time we can insist that they join us in a fight against inflation and by that action we can achieve a measure of financial stability throughout the world.

The United Nations already has a commission operating in Greece. The question of assistance to Greece and Turkey should come before the United Nations pursuant to the direct mandate of its charter. Some people contend the United Nations is not strong enough to assume this responsibility. But if that be true, let us take the steps to make it strong. If this issue is submitted to the United Nations, then we will force a showdown with Russia in that body. As for me, I believe that Russia will back down when confronted with the combined opposition of the people of the world outside the confines of its own and its satellite states.

The people of America want us to take such steps as will make the United Nations stronger and stronger and not to impair its standing in the world. I submit, Mr. Chairman, if the United Nations assumes jurisdiction of this question and resolves it in the proper way, then and then only will we be on the road to world peace. If this amendment is not adopted, I shall be constrained to vote against this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wyoming has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I move that all debate on the committee amendment and the Smith amendment to the committee amendment do now close.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. MARCANTONIO) there were—ayes 135, noes 21.

So the motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] to the committee amendment.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin) there were—ayes 65, noes 137.

So the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the committee amendment.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the next committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 7, after line 14, insert:

"SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress."

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I had to object to one of the members of the committee requesting additional time, and I hated terribly to do it. I object.

Mr. KEEFE. I want to thank the distinguished chairman of the committee, to whom I have listened now for four solid days, with the other members of his committee.

Mr. Chairman, I perhaps will not be able to say in the 5 minutes what I would like to say, but I want to make my position perfectly clear on this bill. I do wish that the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, who formerly was the majority leader, and the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM], and a lot of these people who are talking so glibly today, had been making the same kind of speeches 4, 5, 6, and 7 years ago that they are making today. Why, it was heresy to even use the word "communism" in the well of this House just a few years ago when the great appeaser was in the White House appeasing Communist Russia. We all know what brought about this position that faces us today. I predicted it in a speech which I was pleased to make on the floor of this House on the 30th of January 1941. Let me quote therefrom:

What are the war aims of the democracies in the present struggle? It is said by Lord Halifax that the British aims are to win the war and to crush Hitler. It is said by others that this is a war between conflicting ideologies, totalitarianism on the one hand and human liberty protected by democratic institutions of government on the other.

If that is true, I ask you in all seriousness what difference is there between Hitler and Stalin?

I asked that question in 1941. I asked you then, "Who would rule in the world in the event Hitler was crushed? Under what sovereignties will these people live?" And I got no answer. You said, "We are going to keep out of war; we are going to live at peace." I voted as my conscience dictated at that time for the thing that I thought would keep this country out of war. I have no apologies to make. I was designated as an isolationist because I took the same course that prior to the election of 1940 the President of the United States took, and which both parties wrote in their platforms. But the advice which I gave at that time and which others gave, went unheeded. When we took the course that we did take, the foreign policy of this Nation then was determined. I supported it with every vote from that time on.

Now we are faced with another situation, and we are not told what is going to eventuate. But what should be my position now? Can we turn back? No. The President has announced the foreign policy of the United States and has done so in these most critical times. What should I do as an American? With American troops scattered all over the

world, in Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, Korea, and other places, and with the forces of Stalin facing us in every place, shall we withdraw? Shall we turn tail? My colleagues, it is too late. What is the alternative? The opposition have failed utterly to present any alternative except to refer the matter to the United Nations. This is a hopeless gesture at this time, with Russia holding the veto power.

What can I do as an American? Must I only carp and criticize? We are involved all over the world, whether we like it or whether we do not.

Time will not permit the discussion of the things which I have considered prayerfully at home, alone, that impel me now to take the position that I must reluctantly take. I can see no other course. The alternative is too terrible to contemplate.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. KEEFE. Will the chairman give me some more time now?

Mr. EATON. The chairman has no power to give time, but I will withdraw my objection, because I think this is a speech that really means something.

Mr. COX. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Wisconsin be permitted to proceed for five additional minutes.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. BREHM. Must not the gentleman from New Jersey ask unanimous consent to withdraw his former objection?

The CHAIRMAN. That matter is not before the Committee. What is before the Committee is the request of the gentleman from Georgia that the time of the gentleman from Wisconsin be extended 5 minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Chairman, I very deeply appreciate the magnanimity of the chairman of the committee, who objected to my request for five additional minutes until he found out that I was speaking in favor of his bill. I think the unfairness in the distribution and allocation of time that has prevailed in the discussion of this bill is now perfectly clear and perfectly plain. However, that shall not change my vote on this bill, because I must vote as a Member of Congress and as an American as I see it in the interest of my country. To me it would be unthinkable now, in view of what has transpired in the Senate, and in the address of the President to this Congress, to send the word out to the world, "The people of the United States are not united, they are divided, and we have at last succeeded in dividing them," the very thing that Mr. Stalin would like to see done.

Now, may I ask you to see this. They say that the Stalinites want to bankrupt this Nation. They say that the spending of this money is a step in that direction. Is it? I note that the Reds are all for killing this bill. The "pinks" are all against this bill. If they were going to bankrupt the Nation by that means, I should think they would all be for it.

I may interject here that many splendid Members of Congress intend to vote against it. They are honest and courageous and I do not challenge their attitudes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEEFE. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. MUNDT. The gentleman has arrived at his decision on this very serious problem by almost exactly the same rather tortured mental processes that I went through as a member of the committee in hearing the testimony and in arriving at the same conclusion. I wonder if the gentleman would agree with me on this, that we face the alternative that, if we vote this legislation down, this country and this world face the very definite probability that the Russians, chained as they are, and moving in fast in periods of stress and unrest, will step into Greece and Turkey and we will be confronted with faits accomplis.

Mr. KEEFE. May I say to the gentleman that in my opinion the Russians can go into Greece and Turkey any time they want to. What is there to stop them? We were told by the President that this thing was of such vital importance that we had to act by the 31st of March. I could almost see the Russians going down with their divisions from the Balkan area into Greece at that time.

Let me tell you that they are over there just as they are here and just as they are in Italy. They are there with their ideas and ideals, and you cannot stop that by building a wall of bullets or guns, regardless of what anybody says.

Let me tell you of what I am advised. I am advised that Italy is all ready to go communistic and all they are waiting for is for us to hand them \$500,000,000 or \$600,000,000 as a loan before they announce it. I understand that France is all ready to go communistic, and all they are waiting for is a \$700,000,000 or \$800,000,000 gift from us.

Let us not be foolish about this situation. But, still, with all that knowledge, I am going to vote for this bill because I, as one Member of Congress, went out throughout this Nation and condemned the administration because of its appeasement of Russia. I demanded that it announce a foreign policy. The administration has done so, and I hope to God they carry it out. Let us send word to Stalin that we do not intend to appease any longer.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

On March 12, 1947, President Truman appeared before a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives and delivered a message wherein he recommended the legislation we are now considering, to wit: House bill 2616. He concluded with these words:

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious.

The President realized that by the request he was advocating not merely assistance to the people of Greece so that they might have the necessities of life and be saved from starvation, but that he

was also advocating relief of a military character and that we were in reality bolstering with American arms and personnel the military strength of Greece and Turkey.

A member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, which reported out this legislation for consideration by the House, recognized the military character of the same when he moved before the Rules Committee to transfer the matter to the Armed Services Committee for its attention.

The majority of our people do not object to the granting of relief, as such, to the people of Greece. Only the other day we passed House Joint Resolution 153 appropriating \$200,000,000 for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war and Greece has been allocated \$50,000,000 thereof. The Greek Army, described by the President as small and ill-equipped, has absorbed about \$44,000,000 worth of equipment, some of it second-hand lend-lease. UNRRA's contributions, totaling approximately \$360,000,000, have been poured into Greece and we paid 73 percent of that amount. Greece has also been extended a loan credit of \$25,000,000. I understand that Britain has spent \$150,000,000 on the Greek Army and has canceled \$160,000,000 owed her for maintaining 16,000 British troops there and for other purposes. All this has been done in the past for Greece and yet, like China, she seems to be economically worse off than when we started.

Since the President's message on March 12, I have received many letters from constituents at home in which they express alarm over the bypassing of the United Nations and claim that by this action we reduce that great Organization to the role of a glorified debating society. Many were persons who only a short time ago had worked so enthusiastically for the adoption of the United Nations and had come to the conclusion that in it lay the hope for future world peace. I am frank to say that I have given the question of the legality of unilateral action by the United States very serious consideration. My research led me to the conclusion that by adoption of the United Nations Charter, all nations recognized that the maintenance of international peace and security was the responsibility of the United Nations collectively; that no nation should act unilaterally; that the Security Council had exclusive jurisdiction with respect to this matter and, as a matter of fact, is actually exercising the same at the present time.

It is stated by the President in his message, however, that the action contemplated gives effect to the principle of the Charter of the United Nations and does not bypass it or violate any of its provisions. Senators VANDENBERG and CONNALLY, two statesmen who played a very important role in the formation of the United Nations also have gone on record to the same effect.

The Honorable Warren R. Austin, United States representative at the seat of the United Nations in the Security Council itself, in his address to the delegation on March 28, 1947, in explaining

the action requested, also stated that the proposed program of assistance would in fact be a most essential act in giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and that it is directly related to the act of the United States in creating a commission of investigation in Greece. On May 8, Mr. Austin addressed a letter to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, which was read in the House in which he reiterated that this action does not bypass the United Nations; on the contrary, it would be a most essential act in support of it and would advance the building of collective security under the United Nations.

The Hon. Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State, in his testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee, also discounts the claim that the United Nations is being bypassed and indicates that it is not equipped to handle this matter, and that the action taken is in conjunction with that body. He said in part:

The situation of Greece and Turkey confronts us with only two alternatives. We can either grant aid to those countries or we can deny that aid. There is no possibility of putting the responsibility for extending the aid for Greece and Turkey as asked from the United States on some other nation or upon the United States. This becomes clear when we consider the specific problems that confront Greece today. Greece has charged before the Security Council that armed bands operate within her territory are partly supplied, trained, and given refuge in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, and that these bands are moving back and forth across the borders. Greece has asked the United Nations for help in dealing with this situation and the Security Council has appointed a commission which is at the present moment investigating the Greek charges on the spot. It is expected that this commission will begin writing this report early in April and that report should be ready shortly thereafter. We hope and believe the United Nations action in this matter will result in the cessation of disturbances along Greece's northern borders. Such a result would be a most vital contribution to the situation in Greece and make possible the task of stabilization and rehabilitation. It would not be a substitute for the assistance which Greece has asked from the United States. More is needed to deal with internal disorder and economic break-down.

The second problem confronting the Greek Government is the need for supplies and funds to enable it to cope with its internal difficulties, namely, the restoration of order in the country and the averting of economic collapse. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and the British Government have been helping Greece with these particular problems, and the present crisis has arisen because those two supports must be withdrawn.

To whom was Greece to turn? The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which recently sent a mission to Greece, recommended that the Greek Government request the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and the United States and the United Kingdom to extend aid to it in securing funds for the continuation of essential food and other imports to cover the period after UNRRA's withdrawal, until expanding exports, international development loans and expanding production should enable Greece to balance its international accounts.

If Greece had applied to the United Nations or any of its related organizations, the essential element of time would have been

lost and the end result would have been the same. The funds would have to come primarily from the United States. The United Nations does not of itself possess funds. The Economic and Social Council is an advisory body that recommends economic, financial, and social action to member States. The International Bank, which is just now completing its organization, is set up primarily to make self-liquidating loans for long-term reconstruction purposes. It has not yet made any loans whatsoever. The Economic Commission for Europe is still in its early organization stage.

It may be that at some future time the United Nations will be organized and equipped so as to render emergency aid to member States of the kind now needed in Greece and Turkey. But, as the President said, the United Nations and its related organizations are not now in position to extend help of the kind that is required. Even if some organ of the United Nations should decide to recommend assistance to Greece and Turkey, it would have eventually to turn primarily to the United States for funds and supplies and technical assistance.

It therefore seems to be the opinion of those who should know, that the present proposed action is certainly not taken in opposition to the United Nations, but in cooperation with it, and our American representative so reported to the United Nations and apparently satisfied the members in this respect.

Whatever may be the situation from a technical, legal standpoint, the legislation proposed provides for the termination of this program if the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds—with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto—or that the General Assembly finds that the action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuation of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

Are we justified in taking the course recommended, which, in the minds of many, may lead us to the third world war?

In determining this question, no one can overlook the opinion of Gen. George Marshall, Secretary of State, who is recognized by all as one of the greatest military generals in history and who has just returned from the Moscow Conference, and who, while debate on this vital issue was going on, sent to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee a letter which was read and made a part of the record, in which he said, in part, as follows:

My strong conviction that the immediate passage of this bill is a matter of the greatest urgency was made even more positive by the recent meeting at Moscow. . . . I fully endorse the committee's conclusion that the bill pending before the House will enable the United States in this crisis to support the United Nations by pursuing a positive policy in behalf of Greece and Turkey. I am convinced that it will be in our own interest and in the interest of world peace. I hope that the bill will be enacted as expeditiously as possible.

It may well be that it is anybody's guess as to what will happen in the event this legislation is enacted. While I do not wish to be facetious concerning such a serious matter, we may be in the position of the Connecticut farmer who, when asked by a city traveler how to get

to the next town, told him that he could take the road to the left, then turn right, and go on a few miles, and he would get there. Or he could turn right and then go left for a few miles and eventually arrive there also, but that whichever road he took he would probably wish he had taken the other.

In my opinion, the present Secretary of State is amply qualified to make an intelligent forecast as to what will be the future. If his opinion is wrong, it will be just too bad for all of us, but I have come to the conclusion that I could take no step to prevent our present Secretary of State from carrying out the program he has so earnestly recommended. I realize that this proposal would seem to be a departure from our historic foreign policy, but after all this is a new world and unlike years gone by. In this atomic age, man's frontier is not the Rhine, but his own doorstep.

It must be conceded that the United Nations is not as strong as some people wish it were, or as some feel that it actually is. At its meetings, there seem to be continual controversy and bickering and failure to come to a meeting of the minds. This is not unexpected for it took many, many years for our own Federal Constitution to arrive to the point where it functioned efficiently and even now our Supreme Court has divided five to four more than once in its interpretation of the same. Certainly the money would have to come from the United States and not from the United Nations for according to the Secretary of State, Greece cannot qualify for a loan from the World Bank as it is not a good credit risk, nor from the Export-Import Bank, for the same reason.

I believe it should be understood, however, that by this action we are not committing ourselves to embark in endeavoring to stamp out Communism in all other countries of the world. The Under Secretary of State, in his testimony before the committee, states that we are not, and that each request in the future will be considered on its merits and that it cannot be construed that this Government would undertake such action in any other country identical, or even closely similar, to Greece and Turkey. We may have some difficulty, however, in carrying out this announced policy without embarrassment to ourselves and a charge of discrimination made at a later date.

One compelling reason why I will cast my vote for the pending legislation is the fact that the program is an accomplished fact already in the minds of the people of the world. Failure to pass this bill at this time would be interpreted as an abandonment of free people everywhere to whatever fate may befall them. The President by his action and the Senate by its majority support have left us with little choice except to go forth. It is a difficult but now, apparently, a necessary course that we pursue. Favorable action on this legislation has been stated to be the lesser of two evils. It has been brought about and is the direct result of a policy heretofore pursued by our Chief Executive and his predecessor toward Russia; the situation of necessity was some years in the making and is certainly not a problem created by the Congress.

Let the world understand that we pursue no imperialistic program. We are not intermeddlers, but are granting assistance at the urgent request of the countries presently under consideration. We ask for nothing. We give and sacrifice in order that we may take steps which, in the minds of those who should know, will guarantee safety, security and peace on American soil and, equally important, make for a condition of peace elsewhere.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in opposition to the pro forma amendment.

"TIME LIMIT"

The "time limit" or "urgency theme," is a fallacious one.

First. The British precipitated this so-called "urgency theme" by their abrupt announcement of withdrawal from Greece of aid and troops on March 31. Did our State Department have any advance information on the date of probable British withdrawal?

If they did have advance information, it should have been conveyed to Congress and the American people.

If they did not have information or premonition as to this important decision of Great Britain, then I say they stand convicted of stupidity beyond justification.

Second. The President on March 12 gave his message and stressed the emergency which would occur on March 31. He asked for legislation to enable the United States to replace Britain in Greece at the time of her withdrawal.

The legislation was not passed by March 31 nor by April 31, and yet no crisis has occurred. Russia has not marched across the border of Turkey, nor has Tito marched into Greece.

Starvation, guerrilla fighting—yes, Communist organization continues to exist as it has for the past 25 years in Greece. But no change of government has occurred and no attempt at outside aggression or internal military coup has occurred.

What has been more important in the intervening weeks, Turkey has not appealed to the United Nations with a specific claim against an aggressor nation. The appeal of Greece is under UN consideration and we are obligated by the Charter to await the report of the Balkan Commission before interfering further. What is the hurry? Why the rush act? Unless an aggressive action against Greece or Turkey is taken soon, the "urgency" theme is going to have a red face.

The "time limit" rush act has been overplayed. The United Nations procedure could have been used and can still be used.

Food and rehabilitation funds can continue to be furnished on a bilateral or unilateral basis in harmony with the principles of the United Nations. Such funds and foods can be administered as recommended by the FAO commission of the United Nations or by an international regional commission as provided for in the charter.

Let me assure you my friends, that if the will to use the United Nations was there, a way can easily be found.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I do not know whether I am going to illuminate the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs or anybody else here or whether I will receive illumination. But be that as it may, illumination is what is needed here.

Now, the old red herring has certainly taken a terrible beating here for the last 3 days. I am not ready to join with all of my friends here to give so much credit to the Communists.

If I know a little bit about history, I do know that after the first war the people of the world—not the Communists but the people of the world—got rid of the Hohenzollern gang, got rid of the Hapsburg bunch, got rid of the czars of Russia, and they got rid of the Ottoman sultans. After this world war the people of the world—not the Communists but the people of the world—said "We have had enough of Madame Lupescu and King Carol and Prince Umberto and King Emanuel and King Peter and King George and all the rest of that gang of royalists." Those are the people of the world speaking, not the Communists.

Now, here is the Congress of the United States of America jumping into this fight against royalists and monarchs and going into this Balkan mess, to oppose the people. I do not know whether we are diving in head first or tail first, but I think we are going to get our tails burned. We are jumping into this Balkan mess to do what? When everybody is getting rid of kings and queens and princes and dukes and noblemen and landed aristocracy, we are going there to give these Royalists guns and bayonets and bullets. To do what? To kill Russians? No. To kill whom? To kill Greeks and Macedonians. That is what we are giving them these guns for, and you know it, and that is what they are going to do with them. They are going to kill their own people. Today, throughout the Balkans, there is no nation more hated and stinks worse than the British, because of their lousy policies. So we, the United States, will be hated and we will smell just as badly in a short time.

I asked the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] 4 days ago, at the beginning of this debate, this simple question: "Are Macedonians Greeks?"

He said: "You know, my friend gets me into an ethnological discussion where I am not too well at home, and I would therefore find some difficulty answering the question."

He had a big chart here, standing here like a professor, showing us all about that Balkan situation. He knew all about it. I asked a simple question, "Are Macedonians Greeks?" and he could not answer it. I think we ought to amend this bill to cease further consideration for 1 year, and hire a couple of professors to come here and give us some lessons in history and teach us something about the Balkans before we jump into this mess. Macedonians are not Greeks. They are Slavs. The Macedonians were under Turkish rule for 500 years. The Turks tried to make Mohammedans and Turks out of them. They could not do it. After the Balkan wars that part of Macedonia was awarded to Greece. It had not been Greece before that. Now, all of a sudden it has be-

come Greece, since 1912, but are you sure that the Macedonians want to be Greeks? Can you make Greeks out of Macedonians? Then, what are you trying to do? You want to send these guns over there to these kings and queens and princes to kill these Macedonians. For what? Did they not fight with us in both World Wars? Did not those Macedonians hate the Turks because of the persecution that they underwent? Did they not hate the Germans and the Italians, and did they not fight with us in both World Wars? And now what is the payoff? The United States is going to give guns and bayonets to the kings of Greece to kill off Macedonians. For what?

The people cry for bread and we give them bullets. The people cry for freedom and we give them bondage.

For 2 years, the British with their armies, have tried to stuff the Royalists down the throats of the people. They could not do it. Now we step into these discarded British Tory boots and we shall reap the hatred and animosity of a people who have always been our friends. I stand for relief and economic assistance to Greece. I oppose militarism anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SADOWSKI] has expired.

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. KELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I dislike this bill. I dislike the necessity for it. But aid and assistance to the people of Greece in the matter of food, clothing, and shelter, and the means to provide these by way of farm machinery, manufacturing plants, and reconstruction of railroads, are so imperative that the shortcomings of the bill must necessarily be overlooked.

The provision in the bill for military equipment is to me quite contrary to our ideas of a peaceful world, but we must rely on the integrity and good judgment of the President in the handling of these funds. I am sure that the President of the United States would in no sense allot funds for military purposes unless they were of the most urgent and impelling kind. I am sure of this; and, since he is charged with the direction of the foreign policy of this country and has called the attention of the Congress to the dire need of the people of Greece and Turkey, to their poverty and lack of facilities for producing the goods which they need, the Congress cannot turn its back upon this request or refuse to uphold the hand of the President. After all, there is too much poverty and suffering in this world for us to ignore the fact that we are the richest Nation and can provide these goods without the least injury to ourselves. Late statistics prove this; and, if we are to promote in the peoples of the world an interest and desire for our form of Government, particularly on the humanitarian side, then we are obligated to aid in the rehabilitation of these impoverished people.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, there are four amendments pending. I therefore ask unanimous consent that all debate close in 25 minutes, leaving 5 minutes for each of those amendments and 5 minutes to close. I do that at the request of the majority leader.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk advises the Chair that the amendments are at the conclusion of the bill.

The question now is on the committee amendment creating a new section 6.

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read. The Clerk read as follows:

SEC. 6. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities under authority of this act.

With the following committee amendment:

Page 7, line 18, strike out "6" and insert "7."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment: Page 7, line 19, after the word "activities", insert "which shall include uses of funds by the recipient Governments."

The committee amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

MY CONSCIENCE PREVENTS ME FROM VOTING FOR THIS BILL

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Chairman, it is claimed that this \$400,000,000 appropriation is for the purpose of stopping communism all over the world. Naturally, all the great economic royalists and war profiteers, here and everywhere, with all the force and influence at their command, are advocating this dangerous course and are pushing us into it.

Their attitude is no different from that of the financial leaders and industrialists and munitions makers of Germany who, under the pretense of fighting communism, supported Hitler and the Nazi cause and plunged the whole world into holocaust.

BRITAIN UNLOADING BURDENS ON US

If I believed for one moment that our country—my country—were in actual danger, or even that our legitimate interests are threatened by Russia or by this overpublicized and overbuilt fear of communism sweeping the Western World, I should vote for this gift, and for additional billions beside, even though I cannot feel that Turkey is entitled to any consideration on her merits; and believing as I do that this bill merely enables the British to unload on us their burdens and responsibilities of empire.

The inhumane cries of danger from Russia, danger from anywhere except the threat of a new fascism, from those who seem chiefly interested in strengthening the undemocratic governments already existing or trying to reestablish themselves, sound feeble and badly inspired to me.

Outstanding military experts have testified that the destruction wrought by the Nazis in Russia is so great that Russia could not conceivably make war for at least 10 years, assuming that she desired to.

CONCENTRATE ON FRIENDSHIP

Rather than this constant preoccupation with the danger from Russia, we should concentrate on the assurances given by Stalin both to General Marshall and to former Governor Stassen. Before we rush to arms to destroy Russia while she is helpless, we should examine these professions of friendship and cooperation with friendly eyes, and look for the good instead of the bad—not forgetting security, but for the sake of security.

So far as we can learn, Russia has punctiliously observed covenants agreed to during wartime when neither Great Britain nor the United States has been so careful.

Remember that Russian troops began to march against Japan exactly 3 months after VE-day, in accordance with the Yalta agreement. According to newspaper reports, Russia has kept out of North China, although President Roosevelt's assurance to China that British warships would not enter Chinese ports was broken. Russian troops have left Iran; but British troops are still in Greece, and still in Palestine.

Russia made no objection to our trusteeship of the Pacific islands. She has yielded repeatedly in the Danube Basin. Russia proposed disarmament immediately after the end of the war.

DOES NOT CONDONE RUSSIAN ERRORS

Do not mistake me. I make no excuses for those things which Russia has done, and done deliberately, to outrage the western powers. I am not an admirer of a police state. I do not condone press censorship. I do not forgive aggressive action against smaller countries.

But none of the things we dislike about Russia can excuse the bullying attitude, the military aggressiveness, or the fantastic fear that have seized England and the United States. I repeat again and again and again, that the way to keep fascism and communism out of America is to make our own democracy work, and we cannot do that by suppression, by bribes, by concentration camps or bayonets or atom bombs, nor by a third world war. It is clear to me from the arguments advanced that this bill is actually to protect the British Empire's lifeline and to back up the Anglo-American oil trusts who have got their fingers on the largest oil reserves left in one geographical area.

GREECE AND TURKEY NOT DEMOCRACIES

When Under Secretary Acheson, who has been the Acting Secretary of State during General Marshall's absence in Moscow, says that Greece and Turkey are democracies he is just talking bunk.

Neither of these countries is a democracy in our sense of the word, any more than Russia is.

I am equally skeptical about the so-called Communists in northern Greece, or Aegean Macedonia, as it is called. There may be and probably are Communists among those guerrilla bands;

there may be and probably are liberal democratic patriots who cannot stomach the fascistic monarchy imposed by the British, nor the virtual occupation of Greece by the British, however disguised it may be.

But the fact is that the majority of the guerrilla bands in Aegean Macedonia are freedom-loving Christian Slavs whose one burning desire is now, as it has been since the Ottoman Empire was first squeezed back from the Balkans, to be able to unite with their blood brothers in those parts of Macedonia which lie in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Time after time we have announced our adherence to the principle of self-determination of small nations; why do we refuse to recognize the rights of the Macedonians?

UN FORCE FOR PEACE

I believe that the United Nations can be a powerful force for world peace and stability. I believed in the League of Nations in the same way. The United States insured failure of the League when the Republicans made it a political issue and kept the United States out of the League. I am fearful that favorable action on this bill will have the same effect on the United Nations, because we are bypassing the world organization which should do this job.

Unfortunately, we have public men and certain newspapers and radio commentators constantly injecting poison into the minds of the people by distorting and obscuring the facts, and sometimes by sheer invention and prevarication. Many sincere, well-meaning men and women in America have had their minds so prejudiced by this unending stream of propaganda that they now believe the lies.

Yes; these distortionists are emulating the tactics of Hitler, who said that no matter how big the lie, if it is repeated often enough it will be believed.

Fourteen years ago, when Hitler came to power, Great Britain tacitly sanctioned Hitler's rearming by failing to prevent occupation of the Ruhr and by making no effective protest against the growing militarism of the Nazi government. Likewise, Great Britain failed to support the other powers in the effort to check Japan and Italy and Spain.

It was disclosed at that time that in this country we had many Nazis and Japanese whose activities were questionable.

I succeeded then in obtaining passage of a resolution setting up a committee to investigate subversive and treasonable activities, which, under the leadership of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCORMACK] brought many hidden vermin to light.

These activities did not cease, however, and I succeeded in bringing about passage of another resolution. Investigation was undertaken under the chairmanship of Mr. Dies. When the committee became permanent first the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Wood] and now the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMAS] occupied the chair.

That committee, with an efficient and hard-working investigative staff and all the money at its command that it needed,

and with the active help and cooperation of the gentleman from Mississippi, and of the Federal Bureau of Investigation still has not succeeded in bringing about conviction of any Communist or alleged Communists of attempting to overthrow the Government by force, or of traitorous or seditious activities, though a number of Nazi sympathizers have been convicted on various counts, or are still awaiting trial, all of them through the investigative activities of executive agencies.

UGGLE IS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND ISMS

The reason is that we have but a handful of Americans parading as Communists, most of them without any understanding of what they are saying, and none of them with any reason or justification for their beliefs. We have no room and no need in this country for communism or Communists.

Once more I repeat: The struggle in America is not between communism and Nazi-fascism, but between American democratic ideals and every kind of foreign and authoritarianism.

We have in this country the best standard of living, the highest degree of personal freedom, the finest schools, and the greatest productive capacity of any nation. Our task is to make sure that we spread the benefits of those blessings as far as possible, in the interest of the masses and of the public welfare.

I feel that the people promoting the current Red scare know this, and are deliberately pumping up this exaggerated fear of communism in order to cloak their own efforts to destroy American democracy.

Many of the gentlemen who spoke on this bill let the cat out of the bag when they said the purpose of those who advocate this policy is to keep the Dardanelles as they are, and to quarantine the near eastern oil fields.

The appeal of huge profits with little personal risk is universal, and our international cartellists are working smoothly to skim the cream for themselves at the expense of the common people everywhere.

AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL PAY BILL

It seems to me that the American people will pay the bill—certainly in sweat and dollars, perhaps in lives and suffering—and the British Empire will reap the profit, if any. Skillfully the British have maneuvered us into a position where they have made themselves appear to be the arbiters between the United States and Russia by forcing us to front for them. They are determined to save the Empire at our expense.

This \$400,000,000 advance is only a small beginning. Next year, when this is gone, there will be more money to be appropriated. Even though we are rich and strong and prosperous, we cannot withstand such drains on our resources indefinitely. While we are debating this bill, there are other appeals pending from Korea, from France, from Italy, from China, and again from Great Britain. There will be more because many of the nations are bankrupt morally as well as financially.

Who is manipulating this country we all love to such an end? We know the background of John Foster Dulles, the Republican adviser to the State Department, with his close connections to the Nazi banking and industrial interests. But what of Mr. Acheson? Does his law firm—Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson, and Shorb—have no foreign clients? Has he resigned utterly and in fact from that firm or is he still guided and influenced by their international accounts and clients?

There are many matters of wonder in this entire policy. This bill is being forced on the country by the State Department on the pretext that we must keep Russia from overrunning and dominating Greece and Turkey by having our military advisers in those countries and by building up their defenses.

Yet our own military experts agree that if Russia really wanted to overrun those countries we could not pour enough men and arms in there to hold the Russians back, even if there had never been a Hiroshima.

In this morning's newspaper I read that Under Secretary of State Acheson asserts that we must start rebuilding Germany and Japan. At the same time he insists upon passage of this relief bill for the victims of those who were responsible for bringing on the greatest war of all time, costing us \$400,000,000,000 and 300,000 lives and 700,000 casualties, destroying altogether nearly 20,000,000 lives. For those favors, Mr. Acheson says, we must now start making them strong again. For what? To start another world war?

DEAD LINE HAS PASSED

We were told with the voice of doom that April 1 was the dead line. Well, this is the 9th day of May, and has anything happened in Greece or Turkey? If Russia really had any desire to march into those countries, she had plenty of time. If things were as desperate as painted, our frontier on the Aegean was pretty thinly guarded for almost 6 weeks.

On the other hand, we are about to authorize the appropriation of \$400,000,000 with which to punish those who fought on our side, who suffered far more in loss of lives and property and resources than we did, at the hands of the Germans and the Japs, for whom Mr. Acheson says we must now rebuild.

Rebuild for whom? For the cartels and the international traders who supported the wars of Hitler and the Japanese war lords?

It is unthinkable.

WHY MUST WE REBUILD GERMANY AND JAPAN?

Only 2 days ago we observed the second anniversary of VE-day, when the Nazi empire crashed utterly and left Germany prostrate, without a government, after 6 years of annihilating warfare.

We have not yet brought home the bodies of our brave men who fell in Europe, in the Pacific, in north Africa, because of Germany and Japan.

The ruined cities of Europe are not yet rebuilt; the people have not enough food or clothes or shelter; General Clay announces that if necessary he will use our troops to force Germans to give up their

hoarded stocks of food so that all can share equally.

Yet, Mr. Acheson can say we must—I repeat, he said “must”—“push ahead with the reconstruction” of Germany and Japan.

I feel that we should pause and take stock.

I regret personally that my conscience cannot permit me to support this bill; that I fear it will weaken the United Nations; that I fear it will hurt rather than help the cause of world peace and economic stability.

If we strengthen, not weaken; if we build up, not tear down; if we affirm, not deny, the principle and the fact of the United Nations, the 51 signatory powers will be in far better position together to stop Russia, if need be, than the United States and the disintegrating British Empire by themselves.

(Mr. REED of New York asked and was granted permission to revise and extend the remarks he made earlier today.)

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

[Mr. HOEVEN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment, which is at the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana:

“Sec. 8. In adopting this act the Congress expresses its approval of and reliance upon the statement made by the Secretary of State on February 14, 1947, with reference to Greece, and in particular the hope therein expressed on behalf of the Government of the United States for the political cooperation of all loyal Greek parties for a dynamic program in Greece of amnesty coupled with the disarming of illegal bands, just and vigorous tax reforms, modernization of the civil service, realistic financial controls, and even-handed disposition of justice.”

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Montana is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a consent request?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, will this be taken out of my time?

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman yields it will be taken out of his time.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Then, Mr. Chairman, I decline to yield.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. The gentleman from Montana declined to yield. The gentleman from Montana was recognized and he refused to yield. I submit the point of order comes too late.

The CHAIRMAN. There were various gentlemen seeking recognition.

The gentleman from Alabama will state his point of order.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order against the amendment on the ground that it is not germane to the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Montana desire to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will hear the gentleman briefly.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, I maintain that the point of order comes too late. I had been recognized for 5 minutes and I had refused to yield.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Alabama care to be heard on the point of order?

Mr. JARMAN. No; I do not care to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is prepared to rule.

The Chair has examined the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana. It seems to be a statement of policy which is related entirely to the extension of aid to Greece provided under the act.

The Chair overrules the point of order.

The gentleman from Montana will proceed.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, on February 14, 1947, the Secretary of State made the following statement at his press conference:

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY MARSHALL ON
REFORMS IN GREECE

I have been asked by several correspondents for the views of the Department on the recent broadening of the Greek Government, which I now understand is representative, from a party point of view, of almost 90 percent of the members of Parliament. We welcome this move as an indication that responsible Greek leaders are aware of the urgent necessity of subordinating narrow or personal interests to the greater ideal of national reconstruction.

We are all deeply concerned with the welfare of Greece and with the restoration in that country of economic and political stability, destroyed during the war by the occupation forces of the enemy whose deliberate aim was to leave Greece economically ruined, and by aggravating internal factionalism, to paralyze the Greek body politic. Greece's long history of devotion to liberty and democratic ideals entitles her to the sympathy and respect of the world. It is to the interest of the United States and of all the United Nations that Greece be assisted to maintain her independence and territorial integrity. However, no amount of assistance can prove effective or of lasting benefit unless the Greek people themselves are prepared to work together resolutely for their own salvation.

The road to recovery is a difficult one, calling for the same unity and mutual confidence required for resistance to armed attack. No country divided against itself can hope to solve problems which are national in scope and which affect all citizens and not merely those of one particular political belief. Economic health can be restored only by a comprehensive program in which the whole Greek people participate and to which all make their appropriate contributions. Law-abiding citizens whose main desire is to be allowed to live and work in peace can offer little help to their country as long as they are intimidated by armed extremists of whatever political complexion.

This Government hopes that the recent broadening of the Greek Government is a sign that the Greek people are turning away from the past and forgetting bygone differences, are beginning to face the future with confidence and in substantial unity. It also hopes that this recent development is merely a first step in the direction of the broadest political cooperation of all loyal Greek parties and that partisan differences will be submerged in a dynamic program of amnesty coupled with the disarming of illegal bands, just and rigorous tax reforms, modernization of the civil service, realistic financial controls, and the even-handed dispensation of justice.

That press release was dated February 14, 1947, and fully explains my amendment. You will note that this amendment contains the exact words of Secretary Marshall, and as it contains his sentiments and my own on this very important matter, I urge the Committee to adopt it.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, at the suggestion of the majority leadership which is anxious to conclude action on this bill today, I move that all debate on the bill and all amendments thereto close at 6 o'clock.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Can the time be divided so that those who have not had an opportunity to speak on this bill may do so? I have waited here 4 days to say something, and have not been able to, while some have spoken on the bill a dozen times.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The motion was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana) there were—ayes, 18, noes 128. So the amendment was rejected.

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, like all thoughtful Americans, I know what the people back home are thinking about—thinking of the future of America.

Their boys—their neighbors' boys—came home from the war not many months ago. They wanted to relax—enjoy their return. They wanted peace and quiet—to visit with their neighbors—to work, to plant, to harvest, to listen to the radio for entertainment—to enjoy the quiet and peaceful way of life and to just enjoy all the wonderful advantages we have in America. Oh yes, they knew we had irritations—the OPA, railroad strikes, coal strikes—but through it all they knew and I knew that these hindrances would pass away—and we would all enjoy our bountiful America after years of strife and agony—of

not knowing what the next day would bring in the way of sorrow.

We believed in an fanciful United Nations to stop all aggression in the world. No more wars. Earnestly they prayed for all of this. They knew there was no totalitarian regime in this country to cause them to fear arrest, torture, and a concentration camp. But now after months of waiting—what do we see approaching—Russia with its communist doctrine.

The Communist doctrine ridicules as hypocrisy the Christian concepts of charity, virtue, monogamous marriage, and home life. Lenin instituted a post-card divorce and remarriage law. All a man had to do was drop a post card in the mail stating he had ceased to live with one woman and was living with another. This morally irresponsible way of life is against every one of the world's leading religions—all of which teach the sanctity of marriage. Communists regard the home and family life as evils to be abolished. The young are to be provided with institutional rearing. The Communists constantly trample underfoot the press, the radio—poking fun at our Christian American way of life and advocate the Marxian system of Godless pagan principles. They are out to destroy America—free enterprise, profit system, and rights of individuals to own anything. Their way would be rationed, centralized, all for the state policy.

The American Council of Christian Churches had adopted a strong resolution calling upon the church people of America to stand solidly against any further appeasement of Russia. They declare the Christian doctrines are now challenged by aggressive communism.

Many loudly proclaim liberalism but most of the liberalism of a lot of societies is nothing more or less than counterfeit communism.

The Greek proposal is simply to my mind an action for the defense of our country. From every cemetery in Europe and in the Pacific, where sleep our American comrades, comes a reminder of our pledge—that war must not come again. We tried appeasement after World War I. Today Russia feels secure—that we are too occupied with domestic friction—our isolationist background—an indifferent attitude to do anything about her aggressive foreign policy.

I know the full import of this stand. Russian domination means revolution by Communists to gain power. Police and firing squads to wipe out opposition—and requisition of all valuable factories and goods to be taken to Russia. Russian countries are areas of poverty.

The United States offers a stabilized peace—a build-up of the countries—that believe in the Bill of Rights.

By contrast, Russia offers these things:

First. Revolution in all countries for Communists to gain control.

Second. An international police to advise on terror and liquidation of opponents.

Third. Requisition of factories and supplies to build up Russia.

Fourth. Russian-dominated countries will be poverty areas.

Russia has sought and has gained strategic victories by maneuvering her fifth columns and political weapons against weak countries.

From the Baltic to the Adriatic, behind the iron curtain, lie all the capitals of central and eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia and their millions are under the control of communism. Athens, the birthplace of democracy, alone is not under communist power.

In peace as in war, the only strategy that succeeds is an offensive one.

Oh! You say we cannot fight communism with bombs—I agree, but you can fight an idea with a better idea—if you back up your idea with planning and money.

You cannot use the United Nations because Russia has the veto power. She has consistently used this veto power for everything we proposed. Does anyone think she would not use it in the Greek-Turkey question?

The United States must assume the leadership and expect to rally all other peace-loving people who believe in a bill of rights, to our side.

The basic trouble is that Russia, like all dictator nations in the past, thinks appeasement is weakness. Communism is the only force in the world today that threatens peace.

To sum it all up, our action in Greece and Turkey is an action to build them up, not an action to take over the British interests. It is just an action for defense of American people and will prevent World War III.

The alternative of not aiding Greece and Turkey is far more serious than aiding them.

I believe communism to be the enemy of true democracy and all religion, the outspoken foe of all freedom, and in fact the headquarters of the greatest slave market the world has ever known.

What is pressing in on Greece is not a few mountain rebels, but Russian communism. This terrific force is trying to break through as a further step toward setting up world communism.

After two world wars in our generation, we should know by now that you cannot stop aggression by appeasement.

I again repeat—Russia will not stop. She uses the same tactics as Hitler, preaching appeasement, lulling her enemies into a sense of security—and then devouring them.

Do not forget this—some think communism is a political party. It is far more than that, it is a way of life; and remember, Joe Stalin said last spring, "Communism and capitalism cannot survive in the same world. Capitalism must be destroyed."

In case of doubt on any question, I will always be on the side of what I believe to be for the best interests of our country, and alongside of this I am convinced no nation can be strong except in the strength of God or safe except in His defense.

I shall vote for aid to Greece and Turkey.

Mr. MACY. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. MACY. Mr. Chairman, it is not without misgivings that I support this measure which is, in my opinion, a doubtful stopgap against the flood of European statism.

The best we can hope for from a governmental panacea of this sort is the retarding of out and out statism in countries where many assert that statism is inevitable unless our free enterprise system is proven workable outside our own borders in a modern economic age.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

AMERICA'S MORAL LEADERSHIP WILL BE HELPED, NOT HURT, BY THE EXTENSION OF AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, two objections have been repeatedly urged against this bill: First, that America's moral leadership will be damaged and, second, that the program authorized by the measure would expose us to startling new dangers.

Now, let us look at this charge that moral principles are involved. The hearings are deficient in this respect. A number of witnesses representing various organizations appeared before the committee to plead that any display of force to protect the independence of Greece and Turkey would impair our moral position in the world.

In the debate today, opponents have asserted that the bill would bypass the United Nations and would hurt our influence in the world. They invoke the principles of moral leadership. The implication is that use of force is incompatible with a strong moral position. They speak of the rule of law as if it can be maintained without an enforcing power. The hope of a long reign of peace is indeed the United Nations, but that hope will never be realized until an adequate force is at the disposal of that great agency. It should be a latent force, but it must be available just as the police force is available for the execution of judgments in the domestic courts of this land. No one can seriously contend that the United Nations is so equipped today.

Some of the voices raised in protest against the use of force to put down disorder and to protect the independence of Greece and Turkey against any force at all, even that exerted by a multilateral agency devoted to the peace. Underlying this point of view is the false assumption that force is used only by violators of the peace. Brigands use force, peaceful men must not behave like that. But police must use guns, too. I am not arguing here for military activity by the United States in the affected area except to the very limited extent outlined by the bill. I am arguing only that the strengthening of these two nations whose peace and sovereignty is threatened is not only justified in the light of our own national-security needs but is an act of international morality. It

would be immoral not to exert ourselves in defense of our institutions and our ideals. If we were setting ourselves against the policies and aims of the United Nations the arguments of those who speak of moral leadership would have validity but Mr. Warren Austin's message to the Congress dispells any semblance of support for that contention.

I think I know what is in the minds of the opponents and I appreciate their earnest and sincere espousal of a cause. They should not be dismissed with the reply that they may have their moral claims, that we will be practical. To be sure ours is the practical way but it is also the stronger position morally. It is unfortunate that the banners of idealism were seized by groups whose record before Pearl Harbor and afterward reflected an unwillingness to defend our beliefs.

Do we believe in liberty? Do we believe in international decency and in respect for the rights of small nations? Do we believe in the standards of national morality that have made America stand out? Do we believe enough in these things to sacrifice for them? That is the issue and to decide that issue on the basis of using our resources for defending a strategic area in the world is to exhibit moral leadership.

The other objection is that the action contemplated by the bill would lead us into dangers—conceivably, it would. It is only because the other alternative is even more dangerous that we should accept this course. Surely the preceding speakers have been convincing on that point. The dilemma is not pleasant. The bill involves heavy expenditures at a time when we all wish to spare our burdened people. It is only because the dangers of inaction are greater and are certainly more imminent that we should approve this bill.

Our world is full of dangers and perhaps it will continue to be a dangerous world till the youngest among us are old men. We cannot escape danger. The colored preacher who lived down our way was right. He was asked if he had prepared his people for the dangers of the atomic bomb and his reply was, "No, I have not. I figure that we are always here at a very great risk."

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. CARROLL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that all Members desiring to extend their remarks may do so at this point in the RECORD.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

GIVING TO BOTH SIDES

Mr. WEICHEL. Mr. Chairman, while the House is debating the present bill of money to Greece for the supposed purpose of stopping the spread of communism throughout the world, at the same time, and while the debates are going on to give this money, our Government is actually sending millions of dollars of goods and machinery to Russia. Only

this week there are locomotives going from my district direct to Russia and in addition machinery for mining. And in the New York Times of Wednesday, May 7, the State Department is now making arrangements to exchange 50 Russian scientists so that Russia might have full and complete scientific information as to what is going on in this country. By what kind of reasoning can the State Department ask for hundreds of millions of dollars to stop the spread of communism and at the same time give to Russia untold millions of dollars of heavy durable goods in the way of railway equipment, farming machinery, and mining machinery and invite 50 Russian scientists to come to this country to have the benefit of our scientific achievements.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Chairman, it is admitted that the proposed loan for Greece and Turkey is for a military adventure aimed at stopping Communist aggression.

It is needless for me to say that I now and always have opposed communism or any attempt to force any kind of a totalitarian form of government upon our people. I have never hesitated to speak against Communist aggression and call attention to the menace of that foreign ideology. I have spent many hours trying to bring to the attention of my people what communism would do to this country. However, I am voting against this loan for I believe that the immediate situation in Greece, and similar problems in the Middle East and elsewhere, are definitely in the realm of the United Nations responsibility and not that of the United States or any other one country alone.

Approval of this loan will lead to similar demands from many other countries. Korea, China, India, Iran, Iraq, and others will contend they are endangered by Communist aggression and request aid from this country. Demands will come thick and fast. I believe it is of far more importance that we first try to set our own house in order by combatting communism here at home. Instead of authorizing huge gift-loans for foreign countries I believe we should give first consideration to providing adequate hospitalization and medical care for our disabled veterans and better welfare benefits for our elder citizens.

No one knows how much the new foreign policy we are embarking upon will cost, or when that cost will end. No one knows how many other countries will demand aid of us to stop the spread of communism. No one knows whether the enactment of this policy will result in war or in peace. No one knows whether this is the best way or the worst way to accomplish our desired purpose of bringing peace, liberty, and freedom to the peoples of the world.

If this new proposed foreign policy is to cost the fifteen to thirty billion dollars many estimate it will, if we are to continue to furnish the food, the clothing, the machinery, and the equipment the world demands, there is a strong possibility we shall so weaken ourselves here at home as to fall an easy prey to those Communists within our own country

who are attempting to destroy our representative form of government.

During this debate, our able colleague, Representative REED of New York, inserted in the RECORD a printed article stating that Lenin, godfather of communism, boldly declared: "We shall oblige America to spend herself into destruction." The endless schemes of planners to spend the American Republic toward destruction are without end. Is it only a coincidence that this mad spending fits perfectly into the well-known and diabolical Communist objective to bankrupt us? Where will this proposal to pour money into every trouble spot in Europe end?

From a humanitarian standpoint we should be willing to aid starving people abroad with our surplus food and supplies, but we cannot continue to consistently finance the rest of the world without eventually bankrupting our own country.

If we really want to aid the peace movement we should pass House Resolution 73 which abolishes compulsory military training throughout the world.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Chairman, the matter of Greek-Turkish assistance, now before us, can properly and promptly be resolved if you will ask yourselves these few pertinent questions:

Are you for or against communistic encroachment upon the world?

Are you for democracy's survival or against it?

Are you of normal vision or myopic?

Are you sincere or hypocritical?

Are you debating or just gassing?

Are you thinking or just guessing?

Are you saving or wasting precious time?

Are you talking cash or conversation?

Are you talking sense or nonsense?

Are you putting up or shutting up?

Are you serious or just demagoging?

Are you saving or wasting?

Are you penny-wise or pound-foolish?

It is as simple as all that.

Mr. HULL. Mr. Chairman, for many weeks, the Congress has been reviewing appropriation bills for every domestic purpose. Discharges of millions of employees have been demanded, and to the extent of at least a million of such employees have been released. The activities of departments have been and still are being curtailed. Projects which have been underway have been abandoned, and others forbidden. Even now, in appropriation bills still to be considered, threats are made regarding appropriations to expand the Rural Electrification program, which has become so essential to agricultural progress in all parts of the country. Other activities for the benefit of agriculture likewise are being condemned. The reclamation policy also is to be crippled and denied the loans through which expansion would be possible.

There is scarcely a program or policy relating to domestic affairs which will escape the ban as the fiscal measures are brought in. The Federal budget is to be balanced and a reduction of income taxes brought about. Not in many years have so many proposals for economy in Government been proposed. Many of them

are likely to become effective. Even the school-lunch funds, which have been so valuable to millions of school pupils, are under consideration for curtailment or abandonment. The many thousand young pupils in the day schools for Indians may be put on the list of the hungry, as well as the destitute, if the will of the advocates of economy is to prevail.

Hours might be spent in barely enumerating the items which it is proposed to pare down to the limit.

All this is necessary in the views of some proponents of economy. Our huge national debt is pointed to with shivers of fear. Our country is said to be in a sorry plight, and worse may come. Our economic stability is so seriously threatened, according to some, that only by the most drastic measures can it be saved. The prospect of an early commercial and industrial depression which will affect town and country alike, is emphasized among the dangers said to be imminent.

While all these dismal predictions are being made as to the fiscal situation, Congress is being urged to provide most expansive and extravagant appropriations to foreign countries, amounting to billions of dollars in the next year, with a continuance of the policy of extravagance indefinitely in the future. When considering domestic appropriations, the need of keeping America strong is declared. When pressure is applied from foreign capitals, we are asked to reverse our attitude and permit our country to become exhausted and possibly made bankrupt in an attempt to stabilize the economy of all other countries.

In our own affairs, every request for appropriations is carefully scanned. Every proposal must be justified in detail. In foreign loans and grants, the most meager information is acted upon, and not even investigation and supervision of expenditures is required.

At present, according to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the requests actually under consideration by Congress for the assistance of foreign countries amount to \$1,995,000,000—nearly \$2,000,000,000. The same committee compiles a list of estimated expenditures of such loans and grants which far exceeds the requests. Its total is placed at \$3,643,000,000. That total does not include expenditures for our armed forces in occupied countries abroad.

The bill before Congress for assistance to Greece and Turkey is only one of the many which will come up for action. It provides \$400,000,000 for its purposes.

Of that, \$11,000,000 are proposed to be expended on the railways of Greece. There is not a word in the committee report as to how such a figure has been arrived at, nor as to how many private fortunes will be restored; not a word as to the foreign stockholders in such railways. Out of thin air, comes the estimate. No provision is made for a just and complete accounting of the moneys spent.

For the Greek Army it is proposed to expend \$150,000,000. After VE-day, our Army had to exceed \$10,000,000,000 of surplus war commodities abroad. It was sold or given away to various governments. Who is to furnish the additional

supplies for the Greek Army? Are they to be bought in our own country, to the further profit of our munition makers, or sold by the nations which obtained such immense supplies from our surplus commodities practically abandoned to them under lend-lease or otherwise.

Similar questions might be asked regarding the \$20,000,000 for agricultural rehabilitation, and \$50,000,000 for reconstruction. How much of the \$80,000,000 for consumer goods will go for the poor and destitute, instead of for commodities less essential. Over \$50,000,000 now are available under other appropriations for the direct relief of the destitute of Greece, and other funds are available from UNRRA. This bill and the committee report do not give any assurance that the poor of Greece will be cared for. Our experience under the distribution of foodstuffs by UNRRA was so deplorable that even the facts about it are unobtainable. Why should Congress blindly vote away \$400,000,000 without even the possibility of knowing for what it will be spent, who will get it, and who will make exorbitant profits at home or abroad because of such congressional indefiniteness in the measure under consideration.

For Turkey, an even \$100,000,000 are provided, mainly for the armies of that country to be expended by the Government of Turkey. Not a line provides for any accounting, any explanation of how it is to be spent, nor where and to whom.

This step toward sending out more billions of money to foreign lands for uncontrolled spending is justified by some as necessary to fight communism and stop the expansion of Russian power in Europe. However commendable such a purpose may be, will this measure prove effective? Is it the first step toward another World War, as some seem to fear? The vast majority of our people are opposed to communism in our own country, and to its spread in Europe. They are as strongly opposed to Russian domination which in the remotest degree threatens the security of our country at home or abroad. But will this measure bring any assurance that it will prove effective?

Have we not had our own experience in Yugoslavia, where Marshal Tito's military dictatorship wheedled over \$600,000,000 from our post-war relief program? That dictator built up his army and his political gang with the funds. He now is an associate in any plans for Russian aggression, and spread of communism. The poor and destitute of his land received almost nothing. The funds were spent to build up a totalitarian dictatorship whose existence has become an additional threat to Greece. Because of it, this measure is deemed necessary. Our generosity has been turned against us by Tito and his gangsters.

Days have been spent in debating this measure in the House. Minor amendments have been appended in the other House. It remains incomplete for our own protection and for the purpose for which it is proposed. Before Congress sends more funds abroad, it should make a full and complete investigation as to what has been done with the billions al-

ready spent. It should safeguard any further appropriation against wanton waste, extravagance, and squandering which has characterized all our endeavors to win peace for the world by huge sums from our own treasury.

Mr. Chairman, it has been fully evident, throughout this debate, that we have all been gaging the risks that are potentially inherent in this measure. There are some who do not see the necessity of intervening in any situation anywhere beyond our boundaries. Some would not intervene here in Greece and Turkey, but would step in somewhere else.

For my own part, I have come to the considered conclusion that it is time to draw the line—now.

It is time to give the bipartisan foreign policy of the United States force and effect now.

It is time to say "Thus far and no farther" to Communist leadership and design. So far, Communist policy has done nothing but push and shove to expand its frontiers.

Unchecked, Soviet leadership will inevitably challenge the world and, therefore, challenge our own American security and interests.

The threat of communism in the Greece-Turkey area must be halted. Today, in Greece, we are witness to communism ruthlessly pushing its way through the creation of strife and turmoil, poverty, hunger, through the desperations of a stricken people.

If we are concretely, realistically, to champion the rights of freedom, we must help sustain those things freedom means. Without our helping hand, through the practical aid that this bill would afford, there is no other outlook in this now blighted area of the world except of human subjugation, human degradation, and political chaos. Communism is on the march, communism that fattens on poverty and the desperate discouragements of human beings; communism that counts on such situations for its acceptance that contrives and connives at conditions where a stricken people, in order to live, will exchange freedom, self-respect, human dignity, for a minimum of protection and existence.

It is unfortunate that the United Nations today are not in a position to undertake directly to prevent Communist aggression in this near eastern area and to help in the rehabilitation and strengthening of Greece and Turkey. Certainly, if the United Nations today were not powerless to act—and we all know why it cannot act—it would be its objective, as it is ours, to aid in the rehabilitation of this area.

We all know the strategic importance of Greece and Turkey in world geography. Control of them means control of the "underbelly of Europe." It means control of the Mediterranean; it means control of the Dardanelles; it means flanking pressure on all the borders of the Mediterranean area.

If communism moves in, it will have a strong strategic position from which to maneuver and to mount pressure campaigns on southern Europe, Asia Minor, north Africa, and eventually South America.

Knowing as we do the history of Soviet actions and policy, I simply cannot bring myself to believe that Communist leaders would be reluctant to seize this opportunity, should we provide it by failing to give support to Greece and Turkey.

It is not enough to think in terms of the world today. It is not enough, also, to rest on our own power and strength as we know it today. The world will move on and we are under the heavy obligation to leave nothing undone at any time to strengthen our present and future security position.

We should not be willing to gamble the future of the United States for the sake of attempting to save the sums of money represented in this Greece-Turkey aid proposal. It is an investment that I feel we should make, both for our future security and to help achieve lasting world peace.

If Communist leaders want peace, a simple matter of aid to Greece and Turkey will not break it. If they are bent on war, no amount of appeasement can stop it.

The choice, then, is not in our hands. We have no choice but to take our stand, with that of other peace-loving nations, at key points of the world, and take it now while we still can fashion and influence the things to come.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Chairman, I have followed the debates on the Greek-Turkish loan with intense feeling. The issues are complex and clouded by many excellent bursts of oratory and fine speeches, but under the maze of arguments a true and strong undercurrent flows. The basic issue, as I see it, is the defense of the United States.

The great majority of the Members of this Congress are utterly opposed to the ideology and practice of communism. The defense of this continent and the world from the imposition of Communist government and rule calls for varied plans and courses to follow.

This particular piece of legislation sets forth one of these plans in strong language. It serves notice upon the Russian Government that the United States is still willing to make sacrifices to attain the goals for which its sons have fought. It is a complete reversal of the heretofore prominent approach of appeasement, which so miserably failed against Hitler, and is so miserably failing against Stalin. Appeasement has always been the approach of the democratic countries, where man has faith in his fellow man, where war is abhorred at almost any price. But there are some things which no freedom-loving man will endure, and when appeasement fails time after time, war stalks the world.

Today we are called upon to act to end the period of appeasement of Communist rule. It has been eloquently argued that this is a commitment toward war. But it has been equally well argued that this is the better calculated risk. It is better to call a bluff when you know the strength of your opponent's hand than to wait until he has gained strength by effectively manipulating his bluffs over a period of years.

The people of the United States have showed almost unanimous accord in supporting the trend to be positive in our

dealings with Russia. When the Honorable James F. Byrnes was Secretary of State he was lauded for his efforts to be firm with Russia. Secretary Marshall has been praised for continuing and strengthening this stand. Today Secretary Marshall and the President are asking for our support of a positive program to oppose the spread of communism into the free countries of the world.

If we let them down here, as the representatives of the people of this great Nation, we are giving Stalin and his puppets the green light. Theodore Roosevelt urged that the United States speak softly, but carry a big stick. Secretary Marshall is asking for a big stick. Shall we give it to him, or shall we tell him to continue his fight with words without the true support of the Nation? The basic problem is one of defense of this Nation from Communist aggression. Viewing the problem in this light, I feel that the Greek-Turkish loan merits my vote.

Mr. PLUMLEY. Mr. Chairman, such prolonged debate on the vital question before us as that to which we have listened in all probability will not change a single vote.

I do not propose to discuss the matter at any length, because, in the first place as I have said before, I reiterate, the time for talk has passed. We face today the heavy responsibility of bringing peace to a war torn world. The unsettled conditions which make this problem so difficult of solution are familiar to us all. They present a real challenge to our generation; one which we cannot ignore nor fail to meet. The course which we chart during the coming months will determine whether the world is to march forward into an era of lasting peace or merely snatch a fitful breather before plunging headlong into another war.

The framework for peace is, in the main, being designed by two great nations—our own and Russia. The struggle for its design goes on apace. Anxious eyes follow every move of these principal contenders, seeking to determine the shape of the final outcome. The attitude and statements of our representatives to the United Nations and to the peace conferences are being analyzed in the light of the actions we are taking here at home.

As Delegate Warren Austin has repeatedly said, the proposed aid to Greece and Turkey does not bypass the United Nations, but is and would be a most necessary and contributing support to the United Nations Charter.

We need to act promptly, in the interest of international peace and to attune our military policy to the requirements of our foreign policy. We should move without further delay to strengthen our hand at the peace table by enacting the proposed legislation. Time is of the essence. Unless we stop talking and go to doing something in our own interest we will wake up again to find we have done too little too late. Can we learn nothing from experience?

In my judgment the passage of the act before us will prevent, it will not provoke, war. So I shall vote for it and against all crippling amendments.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, this legislation, it seems to me, involves four over-all broad considerations:

1. THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM WITH ITS DENIAL OF WESTERN CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

This is not the first time the East has challenged the the West. Attila and his Huns were turned back at Chalons in the fifth century. The Mohammedans were turned back at Tours in the ninth century. Both movements reached France and were there stopped.

In the sixteenth century, the Turks drove to the middle of Europe. They have gradually retreated under pressure to the Dardanelles and have remained at the Bosphorus because of their international value in guarding this ancient strategic bridge between Europe and Asia.

The world is big enough for its peoples if properly oriented. They have terrible times keeping settled down. Between ambitious, selfish, and power-drunk leaders and the people imagining vain things, there are political eruptions here and there at times engulfing the whole planet. The age of the aggressor may not be over; but nations and peoples that selfishly throw their weight around are no more to be tolerated. Communism has ample space in eastern Europe and Asia to work out its destiny.

2. THE FEAR OF WORLD WAR III

This can never be prevented by placing our country in a "sitting duck" position. America should have a positive, affirmative, foreign policy. The nations of the earth should know, without the peradventure of a doubt, where we stand and what we stand for. They should feel and full pressure of our implementation of that policy. Let us never be a saber rattler nor a pollyanna appeaser. Unskilled diplomacy follows these bankrupt policies. Both of them invite war. America should stand for justice and freedom, fair and mutually reciprocal economic relations, religious and social education leading to practical ways of peace, and a spirit of good will without complacency to all peoples. All peoples and nations have their points of interest.

3. THE BYPASSING OF THE UNITED NATIONS

I have been an advocate of a League of or a United Nations since the days of Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson. I still believe in a World Court and the development of international law. The United Nations can never act as an executive force until it has a police force. The nations have not gotten around to this yet. Some day they will. Atomic energy and modern implements of war may drive them to it before they can be educated to the ways of peace. Otherwise many may prepare to go the way of Babylon, Athens, Rome, and Angkor. I do not think this bill bypasses the United Nations in practical effect. It is unfortunate that the action proposed in this bill has not grown too vigorously out of its Council and Assembly, but it apparently could not. On the other hand, I have not liked some implications involved in the early approach to this legislation. I hope they prove unfounded, and that the implementation of this legislation will be placed on the highest level of moral, social, and patriotic consideration.

4. THE EXPENDITURE OF \$400,000,000

I would like to save that, too. We could well use it here at home. But if it forestalls a third world war, it will be well spent. If the communistic forces in eastern and central Europe want peace, our action will not provoke war. If they want war, this action may prevent it.

Mr. TWYMAN: Mr. Chairman, the proponents of this bill saw fit to divide among themselves the majority of the time to be devoted to this debate. At first I did not like the idea, as I felt that those who were opposed to this bill should have equal time. However, it is just as well because the more the advocates of President Truman's measure talk, the easier it becomes for Members of Congress to vote against this bill. The smoke screen is lifting. We are seeing this thing more realistically. The proposal first started out on the claim that it would stop communism. It is seen now that it will not stop communism and was never so intended. One gentleman was very frank when he said, "The resolution is military in character and for that reason and that alone I give it my wholehearted support." Another gentleman said, "I do not know much about the detail of its import, nevertheless, I am convinced that it is for the best interests of our country that it be adopted."

It is slowly becoming quite apparent that the stopping of communism and the spreading of freedom are phrases that should not be used in this discussion. The figure \$400,000,000 should be erased and a blank left in its stead, because it is admitted by proponents and opponents of this bill that this is liable to cost us between fifteen and twenty billion dollars. The most energetic advocate for this proposal guarantees nothing and assures nothing.

What we are going to do if we do anything is to protect a lot of international interests, and they are not necessarily American interests in the Near East. Why not be frank about it? Why deceive ourselves as to what the true object is? The real advocates for this bill are the big international interests. I have no quarrel with the international interests. If they want to protect their properties I hardly blame them, but they are not going to protect them with American boys and American dollars. We have just emerged from a very weakening World War. We are just digging ourselves out from all of the restrictions that go with a war and a Commander in Chief. To engage upon this hazardous venture would mean the return of price controls, rent controls, the impossibility of even considering corrective labor legislation, or reducing the budget or cutting taxes, or any of the things that we set out to do so bravely when this Congress first met. I shudder when I think of the possibility of the passage of this measure.

When the President spoke to this body at a joint session on March 12 we were told that this was an urgent matter that must be completed by the 31st of March. The 31st of March has come and gone, and this is no more urgent now than it was then. If it ever becomes necessary for us to take such a dangerous step, we

can always do so. Delay will result one way only, and that is to make America strong. The best safeguard against communism or any other false ideology is a strong United States. I am beginning to believe that the urgency that existed before March 31 was for the purpose of making a show of strength when General Marshall went to Moscow. If that was the case, it is no longer necessary, because General Marshall is back home. The outcome of his visit to the Kremlin is fairly well known. If we really want to show our strength to Russia we will in the future insist that any future conference of an international nature involving the United States should be held in the city of Washington. This should be the meeting place and not the Kremlin.

To those of you who may be in doubt as to how to vote on this bill I urge you to vote against it.

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Chairman, in supporting H. R. 2616, the Greek-Turkish loan, I am doing it with a conviction that we are obligated to uphold Secretary of State Marshall who has made a last minute appeal to the House for passage of the bill. I still have some doubts about the advisability of this action, but feel that we must resolve these doubts in favor of the bill when a man in a position of Marshall has asked such cooperation.

Russia, it seems, has most respected us when we have been firm with her. This bill is a definite move in the direction of a firm policy toward her.

The situation today resembles a similar one before World War II. One of the saddest stories of that war was the way we treated Finland, the only nation who honored her debts with us to the last. Yet, theoretically she was our enemy. Why? War makes some strange bedfellows. Because of being allied with Russia we had to treat Finland, who had ruthlessly been previously overrun by Russia, as an enemy. Finland naturally fell in line with Germany as her only source of redress. If I were a leader of that hapless country, I may have voted to do as she did.

Russia had a treaty with Germany before she was attacked by the hordes of Hitler. It was doubtful which way she was going until Germany struck. Furthermore, previous to this as the German armies pushed through Poland, the Russians stepped in. Why, to help Poland? No. For her own selfish interests, in taking sections of Poland which she now retains.

What has Russia done with the three little Baltic countries, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania? She claimed to take them during the war into protective custody, but I notice that she is still protecting them. At least, from the Soviet's way of thinking.

And so it will be with Greece and Turkey if the United States does not actually assist them.

I have heard some say this aid is in violation to our Monroe Doctrine, but it is not. Greece and Turkey have asked for this assistance. The passage of this bill is a continuation of an international policy of ours for half a century or more.

On their invitation, aid was sent Cuba and the Philippines in 1898. Had it not been for American intervention following the Boxer uprising in China in 1900, that nation was heading for vassalage or partition, but John Hay, American Secretary of State, stubbornly insisted on the open-door policy.

Of course Russia and her sympathizers are against this bill. That is proof to me that her plan is to gradually allow these countries to weaken, even she appears to participate in it, and then take them over as she has done with others, one country after another.

If this bill is defeated now, it will be taken as a vote of confidence to Russia, and a signal to the world that we are again going to take the position of isolation which we were accused of before World War II.

It is my belief that in every country where communism now dominates, except Russia, it is where a strongly organized minority have taken over the Government by force.

Some have claimed that passage of this bill will bypass the United Nations, but that is not true. For months Greece has asked for assistance from that body, but due to Russia's clever plan of hindering action, nothing has been done thus far.

Senator VANDENBERG's amendment to this bill permits the Security Council of the United Nations the right to defer United States assistance by a majority vote, and we waive our veto.

I have confidence in democracy and the American way of life. This bill to aid Greece and Turkey is a step to continue its principles and prevent the spread of communism, the greatest threat on earth to democracy today.

Mr. JENISON. Mr. Chairman, as the House has debated through three long days this properly controversial measure to grant \$400,000,000 of the American taxpayers' money to the Greek and Turkish Governments, almost every point of contention has been reviewed, and many has been repeated, as speaker after speaker came to the well of this House to express approval or disapproval of the so-called Truman policy.

I have wondered if I had any reason to rise to speak beyond the desire to give emphasis by repetition of the able remarks by colleagues who feel as I do in this matter. It has occurred to me that perhaps there are a few thoughts I might add in justice to the constituents I have the honor to represent. May I preface my remarks, however, with the observation that I face this issue convinced there is no division of opinion on either side of the aisle or within the ranks of either party as to our motive in this legislation. We are as one in seeking to pursue the course best calculated to preserve for this Nation the honored institutions of a free people devoted to the cause of liberty at home. We are as one in our desire to extend a helping hand toward people elsewhere similarly devoted to free institutions and equally willing to pay the price of liberty. And, finally, we are as one in our firm determination to take the course best calculated to protect our own land and our own people from the threat of destruction from any source, internal or external.

I submit, therefore, that our only point of difference is whether the legislation proposed will accomplish its purpose. I contend it will not. I contend it will not bring us added protection abroad. I contend it will not shore up the forces of freedom abroad. I contend it will not implement the cause of peace so dearly won. Rather it will add new fuel to which the spark of world conflagration might be applied at any moment with consequences too catastrophic for the human mind to grasp.

The sum of \$400,000,000 will not buy continued peace abroad. If appeasement is to be shunned, then the attempt to settle the problems of the world with American dollars is to be shunned for it is nothing more than a financial Munich.

Even the proponents of this legislation hesitate to say these dollars will do the job. There is an implication amounting to admission that more will be necessary—and more, and more, and more. Where will it stop and where will it end? It will stop with the complete financial collapse of the only world power left today with a hope of solvency and it can end only in an America reduced to the helpless, hapless level of the lands and the people we seek to help.

Proponents have argued that we must not put a price tag on liberty. They remind us that this Congress has voted billions without question to battle the forces of aggression and to crush the threat to our land and our people. Of course you voted those funds, and properly so. We were at war and our enemies were at our very doors. But Mr. Chairman, may I emphasize with all the power at my command that we are now at peace. The shooting war is over. Now it is time to think in terms of a peacetime economy. Now it is time to think in terms of statesmanship calculated to preserve that peace rather than to talk, as so many have talked in this very spot, of a World War III. Now is the time to bend our energies and direct our action toward preserving our victory in peace. Now is the time to count costs and calculate risks with deliberation free from the hysteria rampant in the world since Hitler's legions first marched against the world.

Mr. Chairman, I submit that if we will permit deliberation to replace hysteria, if we will permit facts to replace wishful thinking we will be forced to the inescapable conclusion that we cannot dissipate our resources around the world and remain the great hope of the world for the preservation of self government, individual liberty, and the dignity of the individual. If we are to divert \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey, if we are to divert other and perhaps even greater sums to other nations, if we are to saddle the American taxpayer with the task and the cost of policing the world, we will find our own land impoverished financially and physically. Here is the real threat to our security. Here is the real hope of the great force now arrayed as opposed to our way of life. An America dissipated of its resources will be vulnerable to the very forces we seek to guard ourselves against. A strong America, a solvent America, a sound America need fear no one.

May I make one point further by way of a partial answer, at least, to the implication that those Members of this House privileged to serve in World War II, are convinced of the wisdom of the course proposed by this bill? I will not undertake to speak for others, but may I say as one of them that there is a certain tragic familiarity in the step we now propose to take. We hear once again the cries of emergency, the shouts of threats from abroad, the requests of other nations for American dollars and American supplies, military and otherwise. We are going to send a military mission, if you please. Where—and when—and under what circumstances have we heard all that before? We know where it took us before. What reason now prevails to indicate it will take us on an opposite course in the future? No, my colleagues, the veterans of World War II, privileged, are not as one in urging that we retrace those tragic steps. I am sure they are as one in urging that we avoid the mistakes of the past, that we weigh with due deliberation our course for the future.

Ours is the solemn responsibility of choosing the course. For my part, I will rest my faith on American strength at home, not on American dollars abroad.

Mr. FLETCHER. Mr. Chairman, on March 15, 1947, after President Truman had addressed the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives, I released to the press the following statement:

The United States should give prompt aid to Greece and Turkey in my opinion. However, I emphatically differ with President Truman and the Department of State in the manner in which aid should be given. They would continue to follow a foreign policy of a unilateral course of action which will ultimately lead us down the primrose path to imperialism and World War III. I believe in collective security of the United Nations and have not been in sympathy with the recent course of our foreign policy. The world had a right to expect something better of us after our foreign policy declaration of the Atlantic Charter and the "four freedoms." During the congressional campaign of 1946, I made numerous talks throughout San Diego County on "America at the Crossroads," and pointed out that at Yalta and Tehran we had already departed from our former announced foreign policy of the Four Freedoms.

The only hope for world peace and mutual respect among nations rests within the framework of the United Nations. Aid to Greece and Turkey should be given by us through this channel. All other nations should at least be given a chance to give in the same manner that the British Government has already voted \$36,000,000 to Greece.

Only through this collective security of the United Nations can sufficient moral and military force be massed to protect the freedom loving nations of the world from aggressor nations.

Since I released the above statement the bill, H. R. 2616, to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey has been reported by the Foreign Affairs Committee to the House of Representatives with the recommendation that it do pass.

I have not changed my views from those I formerly expressed, and still believe that we should give prompt aid to Greece and Turkey as urged by President Truman, Secretary Marshall, and our

other diplomatic and military leaders who have available top secret information not made known to the public. However, I have continued to insist that the only hope for world peace and mutual respect among nations rests within the framework of the United Nations. With this thought in mind, the Senator Vandenberg amendment has become a most important part of the bill. In this amendment the President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized by the bill if the President is officially notified by the United Nations that the Security Council finds—with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto—or that the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

Warren R. Austin, United States delegate to the United Nations, stated that in his opinion the United States program as planned in the bill, H. R. 2616, for aid to Greece and Turkey, does not bypass the United Nations, and on the contrary, he stated he believed the passage of the bill would support the United Nations Charter and would advance the building of collective security under the United Nations. I also hold this viewpoint and intend to vote for this bill, which, in my opinion, is for the best interests of all Americans.

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Chairman, the proposal of President Truman with regard to Greece and Turkey confronts the United States with one of the gravest questions in its history.

Acceptance of that proposal involves complete reversal of our long standing policy in foreign affairs. It involves intervention and participation in and responsibility for the internal affairs of other nations. It involves an economic drain on the people of this country which, from a relatively small beginning, may proceed to an extent which no one can now foresee. More than that, it involves employment of the military power of the United States—again apparently on a small initial scale but again also with no predictable limits. It projects this country directly into the complexes of both Europe and the Middle East under circumstances which may well lead to war.

It has not been established why it is to the vital interest of the United States to take this step. Nor, if it can be conceded that the vital interest of our country is actually affected, has there been any revelation of the facts in this situation that make hasty action imperative.

All that the Congress or the people have been given is the President's assertion that the vital interest of the United States is involved and that immediate action is essential. And the President's address is much more remarkable for its vagueness and resort to generalities than for any light it has shed on the reasons for making it.

As a matter of plain common sense, however serious the straits of Greece and Turkey, they cannot become too much worse in the time that will be required for the open and thorough discussion of this situation which alone can give the American people the opportunity to know

what they are being asked to do, what the material cost will be, and what commitments of other natures are to be made in their name.

It is the plain duty of Members of Congress to prevent hasty action—to insist that all the facts are made known—to see that these facts are laid before the people in understandable terms—and finally, to take action in the light of the facts and the expressed will of the people.

Members of Congress can serve no good purpose by premature and ill-considered statements of opinion. Such as "we must uphold the hands of the President." Certainly, our history gives abundant evidence that Presidents can make mistakes. The welfare of the country is always a consideration of far greater moment than support of the President in either national or international affairs.

Twice in a single generation our country has become involved in the wars of others. In each case, the American people endured the suffering and sacrifice of war for lofty ideals. In neither case have they seen those ideals realized. On the contrary, this country emerged from each war weaker than it entered, and after each war the world in general was in a worse condition than before. We lost men and wealth, we exhausted irreplaceable natural resources, and we bred conditions that caused widespread dissatisfaction and doubt among the American people concerning their principles of government and way of life.

Intrinsically, we are a weaker Nation today than ever before in our history. We appear strong only by contrast with a prostrate world. In this weakened condition are we now to embark on a new adventure about which we know nothing, but which may lead, first, to war and, second, to the final demoralization of the world and the disappearance of the slightest hope for an orderly society?

The two world wars caused the virtual destruction of the great British Empire. Is that not a sufficient example to make us pause before starting down a road which may lead to the same end?

The President said:

There is no other country (except the United States) to which democratic Greece can turn.

What does this statement mean? That no other country cares anything about Greece as a democratic country? That no other country cares enough to help alleviate the physical want of her people? Or that no other country has the resources to extend aid?

Under any interpretation, the implication of the President's words are far reaching. There are 2,000,000,000 people in this world. Out of this number can the 140,000,000 people who comprise our Nation be the only ones who can assume the burdens of weaker countries? Is it a practical possibility? If so, can we do it, or even attempt to do it without destroying ourselves?

The President said:

The United States contributed \$341,000,000,000 toward winning World War II. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

Where is the freedom and where is the peace? Is the world we have today the kind of a return on "investment" that justifies the beginning of a new outpouring of funds?

The President said:

The assistance that I am recommending for Greece and Turkey amounts to little more than one-tenth of 1 percent of this investment.

Does the President or anyone else think for a moment that the amount he proposes will be the whole amount? Obviously, \$400,000,000 will be only the start. It will be followed by other millions and billions in those countries and in other countries which, with Greece and Turkey as precedents, will make claims on our generosity.

The President said:

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists.

If a government is so weak that it cannot cope with several thousand armed men under any leadership, there is reason to conclude: First, that if many of the people of the country do not actually sympathize with the several thousand, they at least do not care much one way or the other and, second, there is little that an outside power can do to aid such a government.

If we take this action in Greece, we will in effect say to Russia, "We are opposed to communism and intend to help the governments of Greece and Turkey oppose it." Under the circumstances, is not Russia likely to reply, "You are free to do that, but if you do, we will take measures of our own to support communism." It must be remembered that Russia has many means, short of war, to foster the spread of communism; many more, in fact, than we have to oppose it. Unpalatable as the idea may be, we must also realize that many people in countries throughout the world look with favor on communism and regard it as a superior form of government. In our own country, we have a Communist movement which is far from large, yet there is little we can do to halt its acceptance by some of our people. You cannot stop a political growth any more than you can stop a religious growth—particularly by use of force. And the adventure in Greece, whatever its other aspects, is basically a use of force.

At Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam, commitments were made for the American people without their knowledge or consent. Secrecy was excused by those who indulged in it on the ground that it was essential to war security. Yet there is little doubt today that those secret deals, in which a few men around a table played with the destiny of nations, were important causes of the world's present condition. There is no excuse now, not even a lame one, for asking the American people to move blindfolded and in haste into a situation of most serious consequence. Certainly, the time has come to end secret diplomacy.

The urgency, the need for haste which the President so strongly emphasized has an artificial quality. It smacks of the

"rush act" of the high-powered salesman. Britain accepted Greece as a responsibility during and after the war. Admitting that Britain's economic condition is unhealthy, why does it suddenly become absolutely impossible for her to continue that responsibility beyond the outside date of March 31—just 19 days after the President's address? Would Britain collapse if she stayed in Greece until April 30 or May 31? Or was an almost immediate date selected to force Americans to act before they could think?

Although it has been mentioned only in passing, the thing of paramount importance in this entire matter to the United States and her people is the interest of the United States, not only the immediate interest but also long range interest. Certainly if it is not in the interest of this country to take a step, then there can be no other good reason for it in Greece, Europe, the Middle East or elsewhere. With its present huge debt and the other weakening influences of the War, the United States should regard any commitment with caution. This caution should be doubled and redoubled in the face of a step as grave as that into Greece with all the implications of a continuing economic drain if not the actual threat of another war. Might not the United States best contribution to the world be the rebuilding of her own strength so that she can in fact remain the strongest bulwark of free government?

These questions should be resolved before we take an action which may prove to be a costly gamble. Today, the American people do not have the information on which to base either support or rejection of the President's proposal. Congress alone has the power, and it must exercise that power, to see that the people get the facts, all the facts.

We urge that Congress decisively reject the President's request for \$400,000,000 to be expended on supplies and equipment for the Greek and Turkish armies and on economic aid and for authority to send military and civilian personnel to these countries to train their armies and supervise the expenditure of funds.

Of the utmost gravity in itself, this request is the more menacing because, as is evident to all, it marks only the initial move in a new course of action on which this Nation is now asked to embark.

That course is a complete negation of the American tradition in the field of foreign affairs. True to the lofty principles of the Declaration of Independence upon which our Nation was founded, it has been our historic position to abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of other peoples and to extend our sympathetic understanding to their struggles for the establishment of forms of government conforming to their needs and desires. President Truman now urges Congress to scrap this great tradition and to commit American dollars, American arms, and American military technique to bolster up tottering reactionary regimes in every corner of the globe which, but for our intervention, could not withstand the opposition of their own people.

President Truman's proposal is equally a reversal of the solemn commitments which our Nation has entered into with its allies and made to the people of the world. Under the leadership of President Roosevelt and with the full support of the American people, our Nation shaped a one world foreign policy. In concert with our allies and in consonance with that policy, we established the United Nations as the instrument for the realization of man's hope for a world of peace and security based upon friendship and collaboration of all nations.

President Truman now urges the Congress to scuttle this policy, bypass the United Nations and take unilateral action in pursuit of a program of aggressive American interventionism. His proposal reverses the firm policy of friendship with the Soviet Union inaugurated by his great predecessor, betrays the wartime alliance which resulted in victory over the enemies of mankind, ignores the Soviet contribution to that victory and all that it meant in terms of saving American lives. It presents a great and friendly nation in the guise of a menacing enemy to be blocked at all costs.

The consequences of this policy could only be to undermine the whole structure of the United Nations, divide the world into two hostile camps and destroy the very foundations upon which the nations of the world are attempting to build a stable and an enduring peace.

Such a policy will be disastrous to the economic well-being and the national security of the American people. It will require the maintenance of an enormous military establishment and render illusory the hope for speedy universal disarmament and relief from the crushing burden of military expenditures. It will require the appropriation of increasingly larger sums for expenditures abroad. These will never be repaid since they will not be devoted to productive purposes.

Such a policy will inevitably consolidate the democratic forces of the world into a solid block of opposition to us and turn the reservoir of good will, upon which Wendell Willkie found America could draw, into a source of enmity and hatred. Such a policy, far from protecting our national security, will be its greatest menace, since it sows the seeds of international dissension and conflict which can only lead to war.

Since President Truman's proposal holds these consequences of gravest import to our national welfare, it is necessary that the reasons he urges for its justification to be subjected to searching and critical examination.

THE PROBLEM OF GREECE

The President bases his request for aid to Greece on an urgent appeal for assistance from the Greek Government, citing its poverty, its cruel devastation by the Germans, and internal strife as the reasons for its plight. He accuses a militant minority of exploiting these conditions to bring Greece to its present chaotic state. He asks for supplies to help the Greek armies repress this minority—composed of the very resistance forces whose heroic struggle against the invaders contributed so greatly to allied victory.

No one denies the present tragedy of the Greek people nor their need for assistance. But let us face the facts as to where the responsibility lies.

It was not the British who liberated Greece. The liberation was accomplished by Greek patriots, 2,000,000 of whom were organized into the EAM, the Greek Liberation Front, and ELAS, its military arm. Milton Bracker, New York Times correspondent, reported from Greece on October 6, 1944:

It is apparent that the entire visible population here and, most notably, the clergy, are on the side of the EAM and the ELAS.

Other reporters confirmed that EAM included all the democratic forces in Greece, with the Communists making up only some 10 percent. After liberation EAM agreed, under British pressure and in the interests of unity, to support the Greek Government in exile and its weakling Premier, George Papandreu. When the latter took repressive measures against EAM and went back on his pledges to remove the quislings and collaborationists from power, the Greek people organized a peaceful demonstration to protest Papandreu's violations of their democratic rights.

The British-supported police fired on the unarmed crowd. So began the war on the Greek people that was later carried on under Churchill's leadership by British soldiers, tanks, planes, and the Royal Navy. Thousand of Greek patriots were murdered and driven into the hills. British tanks paved the way for the restoration of the Greek monarchy, and for a succession of inept and corrupt regimes that have continued a reign of violence and repression, failed to take any effective reconstruction measures and reduced Greece to its present state of misery.

President Truman puts the plea for aid to Greece on the ground that it must have this assistance "if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy." He calls upon the United States to take over the role of Britain in supplying aid.

We submit that the policies of Britain have meant the destruction of Greek democracy and that aid from the United States of the kind President Truman has outlined will serve only to continue that policy, will make the Greek Government more effective in stamping out opposition, and will be of no avail in rendering Greece self-supporting.

President Truman excuses his failure to place the matter before the United Nations and its related organizations on the grounds that the situation is urgent and that they are not in a position to extend the help required.

To bypass the United Nations and take unilateral action on a vital policy of this character, is to undermine the basic instrument of world cooperation on which our only hope of future security depends. If we are so concerned with the sufferings of Greece and other countries, why did we scuttle the UNRRA program? Why did we refuse to help set up a new fund for rehabilitation? Why did we oppose the Soviet request to bring up the Greek issue in the United Nations a year ago? Why do we now rush into action

without even waiting for the findings of the United Nations Commission investigating conditions on the spot? The United States does not want economic aid to Greece to be extended through an international agency. President Truman insists on arrogating that function to the United States alone.

THE GREEK ELECTIONS

President Truman, acknowledging that the Greek Government is not perfect, insists on the representative nature of the Greek Parliament, and says that foreign observers, considered the elections fair.

An Allied mission did, to be sure, whitewash the election results. Chicago Sun and PM Correspondent W. M. Fodor reported that its members were unfamiliar with Greece, saw little of the countryside and drew their information largely from Royalist circles in Athens. An examination of press reports before and during the elections of March 31 last, and the plebiscite of September 1, reveals that a wave of violence and murders preceded the elections.

Not only Leftist, but Centrist groups demanded postponement of the March 31 election date on the ground that fair elections were impossible under such disordered internal conditions. Ten cabinet ministers quit their posts in protest over the early date of the elections, but Britain and the United States insisted there be no postponement. Left wing groups boycotted the elections and official government figures, reported by the UP, the AP, and all the major correspondents, showed that over 50 percent of the electorate failed to vote. In addition, it was generally conceded that the registration lists were padded with dead men, and that the Populist—pro-Royalist—vote was swollen by "repeaters." How could the slight majority of the votes won under such conditions by the Populists possibly be considered a true and free expression of the people's will?

The plebiscite on the restoration of the monarchy which was held September 1, was similarly preceded by a wave of terror, assassinations and jailings. British troops were in the country, American warships steamed into Greek ports. Under such conditions the fact that some 65 to 70 percent of the voters presumably cast their ballots for the King's return likewise cannot be considered the freely expressed will of the majority of the people. The actual plebiscite results are unknown since the government issued at different times contrary sets of figures.

The nature of the monarchy we are now asked to support, was reported on shortly after the plebiscite by several American correspondents, who took a 7-day jeep trip from Athens to the Yugoslav and Hungarian frontiers.

The New York Herald Tribune of September 16 headlined Seymour Freidin's story "Reporter finds reign of terror rife in Greece, says monarchists belittle democracy in crushing all foes of their regime." Wrote Freidin:

The fury and hysteria attendant upon the Greek Government's campaign to efface opposition to the restoration of the monarchy are cutting entire communities off from food, wrecking the UNRRA antimalaria program and consigning thousands of innocent women and children to exile or prison * * * the

word "democracy" is becoming synonymous with death and slavery.

And on September 15:

The prevalent sentiment among officials in the region is that all nonmonarchists are per se Communists. The officials say they will hunt them down and exterminate them. * * * The Government, moreover, has sanctioned the activities of at least two large bandit groups.

Robert Conway, of the New York Daily News, reported:

The Greek Government's Army and gendarmes are waging a pitiless war on scores of thousands of women and children in a desperate effort to halt a growing rebellion and wipe out not only Communists but all democratic, liberal, and republican elements. This correspondent is compelled to state that the supporters of King George II are now staging a total civil warfare of the cruelest and most inhuman sort.

Shall America give dollars and supplies to enable the Greek Army to carry on this work?

TURKEY NOW NEEDS OUR SUPPORT

The President found it necessary to put the question of aid to Turkey in somewhat blunter terms. For Turkey was not ravaged by war. On the contrary, Turkey not only refused aid to the United Nations but under the cloak of neutrality, sold vital war materials such as chrome to Germany, and permitted German and Italian warships entry into the Black Sea to fight our Soviet allies. Moreover, there can be no pretense that the Government of Turkey is democratic. The President therefore bases his plea for aid to her on the alleged necessity of defending her national integrity, and preserving order in the Middle East. To these ends we are asked to help maintain her army of a million men since Britain is no longer in a position to do so.

Let us speak plainly. Against whom are we to maintain Turkey's national integrity? The Soviet Union? The Soviet Union is not threatening the national integrity of Turkey nor of any country of the Middle East. The Soviet Union is deeply and justifiably concerned with her own security in the Straits, and has requested that this be assured through appropriate international agreements. Is this an unreasonable request? If we are concerned with maintaining control over the Panama Canal, some 1,300 miles from the tip of Florida, if Britain is concerned with maintenance of control over the Suez Canal, over 3,500 miles from Britain's shores, why should not the Soviet Union's security interests in the Straits, about 350 miles from the port of Odessa, receive serious consideration? The United States and Great Britain would surely resist international control of waterways of such strategic importance to themselves. Why then should we wonder at the attitude of the Soviet Union in insisting that the control of the Dardanelles is a matter for the Black Sea powers and that the Soviet Union and Turkey should jointly fortify them to prevent their use by other states for inimical purposes?

The best guaranty of our own security would be to recognize the right of the Soviet Union to secure its own borders and hold the key to its own house, just

as we insist on that right for ourselves and for Great Britain..

A PROGRAM FOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTERVENTION

We now come to the basic motivation for the program proposed by President Truman:

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. * * * We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes.

Since neither the Greek nor the Turkish Governments meet the description of "free people maintaining free institutions," the whole case for aid to Greece and Turkey on these grounds falls apart. The program is revealed in its naked reality—a program for American political and military intervention to keep down people's movements in any state where we fear that popular elements might gain control and friendship with the Soviet Union prevail.

This is in direct contravention to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and in violation of the United Nations Charter. It is designed to prevent democratic movements of the people from determining their own forms of government. It reverses the whole policy of cooperating with the Soviet Union as a friendly partner in the making of the peace as she was a valiant ally in the war. It assumes a threat of aggression from the Soviet Union of which there is no evidence, while on the contrary there is every evidence of the desire of the Soviet people and their leaders for peace and for continued cooperation among the wartime allies.

This is the logical projection of the program inaugurated last year by Winston Churchill in Fulton, Mo., where he called for an Anglo-American diplomatic offensive to block the Soviet Union. The British have failed in their part of the arrangement and now we are asked to take over the whole bankrupt policy.

FREEDOM VERSUS TOTALITARIANISM?

The charge that a number of countries have had totalitarian regimes thrust upon them against their will, referring to certain countries of eastern Europe, cannot be substantiated. These countries today have more democracy than they have ever known before. Reactionary, feudal regimes which were subservient to fascism have been replaced by people's governments. The use of the phrase "totalitarian," a term applicable only to Fascist states, is out of place both in relation to the Soviet Union and to the new democracies in eastern Europe. The Soviet Union has not sought to impose her own form of government on other peoples. The type of state being developed in eastern Europe is indeed in many ways closer to the program advocated by the British labor government than it is to communism. To speak of coercion and intimidation in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria while upholding and planning to take over the British policies in Greece is the ultimate in hypocrisy.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Chairman, after listening to hours of debate on this bill and the many proposed amendments, I have decided to vote for it on final passage, but I do so with a heavy heart. This is one of the hardest votes—at least one of a half dozen of the hardest votes—that I have had presented to me during the years of my membership in Congress. As I said in the House yesterday, I have appreciated the assurance given me by several leading men in our Government and that assurance has been repeated on the floor of the House today, and it has eased my mind with regard to this necessary measure, but still it is a hard vote to cast. I feel that this move is a necessary thing to be done and I understand the necessity of our Government's acting at once and acting alone. It is indeed a matter of our national concern and one on which our national safety depends, to keep Russian communism from taking control of the eastern Mediterranean lands. We must see to it that the peoples in those strategic areas shall not be obliged either by want or by military strength to adopt a way of life contrary to their own choosing.

What is it then about this affirmative vote that I am to cast that I most regret? Of course, it is the circumstances which make this action necessary and imperative. It is the fact that, under all the circumstances, our Government must act unilaterally in this case because the United Nations cannot do what ought to be done. The comforting assurance that I was given yesterday and again today that this action does not really by-pass the United Nations eases my mind, but I am still disturbed that this action may adversely affect this young international organization which is the hope of the world for peace. I do not believe that this action on the part of our Government really means a turning away from the United Nations Organization, nor that our act will discredit this infant organization which we have struggled for so long and helped to create.

My real fear is that having acted unilaterally in the case of these eastern Mediterranean countries in this instance because we had to do so, may be partly the cause for by-passing the United Nations Organization at some future time when it is not necessary for us to act alone but instead where wisdom would dictate that we act as a member of the United Nations. This unhappy necessity of acting apart now should determine us all the more to act through the United Nations later always whenever possible and to build it up and to strengthen it for the great task it has to accomplish, working toward peace.

I have heard a few speak disparagingly of the United Nations here when they need not have done so merely to say that in this particular instance it is not authorized to do what needs to be done and does not have the funds which would be needed and does not have the power required to do the work. It is a sad thing for any Member of this body to speak disparagingly of this infant international organization which is the result of so much effort and which grew out of blood and tears. The very fact

that America is taking this momentous step alone, and not through the United Nations, makes it all the more logical and necessary that we increase our efforts to strengthen the new international organization, to increase its powers and use our influence to ripen its maturity. I believe the American people insist that we do everything in our power to support the international organization of which we are a member and by our help enable it to accomplish its mission of establishing justice and peace.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana. Mr. Chairman, since March 12 when President Truman delivered his message on assistance to Greece and Turkey, my mind has been beset by many questions. I have attended every meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee, listened to every witness and read all that I possibly could on the subject matter at hand. I have tried to consider this particular legislation and all its connotations with an open mind because I realized from the beginning the implications and possibilities involved. The road into the future is not always a straight one nor can its twists and turns be seen beforehand. Nevertheless if this measure passes, it will be clear to the world what our policy will be as our commitments will be definite; our purposes specific and the responsibility our own.

Perhaps, it was the absence of such clarity that was one of the contributing factors to two world wars.

The reasons given for this legislation are many.

At the present time there is an internal rebellion going on in Greece. This rebellion, while centered mainly in the north of Greece, is also in effect in other parts of the country as well. The number of guerrillas is estimated at anywhere from twelve to twenty thousand, and it has been brought out that while the great majority of the guerrillas are not Communists, they are in all instances under the leadership of members of the Communist Party directed from the outside.

Aid is being given these guerrilla forces from over the borders in Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. There is a school maintained at Boulkes near Belgrade wherein certain guerrillas are sent to receive courses in indoctrination for the purpose of carrying on future activities in Greece in behalf of communism.

Insofar as Turkey is concerned there is, and has been for sometime, a war of nerves being waged against the Turks by the Russians. This has been carried on through the use of radio broadcasts from Russia into Turkey; through Russia's demands for the return of the Turkish provinces of Ardahan and Kars and also through Russia's repeated demands that she be given joint control of the Dardanelles. These reasons have been given to us by various members of the State Department and others who are intimately connected and concerned with the present situation as it exists in both Greece and Turkey.

I am under no illusion about the types of governments which exist in both of these countries. It is my hope that if this legislation passes, we will do our ut-

most to help bring about needed reforms in both countries so that the greatest number of people possible will be allowed to select the type of government they desire; so that the tax structure will be revamped to such an extent that there will be no favored exemptions as at present; and so that both these countries can achieve the peace and security which, I believe, is every nation's right.

It might be well for us to ask what might happen if this measure we are now discussing, fails of passage. I believe that one of the first results would be an all-out civil war in Greece, and that as a result of this war, a government under the leadership of Napoleon Zervas, the present Minister of Public Order, would result.

Then there would be a counter revolution staged by all the dissenting elements under the leadership of the Communists who would be aided by outside help from Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. This then would mean the setting up of another satellite state within the orbit of the USSR. If this measure were to fail it would very likely mean that the USSR would take it as a green light to carry out its war of nerves still further against the Turks and eventually the Turks would crack and that country would be overrun. It is well to point out that if an active armed clash occurred between Turkey and Russia the Turks, according to the most reliable information the Foreign Affairs Committee has been able to receive, would not be able to stand up for more than a matter of weeks. Furthermore, Turkey, like Greece, would then be within the Soviet's sphere and Russia would be down not only to the Mediterranean but would be very close to the Suez Canal as well.

It is my opinion that, if what I have said should occur, Greece and Turkey would certainly not mark the outer limits of Soviet expansion but, in effect, that expansion would continue still farther not only to the south but to the east, covering Iran, India, Burma and south-eastern Asia, and also to the west covering Austria, Germany, Italy, and France as well. What then would our position be? Would we then contemplate the passage of legislation such as this which we are now considering? Would we then become aware of the fact that the expansion of Communist spheres of influence is something that should be stopped? Or should we insulate ourselves in isolation on this hemisphere against a doctrine which we think is insidious and dangerous to our way of life and which, if it achieves the success which it hopes for in Europe, Asia, and Africa will, without a doubt and in time, reach the shores of this hemisphere as well? We know, of course, that communism has penetrated in some degree or form into every country of the Western Hemisphere at the present time. It appears to me that to deny passage of this legislation would, in effect, bring us closer to war than would be the case if we were to pass it today. It seems to me that once we have laid down a policy to the entire world that it is up to us to carry through on that policy and not to indicate weakness and thereby give en-

couragement to the very things which we despise.

If this measure fails and more countries are brought within the sphere of the Soviet Union, it will mean that the iron curtain will be extended that much farther and that we will have lost our contact with that much more of the world.

Such in brief is the picture as I see it and understand it. I realize what we are up against and I also realize that we Americans have no taste for foreign adventure in times of peace. We very naturally and logically have many questions concerning the possibilities and potentialities of this new policy. We may ponder and debate this question but we cannot dodge the inescapable fact that President Truman's address has in the eyes of the world committed this Nation to a new policy. Our new course will take all our wisdom and skill to make it successful. No man in this Chamber can tell what the outcome of the President's and our decision will be. The issue has been raised and the die has been cast. Not to act now, not to follow through, would, in my opinion, be most dangerous.

We are not seeking to impose our way of life on either Greece or Turkey. We are extending this assistance to enable them, in time, to select the kind of government their people want. The purpose of this new policy is to oppose forcible Communist aggression—either directly or through satellite countries—on weaker nations opposed to such a philosophy.

Personally, I am sorry that this matter was not referred to the United Nations before it was presented to the Congress, instead of after the President made his speech. On the basis of the evidence before us it appears certain that the United Nations could not have acted, as yet, because it has neither the funds nor the organization to meet such a situation, and, secondly, any such action as here contemplated would be blocked by the veto of a single power.

I believe that it is possible for the United Nations to achieve sufficient strength in the future to take over this task. I shall welcome the day when we may resign this responsibility to that organization because I believe wholeheartedly that only in the United Nations can we eventually find the peace all mankind craves.

Much will depend on how the administration of this policy is worked out. Much will depend on how soon genuine democracy follows our assistance and replaces the kinds of dictatorship now in force in both Greece and Turkey. I believe we can provide the right kind of administration but, in the matter of democratic governments, that is something that only people—and not outside pressures—can decide.

I am going to vote for this bill but not with any enthusiasm. Like all of you my lack of enthusiasm springs from the fact that no one can tell ultimately where the policy on which we are about to embark will lead. We do know however that the ideology which we oppose is being spread by force, infiltration, occupation, and revolution. It is a policy very similar to Hitler's policy of grabbing

off one nation at a time in the hope that eventually the rest of the world will become so weak that no one power will be left to challenge it. If we reject this legislation we give notice to the U. S. S. R. that we do not propose to do anything to stop or to interfere with its expansion policy. If we accept this legislation we give notice to the U. S. S. R. that we are giving this help in order that Greece and Turkey may continue their own existence, and, I think, we will be putting up a sign which all the world will be able to read and understand. Our policy of appeasement since the end of the war has, I think, run its course. We have allowed nations like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and others to become satellites of the U. S. S. R. even though the majority of people in each country concerned is opposed to communism as an ideology. We know at the present time that Hungary, though having a legally elected anti-Communist government, is slowly being made into another satellite state because of the pressure from within exercised by the Communist minority there. We know also that the Communist minorities in France, in Italy, and elsewhere are exercising power far beyond the numbers they actually control. We have seen too many countries go by default. We have offered every inducement we possibly could to get along with all our neighbors but our efforts so far have, in large part, been in vain. The time has come for the United States to take up a burden very few of us like to assume but take it up we must with fortitude and courage.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Chairman, I have obtained this time so that I may express my position in connection with this legislation. I speak in dead earnest when I say that things have come to a pretty pass when the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives brings out a measure sponsored by a Democratic administration and then has the unmitigated gall to bring in a rule limiting the debate of those Republicans who are opposed to the measure. The rule adopted for this bill which starts us on the road to international ruin and eventual bankruptcy allowed only 3 hours' time for those of us who oppose the legislation but gave 6 hours to those who support it.

The people of this country ought not to hold this against all Republicans. They ought to search the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD carefully to see that some Republicans—perhaps a minority, but still some of them—fought this bill that changes the whole course of our ship of state and takes us out on an uncharted sea that may be filled with unseen perils.

Mr. Chairman, I also want to comment on another puzzling thing that occurred to me as I sat here and heard speaker after speaker get up and make talk for the RECORD. It struck me as ludicrous, if not tragic, that some proponents were playing Charley McCarthy for the Department of State. I suspect that some of the speeches were "ghosted" in the Department of State. I marveled at the manner in which the speeches that were delivered on both sides of the aisle in favor of the new policy were perfectly synchronized. It was passing strange that different points were brought out by

different speakers without the usual overlapping that can be heard in normal debate.

How naive and how very short-sighted, considering the long future, are the supporters of this legislation may not be known until our children and our children's children have had to bear the burdens that will come as a natural result of this so-called Truman policy.

We talk about a bipartisan foreign policy, Mr. Chairman, and it is true that both Republicans and Democrats will support this Truman policy. It is also true that both Republicans and Democrats are opposing this policy and that they are men of every political color under the American sun. Many Republicans supporting it forget that it will be administered by a Democratic administration that hardly has become noted for its nonpartisan attitude.

I think it is more correct to call this new departure in our foreign policy today the most partisan foreign policy that could be evolved. The policy was put out by the President with two big aims in mind—first, to garner additional political support for 1948, and, second, by trial and error to attempt to find a way to quiet the demands for a whole reexamination of our foreign policy as practiced by the New Deal Party since the end of World War II with such disastrous results to Europe and Asia.

In addition, it was formulated and put forward with the thought in mind that perhaps the people would accept the new policy and sooner or later forget the United Nations Organization fiasco which was ballyhooed to the skies until it was deflated by Moscow's constant use of the veto.

That is why I have said before, and I say now, that the new so-called Truman policy is a policy of desperation. It was conceived as hastily as it was presented to the American people, and the men who sponsored it were more interested in their domestic political lives than they were in the long-term best interests of our whole Nation.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this so-called Truman policy for four distinct reasons. I am not ashamed of my all-out opposition to this policy, because, regardless of the men who are on my side, I am convinced by my study of history that such a policy as this has been followed, on a smaller scale, by other nations and always has led to a bad end.

The first reason I oppose this legislation to spend American money in Greece and Turkey is that the policy will bring more inflation in the United States. It is a matter of public record that I opposed the British loan and that I opposed many another American loan that has been used by other nations to increase inflation in the United States.

Before last November, it seemed that the Republicans were pretty unanimous—and that the people agreed also—that our inflation in America was caused by our overseas fiscal policy, among other things. Nothing has happened in recent months to make me feel otherwise. The British, the French, and other nations still are bidding for American wheat and other products in this Nation and are getting these products. In so

doing, they have boosted the prices which American consumers must pay at home.

This is true because, speaking broadly, the United States is the only Nation that has had a surplus of food and of other commodities that could be shipped abroad. The people are all against further inflation. Even the President has embarked on a Don Quixote campaign to knock down price windmills with his symbolic sturdy steed and his long lance.

As every man who has served for long in this House of Representatives knows, the mere fact that this first step will cost the United States what many say is the trifling sum of \$400,000,000 is not at all indicative of what the policy will cost in the long run. I have served here for more than a decade and I can speak with the voice of experience on this one phase of our work. When we embarked on lend-lease, only a few billion dollars were said to be involved. Before it was over, tens of billions of dollars went down the drain—much of it to the same Russia against which we have planned this so-called Truman policy.

Mr. Chairman, you and I know that when this bill is passed and if it is put into effect, as it probably will be, it will not be 6 months before there will be demands from other nations claiming to need our help to oppose communism.

Some Republican leaders who support this policy have said that the sum requested by the President could be appropriated and that it would not necessarily interfere with our Republican program of lowering taxes and reducing over-all Federal expenditures. I am willing to say that if the sum were merely \$400,000,000 this likely would be true. But all of my experience in Congress teaches me that the \$400,000,000 is only the beginning. It is just the nose of the camel edging into the tent. After a little while there will be other requests and the same men who hollered "wolf, wolf" about the so-called Soviet menace in Greece and Turkey will be crying "wolf, wolf" about these other requests. The so-called Truman policy will not be cheap. It will be an expensive policy, just as every other policy followed by this administration in the past 14 years has been expensive.

The Republicans running for office last November very explicitly promised an over-all and significant decrease in the cost of government. They also promised lower taxes. If, by supporting this measure and bringing on other similar measures, they make inevitable a welshing on that policy, they will be doing their party irreparable harm.

The people will fast lose confidence in our Republican Party, as they have lost confidence in the Democrats, if we allow ourselves to be deluded by such catchwords as "let partisanship stop at the water's edge." There can be no such thing in actuality. Our foreign policy is inextricably tied up with our domestic fiscal policy, and if we embark on this new so-called Truman policy, we will see that we have wrecked our domestic Republican fiscal program. The principal men who talk about a nonpartisan foreign policy are those in the Democratic administration who know that it

will be administered by Democrats, the salaries paid to Democrats and overseen by a Democratic Cabinet and a Democratic President. Those few Republicans who are appointed to play a part in it will be put in the picture merely for window-dressing and will be expected to stand around and say "Me, too" every time the Democrats make a suggestion.

The second big reason I oppose this measure, Mr. Chairman, is that we are rushing to the assistance of governments that could not be termed "representative republican governments" by the most fantastic interpretation of the term. We have in this country a representative government. It is not perfect, but it probably works better than any other similarly constituted government on earth. We have a free press. We have freedom of speech. We have freedom of movement. We have freedom of religion. All these are parts of our governmental fabric, and without any one of them neither we nor other nations truthfully could call our Government a representative government and our people a free people.

Is there one who will stand up and say that there is a representative republican form of government in Turkey? Is there a thoughtful, intelligent man in the United States who seriously will contend that this is the case? I think not. Just a few weeks ago I read a dispatch from Turkey by Constantine Brown, the foreign-news analyst for the Washington Evening Star and other newspapers. He pointed out that freedom of the press is being allowed temporarily in Turkey to influence Americans. One Turkish official was quoted as having said that the Government deliberately not yet had suppressed one paper because of the possibilities of American aid.

What a travesty on words and the meanings of words it is to call Greece and Turkey democracies in the same breath that we call England and the United States democracies. That is twisting the word as much as Molotov and the other Russians are twisting it when they persistently refer to Russia as a democracy.

The third principal reason I oppose this measure, Mr. Chairman, is that it will project our soldiers into new areas of danger where they may ignite the spark that will start World War III. When World War II was ending, the Democratic administration claimed to have a program that would banish war forever. The United Nations was uncovered in all its pristine glory. Never again would men have to engage in warfare. We could just talk our troubles to death around a council table and then every nation would forget its own self-interests and vote to do this, that, or the other.

A few realists spoke hopefully of a peace of 25 or 50 years, at most, unless the hearts of men everywhere were changed and unless somewhere along the line a miracle in human relations was passed. But now, we are not going to have even 25 or 50 years of peace. The Truman policy in effect is an economic declaration of war on Russia. And when we send military "observers" into Greece and Turkey, we will be running con-

stantly the grave risks of de facto, if not actually declared, war.

It is contrary to all the lessons of history to believe that we can send our soldiers into Greece and Turkey and that there will not be accumulated new "incidents" which can be used as kindling wood to ignite a major bonfire of war. A clash here, a clash there, and before we know it we again are involved in mortal combat.

The amazing thing, to me, about this so-called Truman policy is that it could be sold to the same people in America who only a few short months ago were sold on the United Nations. Their gullibility is as dangerous as it is surprising. If these people this quickly can have their minds diverted from one set course to another set course in foreign affairs, then there is no telling to what lengths they can be led by high-powered propaganda that can be turned on and off like a faucet.

O Mr. Chairman, I know that the United Nations will be defended by many Democrats and Republicans here as they vote for this policy. They will shed many a crocodile tear about how much they hate to take part in such a thing and to leave the poor UN with nothing but a grant of land.

But the truth remains that the so-called Truman policy is an open, flagrant, willful by-passing of the United Nations, on which our Nation spent so much time, effort, and money, and that as this policy is expanded, it will be seen that every new step of the new policy will mean another nail in the coffin of the United Nations Organization. This, I think, can hardly be disputed, although it will be disputed for the record and a lot of politicians who are trying to play both ends will try to convince the people that I am wrong.

The fourth principal reason I oppose this policy on which we seem determined to embark, Mr. Chairman, is that it negates the recent Republican platforms and contradicts those Republicans who said before the election last November that when the people had had enough, we would take powers away from the President and return these powers to the Congress, the States, or the local governments. This bill actually represents a sweeping new grant of powers to the President, whoever he may be at whatever period. If I had no other grounds for opposing this bill, I would oppose it for this reason.

We in the Congress have been eating at the second table of government for, lo these many years. Many Democrats have observed this as well as many Republicans and one Member of Congress, our good friend Hatton Summers, even went so far as to resign his seat here so that he could get out and tell the people about the trend without being accused of speaking politically.

Yet, I have heard men get up and defend this bill who only a short time ago were deploring the increased centralization of power. Why, I would like to know when you will find an issue of centralization of power that is more clear-cut than the issue in this bill. The President can plunge us into war almost any time he pleases. He can precipitate an emergency a month before the next elec-

tion. And as the inevitable results of this policy bring an enlargement of the funds we will have to spend, there will, of course, be an enlargement of the powers granted to the President.

Mr. Chairman, I know that I am in the minority when I speak against this bill, although I am a member of the majority party. Our time in this debate has been limited by our own leadership and we of the majority party who are speaking against this radical, new departure in our foreign policy are temporarily out of public favor, at least around the Capitol.

But, I went home last weekend and had a visit with some old friends up and down Main Street. I talked with several men in service stations. I talked with the town banker. I visited with the hardware merchant. I contacted a few editors of country newspapers.

I found them rather perturbed about high prices and I heard all of them say that they wished some way could be found to bring some value back into the dollar. I went out with some veterans who are trying to buy, rent, or build a home and I heard them gripe about prices and how hard it is to get anything done in this new America the New Deal brought to us. I asked them all how they felt about sending some more money overseas to stop communism, or to bolster a corrupt government or two. They were unanimously opposed to it. They were quick to note the connection between our spend-lend-send overseas policy and the increasing worthlessness of our dollar at home and the difficulties of getting anything built that would stand longer than a few years.

It did not take my experience back home to put me against this Truman policy, Mr. Chairman, but the knowledge I gained did not hurt any. Some day, we are going to legislate the straw that breaks the back of the American people. This may well be that straw.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the Chair state that it has been agreed to close debate. The Chair would like to divide that time as much as possible among those who wish to be recognized to speak on the bill. I assume that that was the intent of the gentleman from Ohio in making the motion.

Mr. VORYS. The gentleman from Ohio understood that there were four amendments pending, and it was the hope of the committee that the authors of the amendments be given time to explain each one of them and similar time be given to some one who wishes to speak in opposition to this amendment.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, a parliamentary inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. HOFFMAN. How come, with a preferential motion up there, I cannot be considered? I offered it awhile ago and made a point of order on it, and I was overruled. I want to know under what rule you may disregard the offering of a preferential motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair was not seeking to disregard the gentleman in that regard, but there were some Members who indicated that they wanted to extend their remarks, and the Chair

sought to recognize them at that time. The Chair has withheld recognition from the gentleman from Colorado until these unanimous consent requests were taken care of. If the gentleman wants to make his preferential motion at this time, he will be recognized.

Mr. HOFFMAN. I would just as soon wait until the gentleman from Colorado finishes, but I want recognition on it sometime.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Colorado is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CARROLL. Mr. Chairman, I should like to clarify the position that I have taken before this body in debate. I spoke as effectively as I could in favor of passing this whole problem to the United Nations. I am in complete agreement with those Members who believe that this problem is so critical that we cannot delay action. We must act now. This problem is so important to our national self-interest that we cannot adopt a do-nothing policy. However, I should like to suggest to this body that there is another path, that there is another road. It is true we must not fall into the trap of doing nothing, for that would really endanger our Nation, but I suggest to you that there is another way instead of taking this path alone, ignoring all the nations of the world. They, too, have an interest in world peace. I am very sincere, and I am very serious about this matter.

The President presented this legislative program on March 12. The President stated there was a grave crisis confronting the world. He has said that there exists a threat to world peace. Now that the President of the United States has spoken in this fashion, I say to you that that is the very purpose for which the United Nations was created. That is what was meant by collective security. All nations must band together to overcome any threat which endangers the peace of the world.

I should like to demonstrate in the closing minutes of the debate that there is another road that we can follow without joining those who really want to kill this legislation, and that path is this: There will be submitted here a motion to recommit. Under that motion to recommit, \$100,000,000 can be used now by the President of the United States for the purposes stated in this bill. The President can act quickly to relieve economic pressures in Greece. No one can say we are delaying treating the crisis which confronts the world. We are not delaying that at all. We are moving forward to take care of that problem which affects our national self-interest. At the same time the military problems confronting Greece and Turkey will be given the United Nations for proper disposition.

Mr. Chairman, every educator, every religious leader, every world leader who understands the history of civilization has been encouraging all the nations of the world to get together for collective security. Let me tell you what happened yesterday in England. Prime Minister Attlee declared on the second anniversary of VE-day:

The dangers to world civilization from another world war are greater today than they were between World War I and World War II.

It seems incredible that after only a period of 2 years' time there is such a real danger to world civilization. I am confident that the people at home do not know the nature and the extent of the threat to the peace of the world. Had they that knowledge this Congress would not dare pass legislation which ignores the United Nations. In view of this dire threat to world peace, we should be calling upon the leadership of the world to join with us in making the United Nations strong, vigorous, and effective. We should be bringing into play the brains of the world. We do so to wage war. Why do we not do so in the cause of peace?

The scientists have shouted to the politicians of the world that they must change their method and manner of thinking. They have urged the politicians that they must catch up with the advance made by modern science; that if they do not do so the next war may be so terrible that our civilization, as we know it now, may pass from the earth. Another terrible war will destroy democracy and representative government beyond question of a doubt. Must we wait until we emerge from the ruins of a third world war before we acknowledge and accept the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations?

How can we treat this problem so lightly when we are now producing an atomic bomb that is capable of killing 100,000 people over a wide area? How can you stand before the people of your districts when you return home and say, "The United Nations is too weak to be used at this time." I say to you, if it is weak let us make it strong. Now is the time to throw the combined political, financial and military strength of this great Nation behind the United Nations, demanding that all of the nations signatory thereto act now to preserve the peace of the world. In that manner we can again give moral and spiritual leadership to the world. There is no basis for moral and spiritual leadership if this bill is passed with this possible exception. The President and the Members of this body have said this measure is designed to strengthen the United Nations. It may be that it will work out that way. The good faith of these statements will be subject to careful scrutiny within the next 12 to 15 months. I admit that the President, if this bill is passed, may by vigorous leadership during that period of time revive the hopes of the people who believe in the United Nations.

Again let me clarify my position. If you fail to recommit this bill, in view of the threat to world peace I am going to vote for it because there is no other alternative. I cannot do otherwise, joining with those who want to hide their heads in the sands of isolationism. We must go forward. It may be that by going to the United Nations there is only a remote possibility of peace, but it is the best choice we have now. At least, if war comes eventually, we shall be supporting the intent and spirit contained in the Charter of the United Nations. By our

individual action this Nation may incur the fear and the hatred of the people of the world some of whom have just cause for seeking social and political changes. I plead again, let us use our vision and leadership, making the United Nations strong now.

(Mr. CARROLL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"SEC. 8. (a) Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States had adopted as its policy in international affairs (1) intervention in civil strife, civil war, or political conflicts in foreign countries; or (2) unilateral action, either now or in the future, in disregard of its obligations to the United Nations.

"(b) The Congress hereby reaffirms the basic policy of the United States to bring before the United Nations all economic, political, or military conditions which may endanger the peace of the world."

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make two or three observations.

First, in reply to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KEEFE] regarding the President's declaration of this being the United States' policy. I remember very well the bill that was brought up in the last session of Congress—that is, the work or fight bill. I remember that was a Presidential "must" also, but when it went to the other body it went out the window. Then, too, I remember on that historic day when the railroad brotherhoods threatened to go on strike and the strike had already been settled, the President came up here and got us all worried and sick about what we were going to do about legislation. We passed it, and in the Senate in a few days it too went out the window.

I am not very much disturbed about these Presidential "must" measures, especially when we have a policy as important as this is to our country which constitutes a departure from the traditional foreign policy of our country. I am not disturbed about Presidential "must" bills.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. BUSBEY. May I ask the gentleman from Ohio if in his opinion he thinks any man, including the President of the United States, has the right to put this Congress and the people of the United States in the position where they have to vote for a bill of this kind or else "lose face" with the world.

Mr. BENDER. I have heard that argument used in the other body about losing face. We have lost face so many times, but as long as the American people keep this a Christian Nation, which they have, they are not going to lose face in the world. When we depart from that philosophy, we will lose face, and we are losing face here. We are embarking on an uncharted course fraught with danger.

This amendment provides for the turning of this problem over to the United

Nations. If it fails there, then we can take proper action.

Mr. Chairman, two basic facts about the present bill trouble the American people. First, it, in effect, creates a military alliance between the United States and the Greek monarchy and the Turkish dictatorship. In doing so, the present bill is in direct contradiction to the traditional historic American foreign policy of avoiding entangling military alliances with foreign powers.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. RICH. What will the people of the world say about America when they start out on their own hook to try to militarize Greece and militarize Turkey? The first thing you know, we will have to go to every country in Europe, and then they will be asking us to go down to South America to arm some of those countries. When are we going to stop?

Mr. BENDER. And Mr. Chairman, the second basic thing that troubles the American people about H. R. 2616 is the fact that it stabs the United Nations in the back because, Mr. Chairman, we undertake by unilateral action to make decisions in regard to aggression everywhere and anywhere in the world. We and we alone make the decisions. We and we alone on the basis of this bill will attempt to police the world. But by so doing, we will destroy collective security. By so doing, we will undermine the United Nations. Mr. Chairman, the Truman doctrine, by breaking faith with the United Nations and flaunting the Administration's disregard for its solemn commitments to the United Nations, is the first long and dangerous step down the road to a new American isolation. The overwhelming majority of the American people know that the hope for peace in the world lies in a strong and effective international organization. The Truman doctrine is the most insidious kind of isolation because it masks itself as "cooperation," because it pats the United Nations with one hand and stabs it with the other.

Mr. Chairman, the two basic principles of American foreign policy—namely the avoidance of entangling military alliances with foreign powers and wholehearted support for the United Nations—these two basic principles to which the American people are absolutely and completely devoted—these basic principles will be destroyed by the Truman doctrine as it is embodied in the present bill before the House.

Mr. Chairman, because I earnestly and sincerely believe that 85 to 90 percent of all American citizens do not wish us to engage in a policy which involves us in entangling military alliances everywhere in the world, I have offered this amendment, and, Mr. Chairman, because I believe the American people are overwhelmingly right in their conviction that peace can only be maintained by a powerful, strong, and growing United Nations—this also is my reason for offering this amendment.

The House of Representatives, I believe, faces in this bill the most far-reaching and serious change in national policy ever adopted in the Congress since

I have been a Member of this body. It is inconceivable to me, Mr. Chairman, that this Congress should repudiate the historic foundations of American foreign policy. It is inconceivable to me that, having come through two devastating international wars in our own lifetime, we as a body would turn our backs upon the organized conscience of all mankind, focused and formulated through the deliberations of the United Nations.

Yes, Mr. Chairman; all of us know some few people who forget that America consists of 140,000,000 people in a world population of 2,000,000,000. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we know some very few individuals who forget that perhaps 20,000,000 Chinese will starve to death this year, and that another 10,000,000 starving Indians in that vast subcontinent of Asia will die because of the failures of our own human institutions.

Yes, Mr. Chairman; there are a few people mad with the lust for power—careless and ruthless in their disregard of the great, crying needs of all mankind for food, for clothes, for education, for all of those things that make life rich and beautiful.

There are in America today, Mr. Chairman, those who are willing to plunge the entire world into another devastating and monstrous blood-bath. It is their thinking which President Truman has expressed in the Truman doctrine, and it is their plan—their mad plan—for world power which is embodied in the present bill before us.

Yes, Mr. Chairman; we have the atomic bomb. Yes, we have the food reserves of the world when hundreds of millions are hungry. Yes, we have half the industrial capacity of the entire earth. Yes, we have the liquid capital—some financial resources which could be extended to assist in reconstructing and in rebuilding the industries of peace and well-being throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, it has been said: "Power corrupts; absolute power corrupts absolutely." We have power, Mr. Chairman, and there are some demoniac characters in American life who want absolute power—not just here at home, but also in the entire world. It is from their mad drive for world power that springs the doctrine for world-wide military alliances and world-wide unilateral action on the part of the American Government without regard for our historic American foreign policy and without regard for our commitments to the United Nations. This policy means war. Let no Member of the House hide from this fact. In our hands we hold the destiny of America and the world. Ours is the responsibility. In the name of all that is holy in American traditions of democracy, freedom and peace—let the House in good conscience and good faith adopt the proposed amendment.

Mr. BREHM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BENDER. I yield.

Mr. BREHM. Does the gentleman feel that if the Treasury floated a bond issue to support this program that it would sell overwhelmingly to the American people?

Mr. BENDER. If we floated a bond issue to support this program, you ladies and gentlemen know that the people back home have written to you and the Members on my side, practically every one I have talked to, say that his mail is anywhere from three to six to one against it. Now you are giving the people something they do not want, that they are afraid of and do not understand.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. MARCANTONIO. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, this debate comes to a close within a few moments. There has been a great deal of discussion and confusion which has been preponderatingly on one side. I rise at this time to point out what I think are the salient issues involved in this legislation.

First, no matter how much the proponents of this legislation may try, they cannot get away from the proposition that the United Nations has gone into this matter. They cannot escape the proposition that the United Nations, through one of its organizations, the Food and Agricultural Organization, has made recommendations with regard to economic rehabilitation in Greece; nor the fact that that same body recommended that action be taken by the United Nations.

I read to this House the other day some of the important recommendations made. The difficulty has been and is that the present regime in Greece refuses, and has consistently refused, to adopt the reforms recommended by the United Nations. In refusing to adopt elementary democratic reforms, this regime backed by British imperialists has caused the civil strife in Greece. The question in Greece is not one of communism. The question involved in Greece is bread, land, equitable taxation, liberty, a square deal for the peasants. This regime refuses to give that to the people of Greece. If this regime gave freedom to the Greek people and adopted the reforms recommended by the United Nations Organization, there would be no civil strife in Greece. Why does not this regime accept those recommendations? Because this regime is a Fascist regime. You cannot get away from the fact that we will be giving money to a Fascist regime to shoot down men and women, yes, call them guerrillas—yes, some of them Communists, many of them non-Communists—who fought on our side during the war. You are giving money to buy bullets and guns to shoot down those who saved the lives of Americans with their heroic sacrifices. You are giving that money to whom? To big Quislings and petty Quislings and Nazi collaborators. I just wonder what the average ex-GI will say when he learns that the men and women who are going to be shot at with the money and material that we provide here were the men and women who fought on his side. What will he say when he learns that we are providing the bullets and guns of the present rulers of Greece who aided and collaborated with the Nazis and Fascists during the last war.

Let me also point out that the United Nations not only went into this question through the Food and Agriculture Organization but even, according to Mr. Austin, the Security Council is already acting on that aspect of the Greek question with which it is now prepared to deal—conditions on the northern frontier. The United Nations Council is in it. It is dealing with this problem. So that when the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] and others say that the United Nations Council cannot deal with this situation and will be barred from dealing with it, they evade the reality that the United Nations is and has been dealing with this problem.

The mistake we are arrogantly making here today is that we are weakening the United Nations by taking this action. The United Nations finds itself in the same position that the First Congress found itself in in 1789 when it met in New York City. Several States were attempting unilateral action on some questions. Unilateral action was threatened by a few of the States then. It was said that the Congress was too weak to deal with the problems facing the country. It was said that the Federal Government could not act, that it was impotent. But patriots insisted that the Nation could be strengthened only by respecting the right of the Federal Government to act, and they have been vindicated by history. Americans of that day did not weaken the Nation, they strengthened it by supporting its right to function on important problems.

The hope of the world is the United Nations, yet we are weakening the United Nations by the action we are taking here, just as some in 1789 sought to weaken the United States. We are at the same time aiding Fascist interests all over the world by the action we are taking. We do it by raising the anti-Communist cry. It is a Fascist technique. It will not succeed.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer another amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER: At the end of the bill insert a new section, as follows:

"SEC. 8. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to abolish within 90 days all hereditary offices and titles under such government; (b) to hold within 90 days free and democratic elections for the purpose of determining the chief executive officer of such government and the membership of its legislative body and to grant prior to such election universal suffrage for all persons over the age of 21; (c) to afford to all political parties full opportunities to participate and engage in election activities prior to the holding of such elections; and (d) to grant immediate amnesty to all political opponents of the persons or parties in control of the government requesting such assistance."

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, in 1776 the American people demonstrated by rebellion that they had had a bellyful of monarchy. For 150 years the Ameri-

can people have distrusted and disliked the entire institution of monarchy. There are, Mr. Chairman, no hereditary titles in America. Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Chairman, undertook to establish the American Bill of Rights. We have free speech, free assembly, free religion, and free association. We have free elections, Mr. Chairman. We have opposition parties. We do not have concentration camps, and for anyone who might think that at some future time the American people will submit to the destruction of their democratic liberties and to the establishment of the tyranny of a few, let it be said now that their efforts will be struck down by an aroused and enraged American citizenry.

Mr. Chairman, a corrupt and venal monarchy exists in Greece. That monarchy has been fought by Greek patriots for 120 years. Those Greek patriots succeeded in driving three Greek kings from the throne to the abject exile they deserved. One Greek king was assassinated. It is indicative of the corruption and degeneracy of the Greek monarchy that the one and only Greek king who died on the throne died from the bite of his pet monkey.

Greek patriots today as in years of old are fighting for the establishment of democracy free from monarchy. They want free and democratic elections. They want full opportunity of all political parties to engage in election activities. They want universal suffrage. They want an end to political concentration camps.

Mr. Chairman, none of these things exist in Greece today. It is a nation under the iron heel of a bought and paid-for monarch, and open agent of the imperialist armies of Great Britain whose bayonets alone maintain him in power. Thousands of Greek patriots are fighting the occupation troops of Britain. Thousands of Greek patriots are dying in the concentration camps of the British monarch. The free and democratic elections which reputedly were held are known by all of us to have been a sham and a lie. Less than 15 percent of the population participated in these elections and then under conditions of terror.

Mr. Chairman, when my constituents ask me if I voted to give \$300,000,000 to a dictatorial and corrupt monarch in Greece, I will be able to answer that I did not do so. When I am asked if I voted to throw American arms behind a government known to be undemocratic and maintaining concentration camps—thank God, I will be able to say I voted against it. Mr. Chairman, the insanity of the State Department is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in its utter disregard of the principles of democracy on which America has grown strong. Our State Department officials have never considered the ethical and political desirability of establishing a genuine democracy in Greece. It has never occurred to them that American citizens do not want to pour out their substance to maintain corrupt and venal governments. It apparently has never crossed the minds of the fantastic Machiavellian characters at the other end of the avenue that we want no part—that we want no

dealings with governments who in their very nature are antidemocratic.

Mr. Chairman, as for me, I pledged myself in my oath of office to uphold the principles of the American Constitution and the democratic principles for which the patriots in American history have given their wealth and their lives. I refuse to vote for a bill which violates those principles—which violates the intent and the history of American life. The House, Mr. Chairman, in the vote on this amendment has the opportunity to reaffirm the democratic heritage of the American Declaration of Independence and our Constitution given us by our forefathers. Mr. Chairman, I now present this amendment to the House and in all good faith ask that it be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer a further amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"SEC. 8. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this act, the government requesting such assistance shall (a) register with the United States Treasury Department all holdings of gold held by such government, and by the nationals of such government, both at home and abroad; (b) register with the United States Treasury Department all foreign assets, stocks, bonds, or other holdings of such government and of the nationals of such government; (c) make public the full foreign and domestic indebtedness of such government to a subordinate position to the indebtedness incurred pursuant to this act."

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, since 1932 the RFC has been functioning. In every contract and in every loan made by the RFC to American businessmen there has been a clause which states that the payment of indebtedness incurred shall take precedence over any current indebtedness of the business involved. The RFC states that all other indebtedness shall be relegated to a subordinate position.

Thus, Mr. Chairman, in the financial operations of the RFC we have introduced sound banking principles, and, as all of us know, the RFC has served a highly useful and successful purpose in stabilizing the American economy.

Mr. Chairman, is there any Member of the House that can advance one good reason why this principle should not be applied to the lending of our money to foreign nations? We have applied it successfully for 15 years to the dealings of the American Government with American businessmen. Why should not this principle now be established as a legal condition for any future foreign loans extended by our Government to other nations?

How can any Member deny the validity of applying to foreign nations the same principle which we apply to our own citizens? I believe that the House will want to consider the question of this principle very seriously because France, China, Britain, Italy, Korea, the Philippines, Finland, Hungary, numerous na-

tions in South America, including Mexico—all of these nations have in some form or another made clear their intention to request loans of the American Government. If we lend to the Greek Government without the RFC condition, are we not setting a precedent from which it will be most difficult to escape in the consideration of any future loans to be made to foreign governments?

Mr. Chairman, in the case of Greece, the RFC principle is particularly pertinent because Greece already owes roughly \$500,000,000 in foreign debts—95 percent of which are payable at the Hambro Bank of London. These debts, Mr. Chairman, as we all know, have accumulated over the past 100 years as the result of the extravagances of the corrupt Greek monarchy and the machinations of the international bankers of London in the political affairs of Greece. It is a curious fact, Mr. Chairman, that the Greek monarchy, frequent Balkan wars, and repeated foreign loans from the London banks have gone hand in hand in Greek history. Will our money be used to pay the interest and principal of the Greek foreign indebtedness to the London bankers? Is that why Great Britain wants us to assume her obligations in Greece? Are we to bail out the British despite the fact that they have already collected three times the principal in interest and carrying charges of the original Greek debt? Where will the American dollars lent to Greece finally come to rest? Will they be paid out in dividends to the family of Winston Churchill through the Hambro Bank in London?

Mr. Chairman, common sense—ordinary horse sense—regular sound business banking practices persuade me that the RFC principle which regulates our dealings with our own businessmen should be a standing, standard requirement of all foreign loans made by the United States Government. Now let us establish this principle in the case of Greece. There has already been too much scandal attached to international finance in this country for the Congress of the United States to assume the obligations of the debts of a corrupt and venal monarchy without any attached conditions and with no controls established. There is no reason under God's sun for the Congress of the United States to sign a blank check for President Truman so that he can send it to Athens and have the Greek King fill in the amount—particularly when the Greek King is told what amount to fill in by the Hambro Bank in London. The 58,000,000 Americans who worked for wages and salaries and who earn their living in the sweat of their brow will never be able to understand the thinking of a Congress which refuses to support this amendment.

Mr. Chairman, in all good conscience and good faith, I urge the House to adopt the amendment which I now introduce.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BENDER].

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. BENDER: At the end of the bill insert the following new section:

"SEC. —. Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments or between American oil companies and the nationals of foreign governments."

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Chairman, that great and august body, the Senate of the United States, without dissent and without any question of its propriety and without any question of its relevancy, adopted the amendment which I have just read.

Mr. Chairman, as I believe all of us know, one-half to three-fourths of all the oil reserves of the world are today believed to be in the Near and Middle East. Those oil reserves are under concession to the great oil companies of America and England, and even while we deliberate here in the Congress secret negotiations are underway in London over the method and manner of exploiting these oil reserves.

Mr. Chairman, pending before the Senate of the United States Foreign Relations Committee is an international oil agreement. Pending before the Brewster committee is a scandal involving purchases by the United States Navy Department of oil from American companies in the Near and Middle East.

Mr. Chairman, the honorable Senator from Maine [Mr. BREWSTER] has stated that the present Greek-Turkish military alliance bill smells of petroleum. Other competent investigators have suggested that this bill is nothing but a \$400,000,000 subsidy to the American and British oil industries. Mr. Chairman, whatever the truth may be in regard to these allegations, it is clear that the private oil companies of America have no right to bind the Government of the United States by their private agreements. Mr. Chairman, frequently in American history dollar diplomacy has been denounced. It has also been said, Mr. Chairman, that American guns will follow American dollars. It is interesting that one-fourth to one-third of our entire investment abroad is in the oil industry. This simple fact raises the question of what importance the oil industry has in the formulation and development of American foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman, the American people do not want war. The American people want peace. For my part, I would not shed one drop of blood of a single Ohio boy for all the oil of the Middle East. Let us make clear, Mr. Chairman, that this bill before us is not an international charter for unlimited oil imperialism. Let us make clear that the private international cartel agreements now being negotiated in London cannot be considered in any way binding upon the United States Government. Let us separate the questions of oil and our foreign policy.

Mr. Chairman, I do not believe that there will be opposition to this amendment. In all good conscience and good faith, I now introduce this amendment into the House and ask for its adoption.

The CHAIRMAN. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio.

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Chairman, I offer a preferential motion.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HOFFMAN moves that the Committee do now rise and report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that the enacting clause be stricken.

(Mr. HOFFMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, a point of order against the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, that motion has already been made and was voted down once.

The CHAIRMAN. There have been several amendments adopted on the bill, it has been changed since that motion was previously acted on. The Chair overrules the point of order.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Chairman, debate is limited on the bill by action of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Michigan has offered a preferential motion which is in order in spite of the agreement on closing debate.

[Mr. HOFFMAN addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, so ordered.

There was no objection.

The CHAIRMAN. All time has expired. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CASE of South Dakota, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 2616) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, pursuant to House Resolution 205, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Does any member of the committee on the minority side who is opposed to the bill desire to offer a motion to recommit?

Is the gentleman from California opposed to the bill?

Mr. HOLIFIELD. I am, Mr. Speaker. The SPEAKER. The gentleman qualifies.

The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. HOLIFIELD moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs with instructions to report the same back forthwith with the following amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert in lieu thereof:

"SECTION 1. It is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States, through the appropriate representative of the United States, shall initiate in the Security Council of the United Nations and in other appropriate bodies of the United Nations proposals designed to insure the security and national integrity of Greece and Turkey, and to resolve any related problems in the Near East and Middle East areas which are endangering the peace.

"SEC. 2. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President a sum not exceeding \$100,000,000 for the purpose of relief and rehabilitation of the Greek economy. The President may expend funds appropriated pursuant to this provision through existing agencies of the Federal Government and through transfer of such amounts as he deems appropriate to the Government of Greece and the Secretary General of the United Nations for expenditure by them. Such funds shall be expended for the purchase and other provision of supplies for the civilian economy of Greece, including incidental administrative, transportation, technical, and other necessary services, but no part of such money shall be used for the provision of military supplies or services."

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were refused.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 287, nays 107, answered "present" 2, not voting 35, as follows:

[Roll No. 54]

YEAS—287

Abernethy	Bramblett	Combs
Albert	Brooks	Cooley
Allen, Calif.	Brophy	Cooper
Allen, La.	Brown, Ga.	Corbett
Almond	Bryson	Cotton
Andersen,	Buchanan	Coudert
H. Carl	Buck	Courtney
Anderson, Calif.	Buckley	Cox
Andresen,	Bulwinkle	Cravens
August H.	Burke	Crosser
Andrews, Ala.	Burleson	Cunningham
Andrews, N. Y.	Byrne, N. Y.	D'Alesandro
Arends	Byrnes, Wis.	Davis, Ga.
Auchincloss	Camp	Davis, Wis.
Bakewell	Canfield	Dawson, Utah
Barden	Cannon	Deane
Bates, Ky.	Carroll	Delaney
Bates, Mass.	Carson	Devitt
Battle	Case, N. J.	Dingell
Beall	Case, S. Dak.	Domengeaux
Beckworth	Chadwick	Donohue
Bell	Chelf	Dorn
Blackney	Clark	Drewry
Bloom	Clason	Durham
Boggs, La.	Coffin	Eaton
Bolton	Cole, Kans.	Eberharter
Boykin	Cole, N. Y.	Elliott
Bradley, Calif.	Colmer	Elsaesser

Elston	Jonkman	Peterson
Engel, Mich.	Judd	Philbin
Engle, Calif.	Karsten, Mo.	Pickett
Evins	Kearney	Plumley
Fallon	Kearns	Poage
Feighan	Keating	Potts
Fellows	Kee	Poulson
Fernandez	Keefe	Price, Fla.
Flannagan	Kefauver	Price, Ill.
Fletcher	Kelley	Priest
Fogarty	Kennedy	Rabin
Foot	Keogh	Rains
Forand	Kerr	Rankin
Fulton	Kersten, Wis.	Rayburn
Gamble	Kilburn	Rayfield
Gary	Kilday	Redden
Gathings	King	Reeves
Gearhart	Kirwan	Richards
Goff	Lane	Riehlman
Goodwin	Lanham	Riley
Gordon	Larade	Rivers
Gore	Latham	Robertson
Gorski	Lea	Rogers, Mass.
Gossett	LeCompte	Rohrbough
Grant, Ala.	LeFevre	Rooney
Griffiths	Lesinski	Ross
Gross	Lewis	Sadlak
Gwinn, N. Y.	Lodge	Sasscer
Hagen	Love	Scott, Hardie
Hale	Lucas	Seely-Brown
Hall	Lusk	Sheppard
Edwin Arthur	Lyle	Sikes
Hall	Lynch	Simpson, Pa.
Leonard W.	McConnell	Smathers
Halleck	McCormack	Smith, Kans.
Hardy	McDonough	Smith, Maine
Harless, I.	McMillan, S. C.	Smith, Va.
Harris	McMillen, Ill.	Snyder
Harrison	MacKinnon	Somers
Hart	Macy	Spence
Hartley	Madden	Stevenson
Havener	Mahon	Stigler
Hays	Manasco	Sundstrom
Hebert	Mansfield,	Taber
Hedrick	Mont.	Talle
Heffernan	Meade, Md.	Teague
Hendricks	Merrow	Thomas, Tex.
Herter	Michener	Thomason
Heseltun	Miller, Calif.	Tibbott
Hess	Miller, Md.	Tollefson
Hill	Mills	Towe
Hinshaw	Monroney	Trimble
Hobbs	Morgan	Vorys
Hoeven	Morrison	Wadsworth
Holmes	Morton	Walter
Hope	Muhlenberg	Welch
Horan	Mundt	West
Howell	Murdock	Wheeler
Huber	Murray, Tenn.	Whitten
Jackson, Calif.	Nixon	Whittington
Jackson, Wash.	Nodar	Wigglesworth
Jarman	Norblad	Williams
Javits	Norrell	Wilson, Tex.
Jenkins, Pa.	Norton	Winstead
Jennings	O'Brien	Wolcott
Johnson, Okla.	O'Toole	Wood
Johnson, Tex.	Passman	Worley
Jones, Ala.	Patman	Zimmerman
Jones, N. C.	Patterson	
Jones, Wash.	Peden	

NAYS—107

Allen, Ill.	Fenton	Meyer
Arnold	Gallagher	Miller, Conn.
Banta	Gavin	Morris
Barrett	Gillette	Murray, Wis.
Bender	Gillie	O'Konski
Bennett, Mich.	Graham	Pfeifer
Bennett, Mo.	Granger	Phillips, Calif.
Bishop	Grant, Ind.	Phillips, Tenn.
Blatnik	Gwynne, Iowa	Powell
Boggs, Del.	Hoffman	Ramey
Bradley, Mich.	Holifield	Reed, Ill.
Brehm	Hull	Rees
Brown, Ohio	Jenison	Rich
Buffett	Jenkins, Ohio	Rizley
Busbey	Jensen	Robson
Butler	Johnson, Ill.	Rockwell
Celler	Johnson, Ind.	Russell
Chenoweth	Jones, Ohio	Sabath
Chipperfield	Kean	Sadowski
Church	Klein	Sanborn
Clevenger	Knutson	Sarbacher
Clippinger	Kunkel	Schwabe, Mo.
Cole, Mo.	Landis	Schwabe, Okla.
Crawford	Lemke	Scoblick
Crow	McCowen	Scrivner
Curtis	McGarvey	Shafer
Dague	McGregor	Short
Dorn	McMahon	Simpson, Ill.
D'Ewart	Maloney	Smith, Ohio
Dolliver	Marcantonio	Smith, Wis.
Dondero	Martin, Iowa	Springer
Doughton	Mason	Stanley
Douglas	Mathews	Stefan
Ellis		

Stockman	Vail	Woodruff
Stratton	Van Zandt	Youngblood
Twyman	Weichel	

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—2

Folger	Reed, N. Y.
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NOT VOTING—35

Angell	Gregory	Ploeser
Bland	Hand	Preston
Bonner	Harness, Ind.	Rogers, Fla.
Chapman	Johnson, Calif.	St. George
Clements	McDowell	Scott
Davis, Tenn.	Mansfield, Tex.	Hugh D., Jr.
Dawson, Ill.	Meade, Ky.	Taylor
Dirksen	Miller, Nebr.	Thomas, N. J.
Ellsworth	Mitchell	Vinson
Fisher	O'Hara	Vursell
Fuller	Owens	Wilson, Ind.
Gifford	Pace	Wolverton

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Dirksen for, with Mr. Miller of Nebraska against.

Mr. Vinson for, with Mr. Harness of Indiana against.

Mr. Pace for, with Mr. Owens against.

Mr. Ploeser for, with Mr. Wilson of Indiana against.

Mr. Chapman for, with Mr. Vursell against.

Mr. Mitchell for, with Mr. Hand against.

Mr. Bonner for, with Mr. Folger against.

Mr. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., for, with Mrs. St. George against.

General pairs until further notice:

Mr. Wolverton with Mr. Preston.

Mr. O'Hara with Mr. Rogers of Florida.

Mr. Angell with Mr. Gregory.

Mr. Johnson of California with Mr. Clements.

Mr. McDowell with Mr. Davis of Tennessee.

Mr. Taylor with Mr. Fisher.

Mr. Thomas of New Jersey with Mr. Dawson of Illinois.

Mr. Gifford with Mr. Mansfield of Texas.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from North Carolina, Mr. BONNER. If he were present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have a live pair with the gentleman from Florida, Mr. ROGERS. If he were present he would have voted "yea." I voted "nay." I withdraw my vote and vote "present."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, it is now in order to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 938 and to move to strike out all after the enacting clause of said bill and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in the bill H. R. 2616.

The Clerk will report the Senate bill.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill S. 938 and to insert in lieu thereof the provisions contained in the bill H. R. 2616.

The motion was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

By unanimous consent, the proceedings under which the bill H. R. 2616 was passed were vacated, and the bill was laid on the table.

ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet at noon on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

CONSENT CALENDAR TO BE CALLED ON MONDAY

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that it may be in order to call the Consent Calendar on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I want to announce to the House the program for next week.

Monday will be District Day. The Consent Calendar will also be called on Monday.

On Tuesday we will begin debate on the State, Justice, and Commerce Departments appropriation bill. I do not know just how much time will be devoted to the debate. That is to be determined, of course, when the bill is taken up, but it will very likely continue through Tuesday.

On Wednesday we will continue with the consideration of the appropriation bill, and also on Thursday if it is not completed before that time.

The following bills, if they are not disposed of earlier in the week, will be called on Friday and Saturday:

S. 814, a bill to provide support for wool.

There has been a bill reported from the Committee on Agriculture. No rule has been granted. Of course the action on that measure would depend upon the action of the Committee on Rules.

H. R. 2780, which has to do with the completion of veterans temporary reuse housing program.

House Resolution 176, an investigating authority for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and similar resolutions, House Resolution 93 and House Resolution 141, for the Committee on Public Lands and the Committee on Armed Services.

Then House Resolution 153, a continuation of an investigation by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks made in Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my re-

marks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include therein a copy of a letter dated April 22, addressed to the Secretary of State and to Mr. Austin, our representative with the United Nations, signed by 30 Members of the House making certain inquiry with respect to the attitude of the United States representatives on the Palestine question, together with a copy of the reply sent to these Members by the Secretary of State as well as a list of the signers of the letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article which appeared in today's Star entitled "Arms, Not a Loan, What the Turks Want."

Mr. ROBSION asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include some excerpts.

Mr. REED of New York asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole today and to include certain excerpts and quotations.

Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana asked and was given permission to extend his remarks made in Committee of the Whole today, and also to extend his remarks in the RECORD after the last amendment be offered in Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. PHILBIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a recent article in the New York Times by Anson W. Baldwin.

Mr. MARCANTONIO asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole today.

Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a short statement by David Wills.

FREE COMMUNICATION PRIVILEGES TO OFFICIAL PARTICIPANTS IN WORLD TELECOMMUNICATION CONFERENCE

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the resolution (S. J. Res. 102) to permit United States common communications carriers to accord free communication privileges to official participants in the world telecommunications conferences to be held in the United States in 1947.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, has the gentleman from California taken this up with the ranking minority member of the committee?

Mr. HINSHAW. I have. I have taken it up with the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN]. The gentleman from

California [Mr. LEA] is present. It is a unanimous report from the committee.

Mr. McCORMACK. I withdraw my reservation of objection, Mr. Speaker.

There being no objection, the Clerk read the joint resolution, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That nothing in the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, or in any other provision of law shall be construed to prohibit United States communication common carriers from rendering free communication services to official participants in the world telecommunications conferences to be held in the United States in 1947, subject to such rules and regulations as the Federal Communications Commission may prescribe.

The Senate joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRUST FUNDS HELD IN JOINT OWNERSHIP BY SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHO TRIBES OF WIND RIVER RESERVATION

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H. R. 1098) entitled "An act to authorize the segregation and expenditure of trust funds held in joint ownership by the Shoshone and Arapaho Tribes of the Wind River Reservation," with Senate amendments, and agree to the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

Page 1, line 10, strike out "to a trust fund" and insert "in the principal."

Page 1, line 10, strike out "for" and insert "to a principal trust fund account and one-half of the total amount in the interest account to an interest trust fund account for."

Page 2, line 5, strike out "Secretary of the Treasury" and insert "Comptroller of the United States."

Page 2, line 7, strike out "to" where it occurs the second time and insert "the Secretary of the Treasury shall."

Page 2, line 10, strike out "earned" and insert "shall accrue on the principal fund only."

Page 2, line 11, after "annum", insert "and."

Page 2, line 11, strike out "principal" and insert "interest."

Page 2, line 15, after "the", insert "principal."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming [Mr. BARRETT]?

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, has the gentleman taken this up with the ranking minority member of the committee?

Mr. BARRETT. I have consulted with the minority leader the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN] and with the ranking member on the minority side on the committee, as well as the majority leader and chairman of the committee, and it is agreeable to all of them that this action be taken.

Mr. McCORMACK. I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wyoming?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendments were agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

DIGEST OF
CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS
OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued May 14, 1947
For actions of May 13, 1947
80th-1st, No. 90

CONTENTS

Appropriations.....	2,10,16	Information.....	5	Personnel.....	14
Cotton.....	3	Labor.....	9	Quarantine, animal.....	4
Electrification.....	10	Lands.....	13	Research.....	3,7
Flood control.....	19	Lands, grazing.....	15	Sugar and sirups.....	8
Foreign affairs.....	1,12	Lands, reclamation..	6,10,17	Territories & possessions..	11
Forests and forestry....	7,16	Livestock and meat.....	4	Transportation.....	18,20

HIGHLIGHTS: House received conference report on Greek-Turkish aid bill. Senate committee reported bill to extend reclamation laws to Ark. Sen. McCarthy criticized USDA's sugar rationing program. Rep. Gathings urged additional cotton-research appropriations. House committee approved bill to protect forests against insects and diseases.

HOUSE

1. FOREIGN RELIEF. Received the conference report on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 5284-5). As reported from conference, the bill provides as follows:
Authorizes the President to assist Greece and Turkey through financial aid by loans, grants, etc.; detailing Federal employees to those countries; procurement for and transfer to those countries of articles, services, and information; etc. Authorizes appropriations of \$400,000,000 to carry out the act. Pending an appropriation, directs RFC to make advances up to \$100,000,000, to be repaid from the appropriation. Provides for allocations from these funds to the departments and agencies which furnish assistance, and prohibits any such department or agency from providing assistance except through these allocations. Specifies certain conditions precedent to such aid, and certain conditions under which such aid shall be withdrawn.
2. STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE APPROPRIATION BILL. Began debate on this bill, H. R. 3311 (pp. 5244-65, 5268-84).
3. COTTON RESEARCH. Rep. Gathings, Ark., spoke in favor of additional appropriations for research on new uses for cotton (p. 5242).
4. FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE. Received from this Department a report on progress of the control of this disease in Mexico. To Agriculture Committee. (p. 5285.)
5. GEOGRAPHIC NOMENCLATURE. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendments H. R. 1555, to promote uniformity of geographic nomenclature in the Federal

Government (H. Rept. 366)(p. 5285).

6. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendment H. R. 3143, to authorize construction, operation, and maintenance of the Paonia Federal reclamation project, Colo. (H. Rept. 371)(p. 5285).
7. The Public Lands Committee ordered reported H. R. 1826, changing the penalty for trespassing on national-forest land; H. R. 1826, to protect forests from insect and diseases; and H. R. 195, authorizing USDA to sell to Sitka, Alaska, certain lands formerly occupied by the Alaska Agricultural Experiment Station (p. D240). (These bills, as reported, and the committee reports will not be available until the bills are actually reported. At that time this Digest will include a note to that effect.)

SENATE

8. SUGAR CONTROLS. Sen. McCarthy, Wis., stated that "the Sugar Rationing Division of the Agriculture Department is participating in planned scarcity, so far as sugar is concerned, and planned wastage so far as fruits and berries on the farm are concerned," and urged the decontrol of sugar (pp. 5320-3).
9. LABOR. Passed, 68-24, with amendments H.R. 3020, the labor-management bill (pp. 5288-99). Sens. Taft, Ball, Ives, Murray, and Ellender were appointed conferees (p. 5298). House conferees not yet appointed.
10. RECLAMATION. The Public Lands Committee reported with amendment S. 299, to extend the reclamation laws to Arkansas (S. Rept. 168) (p. 5300).
Sen. Morse, Oreg., discussed the effects of reduced appropriations on the reclamation and power projects of the West (pp. 5338-61).
11. PHILIPPINE REHABILITATION. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment S. 1020, to amend the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 relative to accumulated leave and claims' authorizations (S.Rept. 166) (p. 5300).
12. FOREIGN RELIEF. Began debate on H.J.Res. 153, providing for relief assistance to the people of countries devastated by war (pp. 5303-20).
13. LANDS. The Public Lands Committee reported without amendment S. 28, to reestablish the offices of registers of land offices (S.Rept. 165) (p. 5300).
14. PERSONNEL. Sen. McCarran, Nev., inserted the amendments which he intends to propose and his prepared statement on S. 637, the omnibus retirement bill (pp. 5301-2).

BILL INTRODUCED

15. GRAZING LANDS. H.R. 3429, by Rep. Barrett, Wyo., "to amend section 10 of the Taylor Grazing Act." To Public Lands Committee. (p. 5286.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

16. FORESTRY APPROPRIATIONS. Rep. Morrison, La., inserted his statement before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture urging that no reduction be made in appropriations for forestry work (p. A2385).
17. RECLAMATION; ELECTRIFICATION. Extension of remarks of Rep. Welch, Calif., stating that Government funds spent on such projects will be returned to the Federal

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the task that has confronted the Committee on Appropriations. Sometimes it seems rather unkind when a committee has worked as diligently and as sincerely as the Committee on Appropriations has to criticize some of their efforts. But I am sure they realize that the criticisms are directed with a view to bringing about improvements rather than for any other reason. I might say I am not wholly in discord with the bill because there is certainly one feature of the bill which I thoroughly approve. I might say I not only approve of it but am quite sure that all the Members of the House from New York City approve that portion of it which provides in connection with the census statistics section that on and after October 1, 1947, all functions necessary to the compilation of foreign-trade statistics shall be performed in New York and of the foregoing amount \$1,200,000 shall be available exclusively for this purpose.

I might say that the thanks of the people working in customs statistics in New York are due and are given to the chairman of the committee, Mr. TABER, and to Mr. ROONEY, of Brooklyn, for their efforts in endeavoring to retain and for retaining the Customs Statistics Service in New York City. It had been there for many years but some effort was made on the part of the department to remove it to Washington for no apparent purpose. Those who are working in that section in New York were able to bring to the attention of Mr. ROONEY and Mr. TABER the fact that by remaining in New York there would be a saving to the Government of approximately \$200,000. Needless to say, both Mr. ROONEY and Mr. TABER were anxious to save that money for the Government and have thus provided in this bill for the retention of Customs Statistics Service in New York. Again I want to thank the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] and the gentleman from New York [Mr. TABER] for their efforts in that behalf.

I desire to speak, however, particularly in connection with the establishment of air-navigation facilities.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, in order that conferees may be named on the Greek-Turkish loan legislation, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CURTIS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill H. R. 3311, had come to no resolution thereon.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill S. 938, an act to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, with a House amendment, insist on the amendment of the House and request a conference with the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New

Jersey [Mr. EATON]? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Mr. EATON, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. JONKMAN, Mr. BLOOM, and Mr. KEE.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks on the scandalous Turkish-Greek deal at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio? There was no objection.

THE SCANDALOUS TURKISH-GREEK DEAL

Mr. BENDER. Mr. Speaker, apparently President Truman and the State Department have paid some little attention to what the Senate and the House had to say about the scandalous Turkish-Greek deal because our Government has suggested a general amnesty for the Greek rebels. In the news report of May 10, the United Press states the following—and I quote:

The Minister of Public Order, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, and Deputy Prime Minister Stylianos Gonatas, Rightists, were extremely angry at American intervention, according to another Cabinet Minister who attended last night's meeting of the political council.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that the text of this article appear in my remarks at this point.

ATHENS NEGOTIATES ON AMNESTY PLAN—NOTE TO UNITED STATES ENVOY ACCEPTS IN EFFECT OUTSIDE SUPERVISION BUT BARS UN PROPOSAL

ATHENS, May 10.—The Greek Government agreed tonight in substance to the American suggestion of an internationally-supervised general amnesty for Greece's estimated 15,000 guerrillas.

But the agreement, contained a note to the United States Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh, was based on the condition that a pending recommendation of the United Nations Balkans Investigating Commission for United Nations supervision of the amnesty be withdrawn.

The note followed a 1½-hour meeting this morning between Mr. MacVeagh and Constantin Tsaldaris, Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister, who sought clarification of the American proposal for a genuine amnesty. The American reply is expected early next week.

It was understood that the American proposal, presented as a suggestion and backed by an implied threat to withhold American assistance to Greece, is that the Greek Government move faster than the United Nations Balkans Commission and request several smaller states to supervise the amnesty.

TSALDARIS' QUESTIONS CITED

Mr. Tsaldaris was understood to have asked Mr. MacVeagh just who precisely would benefit by the amnesty, what should be done to men accused of common law crimes and what the United States would suggest for the methods and qualifications for the supervisory mission.

Meanwhile, the extreme right and the extreme left here reacted alike to the American proposals for foreign supervision of the amnesty and a broadening of the Government.

Both sides accused the United States of intervening in Greece's internal affairs. The Minister of Public Order, Gen. Napoleon Zervas, and Deputy Prime Minister Stylianos Gonatas, Rightists, were extremely angry at American intervention, according to an-

other Cabinet Minister who attended last night's meeting of the Political Council.

The Communist newspaper Rizospastis expressed a similar feeling and carried blaring headlines on "American Intervention."

The government of Premier Demetrios Maximos has an amnesty program, but it is not trusted by the guerrillas. The plan provides that only those accused of major crimes such as murder will be punished severely. Yet, 10 men and 1 woman were shot at Lamia in central Thessaly yesterday for collaborating with or enlisting recruits for the guerrillas.

Mr. Speaker, obviously, when the United Nations proposes amnesty to the present Greek Government, the Nazi collaborationist, General Zervas, who today is in charge of the Greek Army and the Greek policy, became extremely angry. This is a perfect illustration as to why the Greek Government needs to be reorganized. It is a perfect illustration to the point that political democracy is the only basis on which economic rehabilitation and an end to the civil war in Greece can be obtained.

I wish to call the attention of the House to a Washington Post article of Monday, May 12, which states the following:

Actually, this Government has not moved a finger in any constructive direction since President Truman's speech 2 months ago.

The vicious reactionary monarchial government existing in Greece assumes that we are going to pour out money to maintain them in office by force of American arms. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the article in the Washington Post appear in my remarks at this point:

UNITED STATES AMNESTY PLAN HELD UNAUTHORIZED—RECALCITRANT GREEK GOVERNMENT SEEKS TO PROVE MACVEAGH, ETHRIDGE ACTED ON OWN

(By Seymour Friedin)

ATHENS, GREECE, May 11.—The recalcitrant Greek Government, more unwilling than ever to accept a plan of an internationally supervised amnesty, sought today to prove that a chasm of difference existed between Washington and United States representatives in Athens and Geneva.

Employing a State Department denial in Washington that Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh had been instructed to enter the negotiations, Government officials blithely accepted their own interpretation of the statement. They suggested strongly that neither MacVeagh, here, nor Mark Ethridge, in Geneva, had official American blessings to make suggestions of any kind.

Government quarters even suggested that MacVeagh might be recalled because, according to their version, he acted on his own initiative in proffering suggestions. Some American representatives may have been staggered by the Government's eager search for loopholes to avoid responsibility, but this is just the beginning.

George Patandreou today became the first minister to place himself on record publicly against the amnesty proposals. The minister of the interior asserted in his newspaper today that acceptance of the amnesty proposal would offend Greek pride and infringe on Greek sovereignty.

This was the same attitude taken without attribution by most of the members of the government. Opposition Center Party sources, however, insist the real reason for the cabinet's refusal to accept the amnesty suggestion is the fear that it means recognition of the Royalists failure to ameliorate conditions.

Actually, this Government has not moved a finger in any constructive direction since President Truman's speech 2 months ago. The attitude is simply to wait for the American mission to arrive. This Government apparently will not make a definite move unless it can give the appearance of being ordered by an interested power.

Nevertheless the Government persists in launching new offensives which so far have done little more than increase the guerrilla's activities. It was learned today that another campaign has been initiated in northwest Thebes and Lavadia. The operation indicates that the guerrillas apparently have been moving slowly south toward the capital. Communist leadership among the rebels is known to seek a bold feat, like appearing near Athens, to prove the strength of their movement.

Political discussions toward the new complexion of the government are expected to be important this week.

The aged Themistocles Sofoulis, Liberal Party leader, again today reiterated that he will not enter the government unless he becomes premier and his party can undertake the responsibility alone of restoring peace in Greece.

Mr. Speaker, I think that our State Department and Mr. Truman should understand that at least some of us in the Congress intend to follow with the closest attention the development of the Greek-Turkish policy and to call the attention of the House and to the country to any failures that occur.

Mr. Speaker, for my part, and I believe I can speak for a number of other Congressmen, the State Department and the President of the United States can consider that the bipartisan foreign policy is at an end. We are at peace; the President of the United States has proposed a policy which stabs the United Nations in the back; he has proposed a policy which puts military power first; economic reconstruction second, and political stability last. Obviously, the policy is a complete error; obviously, we should establish political stability first, economic reconstruction second, and thereby eliminate the need for military coercion. Obviously, the policy, instead of being decided by us and paid for by us alone, should begin with the United Nations, and should be decided by the United Nations.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, the entire Truman doctrine is an abortive ill-conceived policy of military grandisement which isolates America from the world, guarantees its own defeat because it begins at the wrong place.

I say, Mr. Speaker, that the bipartisan foreign policy is at an end and because the Truman policy does not represent a policy to maintain the national security of America, it violates our commitments to the United Nations and begins to work for war instead of peace. The bipartisan policy therefor is dead, and deserves to be dead.

The foreign policy has become, Mr. Speaker, an issue in the 1948 campaign. Whether we like it or not, Mr. Truman has decided to run for President on a basis of the Truman doctrine, and thereby in my opinion has guaranteed his own defeat.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to point out that as we move along through the year the vast and endless ramifications of the

Truman doctrine will be brought home to the Congress. The Washington Post of Monday had an article from which I wish to quote from London. This article states: "The Conservative Party published today an election program accepting substantially all objectives of the Socialist program, with some differences in method and asking for a new, bigger, and more generous loan from the United States."

Mr. Speaker, I ask that this article appear in my remarks at this point.

TORIES SEEK BIGGER UNITED STATES LOAN,
ENDORSE SOCIALIST OBJECTIVES

LONDON, May 11.—The Conservative Party published today an election platform accepting substantially all objectives of the Socialist program, with some differences in method, and asking for a new, bigger, and more generous loan from the United States.

The statement said in effect that if elected, the Tories will carry out practically the whole Socialist program, with more efficiency, more individual freedom, and less red tape.

The Tories predicted an economic crisis for Britain in 1948, saying the American and Canadian loans would be exhausted by the middle of that year. They said Britain could not scale down its empire-preference tariff structure—as required in the current loan agreement with the United States—unless "other countries" offered adequate reductions in their own trade barriers.

"Concessions hedged around with escape clauses," the statement added, referring to the same loan agreement, "are of no use to us."

For the next few years the volume of world trade will depend on the amount of help the United States gives to war-stricken countries like Britain, which cannot afford to pay for their imports, the statement continued. If the United States is willing to lend money to other countries and accept their goods in payment of interest, world trade will expand and Britain will secure a large enough share of it to pay for her own vital imports, the statement said.

"If the United States is not willing to follow this policy, we shall have to make the best of the avenues of trade at our disposal," the Tories wrote.

The statement accepts all the Socialists' main ideas. The Tories agree that Britain's economic life should be planned by the government for the benefit of the nation. They agree that government planning should insure full employment at all times; allocate materials and manpower to the industries where they are most needed; give top priority to the capital re-equipment of industry, the export drive, power, transport, and housing; continue rationing and price controls as long as the necessities of life are scarce; and guarantee the farmers' market and prices.

The Tories accept the nationalization of the coal mines, railroads, and the Bank of England without protest, and most of their fiscal policy is identical with that of Hugh Dalton, Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer. But they promise to free part of the road-trucking and civil aviation industries from national ownership, and they oppose the nationalization of iron and steel. They also contend that the government is spending too much money and encouraging inflation.

Mr. Speaker, I trust that the Members of the House will note that the Conservative Party is asking for a bigger and more generous loan from the United States. In this connection, Mr. Stewart Alsop, who writes the very interesting and able column entitled "Matter of Fact" in the first of three articles summarizing his

experiences in England argues that the Greek crisis in retrospect will look like a teapot tempest. He points out that the British are facing an enormous world-wide crisis from which the United States alone can rescue them. Mr. Speaker, I request that Mr. Alsop's column on British-American partnership be included in my remarks at this point:

MATTER OF FACT

(By Stewart Alsop)

CAN WE DO THE JOB?—THE BRITISH PARTNERSHIP

The infinite boredom in a little room which trans-Atlantic plane travel provides leaves the returning traveler little alternative to thought. To one who has seen, however briefly, something of the contest between the Soviet Union and the West now in progress throughout the Near and Middle East, the likeliest subject with which to while away the long hours is simply this: Can we do the job?

Certainly the effort which has already started to checkmate Soviet expansion by promoting political and economic stability in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world, will not be an easy job. Yet given certain conditions, it can be done.

One condition is painfully obvious. That is that Great Britain remain a major world power. American policy in the Middle East is based squarely on the assumption that Great Britain remain a good long-term bet. This is so, simply because a total British economic collapse, or a wholesale withdrawal of British influence (or what is more likely, both together) would leave a vast vacuum far more easily filled by the Soviet Union than by the United States. The question is therefore pertinent: "How good a bet is Great Britain?"

To that question you can find in England an infinite variety of answers. "You can write us off," one prominent Tory remarked to this reporter, with that intense pleasure in the lugubrious sometimes attributed to the unadmirable English weather.

Glance at the coal cuts for this summer, glance at the export figures, and stop fooling yourselves. England will never make it. A dwindling number of enthusiastic Socialists see the Socialist millenium ushered in within a couple of years or so, with plenty for all and dancing on the village green. What appear to be the most sensible and informed observers place the answer somewhere between these extremes. Their mood is one of guarded optimism. They are betting on England, but they have their fingers crossed.

There are all sorts of reasons why no sensible man would dare to uncross his fingers in the near future. Coal is one. Coal is at the heart of the British economic crisis; if coal production were suddenly and miraculously to equal prewar, the whole country would be out of the woods tomorrow. Yet, this month the hours of work at the coal face have been reduced to 35, and played-out Welsh mines, their seams almost run out, are still being worked, while rich, new, unexploited mines in Yorkshire are badly undermanned. The problem is partly human and partly political. The miners exhibit the same curious lethargy which characterizes many workers in many industries in postwar Britain. The Government has no carrot in the form of consumption goods to offer them, and since it is politically dependent on their good will, it dares not use a stick. Yet there are signs that the meaning of the terrible coal crisis of the winter has struck home, and that nationalization has provided a morale boost. Despite wild-cat strikes, the production curve is gently up.

Another symptom of the reason why fingers remain crossed may be found in the simple fact that during the recent Easter

Advancing American art—list of oil paintings

Artist	Painting	Price	Order date ¹
1. Avery, Milton	Fish Basket	\$500	May 4 1946
2. Baziotes, William	Flower Head	550	Do.
3. Bearden, Romare	At Five in the Afternoon	300	Do.
4. Ben Zion	Perpetual Destructor	600	Do.
5. Ben Zion	The Strangled Tree	400	Do.
6. Ben Zion	End of Don Quixote	500	Do.
7. Booth, Cameron	Clown	300	May 7
8. Bouche, Louis	Maspeeth, Queens	300	May 4
9. Bouche, Louis	Gallery K	500	Do.
10. Breinin, Raymond	Her Lover's Return	550	May 3
11. Browne, Byron	Still Life in Red, Yellow, and Green	350	May 4
12. Burlin, Paul	News from Home	1,000	May 3
13. Constant, George	Rock Crabs	250	May 4
14. Crawford, Ralston	Wing Fabrication	500	May 3
15. Crawford, Ralston	Plane Production	600	Do.
16. Davis, Stuart	Tree and El	600	Do.
17. Davis, Stuart	Still Life with Flowers	1,000	Do.
18. De Diego, Julio	Nocturnal Family	500	June 5
19. De Diego, Julio	Under Stiff Rearguard Action	500	Do.
20. De Martini, Joseph	The Ravine	625	May 4
21. Dove, Arthur	Another Arrangement	600	May 3
22. Dove, Arthur	Grey Greens	400	Do.
23. Drewes, Werner	Balcony	400	May 4
24. Drewes, Werner	A Dark Thought	250	Do.
25. Drewes, Werner	Gaiety in Times of Distress	350	Do.
26. Evergood, Philip	Fascist Leader	650	May 3
27. Evergood, Philip	Girl and Cock	400	Do.
28. Gottlieb, Adolph	The Couple	400	May 4
29. Gropper, William	Home	375	May 3
30. Gropper, William	They Fought to the Last Man	1,125	Do.
31. Guglielmi, O. Louis	Subway Exit	700	Oct. 2
32. Guglielmi, O. Louis	Tenements	500	Aug. 7
33. Guston, Philip	Portrait of Shannah	700	June 6
34. Gwathmey, Robert	Workers on the Land	800	May 3
35. Gwathmey, Robert	Worksong	800	June 6
36. Hartley, Marsden	Wild Sea Rose	250	May 4
37. Hartley, Marsden	Roses	300	Do.
38. Hartley, Marsden	Whale's Jaw, Dogtown	600	Aug. 1
39. Howard, Charles	The Medusa	300	June 5
40. Kantor, Morris	Afternoon	450	Aug. 1
41. Kleinholz, Frank	Floral	450	June 6
42. Kleinholz, Frank	Bank Night	450	May 4
43. Kuhn, Walt	Pine at Five O'clock	1,334	June 6
44. Kuhn, Walt	Still Life with Bananas	1,333	Do.
45. Kuniyoshi, Yasuo	Deserted Brickyard	900	May 3
46. Kuniyoshi, Yasuo	Circus Girl Resting	700	Do.
47. Levi, Julian	Still Life	800	Aug. 7
48. Levis, Julian	Waste and Images	500	Do.
49. Levine, Jack	White Horse	1,500	Aug. 1
50. MacIver, Loren	Blue Landscape	450	Do.
51. Marin, John	Sea and Boat	2,500	May 3
52. Marin, John	Seascape	1,200	Do.
53. Marsh, Reginald	Lifeguard	600	Do.
54. Morris, George L. K.	Shipbuilding Composition	200	Do.
55. Morris, George L. K.	New England Church	550	Oct. 2
56. O'Keeffe, Georgia	Small Hill Near Alcade	1,000	May 3
57. O'Keeffe	Cos Cob	1,000	Do.
58. Pereira, I. Rice	Abstraction	450	Do.
59. Prestopino, Gregorio	Newspaper	800	Oct. 2
60. Prestopino, Gregorio	Trolley Car	900	May 3
61. Rattner, Abraham	Yellow Table	800	May 4
62. Refregier, Anton	End of the Conference	300	June 6
63. Shahn, Ben	Hunger	875	Oct. 2
64. Shahn, Ben	Renasce	750	Aug. 7
65. Sheeler, Charles	Boneyard	750	May 3
66. Spruce, Everett	Owl on Rocks	195	May 7
67. Spruce, Everett	Turkey	220	Do.
68. Spruce, Everett	Canyon at Night	220	Do.
69. Tschabasov, Nahum	Choir Boys	300	May 4
70. Tschabasov, Nahum	Mother and Child	300	Do.
71. Tschabasov, Nahum	Fish	300	Do.
72. Watkins, Franklin	Portrait of Old Woman	500	May 3
73. Weber, Max	Fruit and Wine	1,200	May 4
74. Weber, Max	Conversation	1,600	Do.
75. Weber, Max	Two Vases	1,200	Do.
76. Wilson, Sol	Fisherman on Wharf	300	Do.
77. Zerbe, Karl	Clown and Ass	850	Aug. 7
78. Zerbe, Karl	The Owls	300	May 3
79. Zerbe, Karl	Around the Lighthouse	500	Do.

¹ Date of DS-12, departmental request for supplies, equipment, or services, preceded by negotiations of various lengths.

PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, OIC
WEEKLY ROUND-UP ARTCAST, SEPTEMBER 20, 1946
(Please note date of exhibition)

Column mail

WASHINGTON (undated).—An exhibition of Advancing American Art, prepared by the United States Department of State and designed to show the scope and progress of contemporary experimental and creative painting in the United States, is scheduled to open on October 4 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. In response to requests from United States missions abroad for a showing of the newest trends in American paintings, the Department has chosen these 79 paintings by 45 artists as represent-

ative of fine quality, originality, artistic breadth, distinction, and variety of style.

After a sojourn at the Metropolitan in New York, the exhibit will be divided into two parts: 30 paintings will tour the other American Republics; while 49 will go to Europe on a similar tour, beginning in Paris in November (UNESCO month) then moving through the other large cities of Europe. Less extensive but fully self-contained and representative units of the exhibition later will circulate through the smaller European cities.

The exhibit is planned to acquaint the world with recent developments in American paintings, and presents therefore a national cross-section of the work of the most active and forward-looking of contemporary artists.

Included are canvases by well-known and established painters like John Marin, Max Weber, Stuart Davis, Marsden Hartley, and Georgia O'Keeffe, as well as those of such comparatively new arrivals in the field as Jack Levine, Robert Gwathmey, Gregorio Prestopino, and Ben Shahn.

The initiate in art may trace in these paintings important social and cultural influences and traditions, fresh ideas and techniques. Art amateurs will find interest and pleasure in the broad range and variety of subject, style, and approach—the classic precision of Charles Sheeler; the brooding moods and memories of Loren MacIver; the fantasy of Julio de Diego; the abstractions of Stuart Davis; the somber intensity of Ben Shahn; the social commentary of William Gropper; the biting analysis of Jack Levine and Robert Gwathmey.

Paintings designated to tour the Eastern Hemisphere include Still Life With Flowers, by Stuart Davis; Fascist Leader, by Philip Evergood; They Fought To the Last Man, by William Gropper; Tenements, by Louis Guglielmi; Horse, by Jack Levine; Seascape, by John Marin; Trolley Car, by Gregorio Prestopino; Small Hill Near Alcade, by Georgia O'Keeffe; Boneyard, by Charles Sheeler; and Circus Girl Resting by Yasuo Kuniyoshi.

A parallel selection of artists and paintings for the exhibit in the other American Republics include Robert Gwathmey's Workers on the Land, Yasuo Kuniyoshi's Deserted Brickyard, Ben Shahn's Hunger, Max Weber's Fruit and Wine, and Reginald Marsh's Life Guard.

While this is the most ambitious project of this type yet undertaken by the State Department as part of its world-wide cultural activities program, other smaller exhibits of original prints, water colors, and photographs already have circulated abroad, and are reported to have met with cordial response. This exhibit and others now being planned are part of a widespread program of peacetime cultural interchange between the United States and the rest of the world.

HANNAH GOLDMAN.

Sources: United States State Department advance release, interview, photographs, art periodicals.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. SEELY-BROWN].

(Mr. SEELY-BROWN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Chairman, I rise to make two very brief observations. As a result of the debate which we have had on the floor of the House the past 2 weeks, I think all of us are well aware of the dangers that lie in the path of legislating a foreign policy in a piecemeal fashion.

It was my opportunity during the war to observe propaganda being manufactured. I know something of its effectiveness. I recognize the definite need for a pro-American propaganda program at the present time. I recognize the power and possible effectiveness of such a program. A weapon of this type can be made so all-powerful that I feel it might be well to have a program of this type more directly under the control of the Congress.

If we are not careful, the tail may wag the dog.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, this concludes the general debate on the bill, and I suggest that the Clerk read.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read. The Clerk read down to and including line 6 on page 1.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. CURTIS, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3311) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the judiciary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and for other purposes, had come to no resolution thereon.

SENATE BILL 938—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Affairs may have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on the bill, S. 938.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. EATON submitted the following conference report and statement:

CONFERENCE REPORT

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following: "That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

"(1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

"(2) by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: *Provided, however,* That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this act until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

"(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

"(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

"(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

"SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or accounts existing or established for the purpose.

"(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to such countries in accounts established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

"(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement, the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment thereof shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"(d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

"(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

"SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this Act; (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other

foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

"SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

"(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

"SEC. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

"The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

"(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

"(2) If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

"(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

"(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

"SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

"SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities, which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments, under authority of this Act.

"SEC. 8. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe."

And the House agree to the same.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
BARTHEL J. JONKMAN,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,

Managers on the Part of the House.

A. H. VANDENBERG,
ARTHUR CAPPER,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
TOM CONNALLY,
WALTER F. GEORGE,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 938) to provide for as-

assistance to Greece and Turkey, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House amendment struck out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause. The committee of conference recommends that the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, with an amendment which is in the form of a substitute for both the text of the Senate bill and the House amendment, and that the House agree to the same.

The bill agreed to in conference is for the most part the same as the bill passed by the House. Except for minor technical and clerical differences, the differences between the House amendment and the conference argument are noted below.

The House amendment contained a provision that no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of the act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The conference agreement provides that no such assignment shall be made until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The House amendment contained in substance the provision known as the Vandenberg amendment. As passed by the House, the second paragraph of this amendment was not identical with the paragraph as passed by the Senate. The conference agreement includes the language finally adopted by the Senate. The provision requires the President to withdraw aid if the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

The bill as passed by the Senate contained a provision requiring that the chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of the act as the President shall prescribe. There was no corresponding provision in the House amendment. The conference agreement includes this provision.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
BARTEL J. JONKMAN,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,

Managers on the Part of the House.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MUNDT (at the request of Mr. HORAN) was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri and Mr. DIRKSEN (at the request of Mr. HORAN) were given permission to extend their remarks in the RECORD, and include extraneous matter.

Mr. HORAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include some extraneous matter.

Mr. BUSBEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include a list of the artists I mentioned along with the amount paid for each painting and the date of purchase and in addition a copy of the Artcast dated September 20, 1946, which created the so-called demand for this exhibition of art, as well as a report from the House Committee on Un-American Activities on 24 of the artists from whom the paintings were purchased.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER asked and was given permission to revise and extend the remarks he made in Committee of the Whole and include certain excerpts from broadcasts and digests of broadcasts furnished him by the State Department.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. BULWINKLE, for 10 days, on account of official business.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 64. An act granting the consent of Congress for the construction of a dam across Dan River in North Carolina;

S. 132. An act to relieve collectors of customs of liability for failure to collect certain special tonnage duties and light money, and for other purposes;

S. 214. An act to change the name of the Lugert-Altus irrigation project in the State of Oklahoma to the W. C. Austin project;

S. 273. An act to limit the time within which the General Accounting Office shall make final settlement of the monthly or quarterly accounts of fiscal officers, and for other purposes;

S. 460. An act to amend section 327 (h) of the Nationality Act of 1940; and

S. 534. An act to authorize additional allowances of good time and the payment of compensation to prison inmates performing exceptionally meritorious or outstanding services.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. LECOMPTE, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on May 12, 1947, present to the President, for his approval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 450. An act providing for the conveyance to the town of Marblehead, in the State of Massachusetts, of Marblehead Military Reservation, for public use; and

H. R. 1098. An act to authorize the segregation and expenditure of trust funds held in joint ownership by the Shoshone and Arapaho Tribes of the Wind River Reservation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SCHWABE of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, May 14, 1947, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

675. A letter from the Director, Administrative Office of the United States Courts, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to provide for the appointment of an additional circuit judge for the seventh judicial circuit; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

676. A letter from the Under Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting a report on the co-operation of the United States with Mexico in the control and eradication of foot-and-mouth disease; to the Committee on Agriculture.

677. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a revised estimate of appropriation for the fiscal year 1948 involving an increase of \$8,850,000 for the Navy Department (H. Doc. No. 246); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. DONDERO: Committee on Public Works. H. R. 1610. A bill to amend the act of June 14, 1938, so as to authorize the Cairo Bridge Commission to issue its refunding bonds for the purpose of refunding the outstanding bonds issued by the commission to pay the cost of a certain toll bridge at, or near Cairo, Ill.; without amendment (Rept. No. 362). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. DONDERO: Committee on Public Works. H. R. 1628. A bill relinquishing to the State of Illinois certain right, title, or interest of the United States of America, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 363). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 2097. A bill to declare the ownership of the timber on the allotments on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation, and to authorize the sale thereof; without amendment (Rept. No. 364). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 2693. A bill for the relief of Public Utility District No. 1 of Cowlitz County, Wash.; without amendment (Rept. No. 365). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 1555. A bill to promote uniformity of geographic nomenclature in the Federal Government, and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 366). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 577. A bill to preserve historic graveyards in abandoned military posts; with amendment (Rept. No. 367). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 981. A bill to amend section 2 of the act of January 29, 1942 (56 Stat. 21), relating to the refund of taxes illegally paid by Indian citizens; without amendment (Rept. No. 368). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 1831. A bill to authorize the exchange of lands acquired by the United States for the Silver Creek recreational demonstration project, Oregon, for the purpose of consolidating holdings therein, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 369). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 2938. A bill to amend section 1 of the act of August 24, 1912 (37 Stat. 497, 5 U. S. C., sec. 488), fixing the price of copies of records furnished by the Department of the Interior; without amendment (Rept. No. 370). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 3143. A bill to authorize the construction, operation, and maintenance of the Paonia Federal reclamation project, Colorado; with amendment (Rept. No. 371). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. BATES of Massachusetts: Committee on Armed Services. H. R. 1379. A bill to establish the United States Naval Postgraduate School, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 372). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 1882. A bill for expenditure of funds for cooperating with the public-school board at Walker, Minn., for the extension of public-school facilities to be available to all Indian children in the district; without amendment (Rept. No. 373). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 2207. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands within the Shiloh National Military Park, Tenn., and for other purposes; with amendments (Rept. No. 374). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 2545. A bill to provide funds for co-operation with the school board of the Moclips-Aloha District for the construction and equipment of a new school building in the town of Moclips, Grays Harbor County, Wash., to be available to both Indian and non-Indian children; with amendment (Rept. No. 375). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. WELCH: Committee on Public Lands. H. R. 2655. A bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to grant to the mayor and City Council of Baltimore, State of Maryland, a permanent easement for the purpose of installing, maintaining, and servicing two subterranean water mains in, on, and across the land of Fort McHenry National Monument and Historic Shrine, Md.; without amendment (Rept. No. 376). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 408. A bill for the relief of Lawson Ashby; Mrs. Ora Ashby; and Lawson Ashby, the legal guardian of Betty Mae Ashby, a minor; Darrel Ashby, a minor; Kenneth Ashby, a minor; and Vernon Ashby, a minor; with amendments (Rept. No. 348). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SPRINGER: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 651. A bill for the relief of the estate of Rubert W. Alexander; with amendment (Rept. 349). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 836. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Augusta McCall; with amendments (Rept. No. 350). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 888. A bill for the relief of certain owners of land who suffered loss by fire in Lake Landing Township, Hyde County, N. C.; without amendment (Rept. No. 351). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FEIGHAN: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 893. A bill for the relief of Myron R. Leard; with amendments (Rept. No. 352). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SPRINGER: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 905. A bill for the relief of Y. S. Hu; with amendment (Rept. No. 353). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 984. A bill for the relief of A. J. Crozat, Jr.; with amendment (Rept. No. 354). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 989. A bill for the relief of the estate of Mathew C. Cowley, deceased, and the estate of Louisa Cowley, deceased; without amendment (Rept. No. 355). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1152. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Inga Patterson, widow of F. X. Patterson; without amendment (Rept. No. 356). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. REEVES: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1408. A bill for the relief of August W. Dietz; with amendments (Rept. No. 357). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BYRNE of New York: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1513. A bill for the relief of John C. Garrett; without amendment (Rept. No. 358). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1523. A bill for the relief of the estate of Marion S. Griggs, deceased; without amendment (Rept. No. 359). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. CRAVENS: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 1586. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Leslie Price, Philip C. Price, Mrs. Louise Keyton, Annie Curry, and James Curry; with amendments (Rept. No. 360). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. SPRINGER: Committee on the Judiciary. H. R. 261. A bill conferring jurisdiction upon the district court of the United States for the northern district of California, northern division, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of all persons for reimbursement for damages and losses sustained as a result of a flood which occurred in December 1937 in levee district No. 10, Yuba County, Calif.; without amendment (Rept. No. 361). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BARRETT:

H. R. 3429. A bill to amend section 10 of the Taylor Grazing Act of June 28, 1934 (48 Stat. 1273), as amended June 26, 1936 (49 Stat. 1978; 43 U. S. C. sec. 3151); to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. STOCKMAN:

H. R. 3430. A bill to provide for the payment of revenues from certain lands into the tribal funds of the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

H. R. 3431. A bill to remove restrictions on the property and moneys belonging to the individual enrolled members of the Klamath Indian Reservation in Oregon, to provide for the liquidation of tribal property and distribution of the proceeds thereof, to confer complete citizenship upon such Indians, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Lands.

By Mr. ANDREWS of New York:

H. R. 3432. A bill making certain changes in the organization of the Navy Department, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Armed Services.

By Mr. BEALL:

H. R. 3433. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to classify the officers and members of the Fire Department of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1906, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. CUNNINGHAM:

H. R. 3434. A bill to grant retirement with pay to certain emergency officers of World War I seriously disabled from gunshot wounds incurred in combat; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. KILDAY:

H. R. 3435. A bill to provide that automatic national service life insurance as to deceased veterans of World War II shall be payable, in turn, to their widows, children, and parents, if any, without any requirement, as at present, as to their dependency; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. MORRISON:

H. R. 3436. A bill to amend the Armed Forces Leave Act of 1946 to provide that payments be made to survivors for unused leave accumulated by members of the armed forces before their death in service; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 3437. A bill relating to the compensation of those veterans of World War I and World War II who suffer from tuberculosis; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 3438. A bill to provide for the payment of direct Federal assistance to permanently and totally disabled individuals, blind individuals, and certain individuals 60 years of age or over; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H. R. 3439. A bill to raise the limit on the amount of annual income from other sources which may be received by the widow or child of a veteran of World War I or II without disqualifying such widow or child for a pension for the non-service-connected death of such veteran; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 3440. A bill to provide that automatic national service life insurance as to deceased veterans of World War II shall be payable, in turn, to their widows, children, and parents, if any, without any requirement, as at present, as to their dependency; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 3441. A bill to provide that disabled veterans of World War II who elect to receive the educational benefits granted by part VIII of Veterans Regulation No. 1 (a) shall receive the entire subsistence allowance provided by such part; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H. R. 3442. A bill to provide that retired enlisted personnel of the Army who served as commissioned officers during World War II shall receive the pay of retired warrant officers; to the Committee on Armed Services.

H. R. 3443. A bill to amend section 6 of the act of March 20, 1933, so as to eliminate financial inability to defray expenses of hospital treatment or domiciliary care as a prerequisite to obtaining such treatment or care in a Veterans' Administration facility, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. REED of New York:

H. R. 3444. A bill to amend section 251 of the Internal Revenue Code; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BLOOM:

H. R. 3445. A bill to exempt from the immigration quota certain persons who served in the armed forces of governments allied with the United States during World War II; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GAMBLE (by request):

H. R. 3446. A bill to amend the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, title IV of the National Housing Act, the Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 3447. A bill to amend the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H. R. 3448. A bill to amend the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

In other words, if we believe that a federation of the western European democracies is a "positive solution to an important source of trouble in the world," then how much vital and inspiring is a federation in which the United States is a member.

The United States of Europe has been an ideal which has caught the imagination of far-sighted men over the years. The great design of King Henry the Fourth of France was conceived in the era of intense nationalism and was put forward as the antidote to that nationalism which kept Europe constantly at war.

Victor Hugo, whose wide-ranging mind encompassed so many subjects, said at the International Peace Congress at Paris in 1849:

"A day will come when those two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, shall be seen placed in the presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean, exchanging their produce, their commerce, their industry, their arts, their genius, clearing the earth, peopling the deserts, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irresistible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God."

In the 1920's, Aristide Briand, that man of good will, devoted the full strength of his last years to the idea of the United States of Europe in which Germany of the Republic would play an important part and by the absorption of Prussianized Germany into the western sphere of ideas and culture would end the menace of war. The coming of Hitler to power, with his accent upon a heated nationalism, destroyed the dream of Briand.

All great ideas, like the United States of Europe, comes to fruition by the compelling imperatives of necessity. There is not one argument, outside of the proud but poor appeal to national sovereignty, which can stand up in the face of federation. To pool the brains, skill, and resources of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland into a federation, working for the tremendous end of peace, would be to create a power that these nations individually do not have in themselves.

The best and clearest minds in Europe see that to resist the pressure of international communism there must be a union of the western democracies. Prime Minister Attlee, of Great Britain, said: "Europe must federate or perish." Winston Churchill, who politically is diametrically opposed to the socialism of Attlee yet who is today the foremost proponent of federation in Europe, has said:

"If, in this interval, we can revive the life and unity of Europe and Christendom, and with this new reinforcement build high and commanding a world structure of peace which no one will dare challenge, the most awful crisis of history will have passed away and the highroad of history will again become open."

This, remember, is not the talk of theorists or academicians. In the lowest period of French history, when the Republic was on the verge of being overtaken by the men of Vichy, Winston Churchill offered to the French Nation a federation, with common citizenship and a union of purpose.

We are at present embarked upon the leadership of the world through our responsibility to keep high and alive the principles of democracy and liberty. The foremost and extremely intelligent apologists for the United Nations cannot disguise the fact that in a critical pinch, such as has been brought about in Greece and Turkey, the United Nations was not able to handle it. The United States has been forced to take command.

Frankly, we have a guilty conscience about going into this business alone, unilaterally. We are losing confidence in the United Nations. Yet we are committed as much as any nation can be to international organi-

zation as the great remedy against war. If the United Nations cannot be relied upon then we must be thinking in terms of alternatives.

The one alternative that we have is the idea of federal union with the nations whose minds run on a parallel course with ours. The United States of Europe is a magnificent but incomplete idea. The union of the United States of Europe and the United States of America would be, by its very strength, the guarantor of universal peace.

We do endorse, with the three Members of Congress, the union of western European democracies. But we wish that they had taken the next and logical step to work for a federal union to include the United States. That is the direction in which our minds should be going.

[From the Huntington (W. Va.) Herald-Dispatch of May 6, 1947]

DO WE HAVE A PLAN?

Europe is slipping into chaos while nothing is accomplished on the peace treaty with Germany, the American people were told by Secretary of State Marshall in his radio report after returning from the fruitless Moscow conference. Yet at the same time Secretary Marshall gave only a counsel of "Patience, patience." If the State Department has any other proposal up its sleeve, none has been disclosed.

Yet many students of world problems, both in Europe and the United States, have a plan. It calls for a union of western European states, predominantly economic but also to some extent political, into what has come to be known as a United States of Europe. Senator FULBRIGHT, Democrat, Arkansas, Senator THOMAS, Democrat, Utah, and Representative BOGGS, Democrat, Louisiana, have introduced in Congress a resolution reading in full:

"That the Congress favors the creation of a United States of Europe within the framework of the United Nations."

It is no new idea. Disregarding such early advocates as Henry IV, William Penn, Immanuel Kant, and Victor Hugo, the proposal was pushed after World War I by so practical a statesman as Aristide Briand, 10 times premier of France, and is now supported by hard-bitten Winston Churchill.

In fact, under Briand's instigation the 27 European states that were members of the League of Nations met in Geneva in 1930 to discuss ways and means of creating a United States of Europe. The conference got nowhere fast. The delegates praised the principle, disagreed violently on how to achieve it. Some objected that a body outside the League would weaken the League. Others disagreed with the Briand thesis that political should precede economic unification. Others saw an attempt at economic and financial rivalry with the United States.

It will be noted that the Soviet Union was not represented. Some of the delegates at Geneva in 1930 thought it futile to project a United States of Europe with the largest and most populous European state left outside. Others even saw in the 1930 conference another attempt to strengthen the existing "cordon sanitaire" against Moscow.

At all events, any move to create a United States of Europe in 1947 would in effect be an anti-Soviet move. The great difference would be that in 1930 the Soviet Union was on the defensive, in 1947 it is on the offensive. The move today would be an attempt to avert the chaos which is threatened by the Soviet tactics in international affairs and which the Soviet Union is widely suspected of actually desiring. If objection is raised that a union of western Europe now would create two worlds instead of the one world visualized by the United Nations charter,

the answer would be that in actuality Europe is already divided into two worlds.

Many Americans observe blithely: "If the Thirteen States could create a Federal union in 1789, why can't the countries of Europe, at least of western Europe, create their own United States in 1947?" But the problem isn't so simple as that.

In 1789 the former British Colonies had recently been united in war and had much the same attitude toward all foreign nations. In the war recently ended, Italy, Germany, and Austria were on the losing side; Spain was pro-Axis; Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden remained neutral; and certain of the western European states harbor pro-Soviet minorities which are powerful both politically and economically.

[From the Hutchinson (Kans.) News-Herald of March 27, 1947]

UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

There is before the Senate a resolution giving an official American blessing to a United States of Europe to be created under the auspices of the United Nations. Such a development would be as great a contribution toward the economic welfare of the nations involved as it would be to world peace. But it is a dream with no likelihood of reality.

One of the great paradoxes of modern history is that, while everyone believes in the establishment of a United States of Europe, wars constantly are breaking out in dispute over how it is to be evolved. Napoleon, by his own lights, was trying to create a United States of Europe. So was Kaiser Wilhelm II. Later Hitler had a serious shot at it. Today there is excellent evidence Stalin has the same ambition in the back of his mind.

Round and round it goes and where it stops nobody knows. The ideal of the subordination of nations into one big and peaceful community remains, but it never comes even as close as just around the corner. First there is a period in which the nations prove unable to consolidate themselves voluntarily. Then a period in which they join to oppose whichever one of them at the moment is trying to bring about the consolidation. It is a divine jest grimly underlined by the millions of lives it takes once a generation in the shooting debate on the proposition.

[From the Atlanta Journal of March 29, 1947]

A FEDERATED EMPIRE

The resolution introduced in the Congress by Senator FULBRIGHT, of Arkansas and Congressman BOGGS of Louisiana represents an age-old dream in western civilization, a United States of Europe. That it can be called a dream does not argue against it, particularly in 1947 when such a federation would enhance the world's security. But, alas, in 1947 the immediate realization of such a project remains indeed a dream.

There is no concrete plan for a federal Europe, whether Winston Churchill's, John Foster Dulles', or Field Marshal Smuts', which does not constitute, in the view of Soviet Russia, a western bloc aimed at her security. Europe, as Mr. Dulles has argued, can get along without Russia's help in building a federation of the nations signatory to the UN Charter with the addition of Italy and Austria. But neither the European powers nor Britain nor the United States can without Russia's cooperation solve one great problem, the problem of Germany. And a Europe united on a line west of Stettin and Trieste would not be a united Europe.

The key to European reconstruction is Germany; that is merely a fact of economics. It is a fact fraught with dangerous significance, as Secretary Marshall warned in reminding the Council of Foreign Ministers the other day how building Germany after 1918 in order to get reparations from the country

ended by building the Nazi war machine. And yet leaving Germany as a drain on the United States and Britain and, more importantly, as a chaotic vortex in the midst of Europe, would delay forever the reconstruction of Europe. The middle road is hard to find.

There is sentiment in Europe and in the councils of the United Nations for an integrated approach to the reconstruction of Europe's economy. Soviet Russia, after a long delay, has agreed in the UN Economic and Social Council to the establishment of a joint European economic commission.

If the work of such a commission can be accomplished, which ultimately depends upon the joint creation by the Big Four of a sound and peaceful Germany, a United States of Europe may become more than a noble dream.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had insisted upon its amendment to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, disagreed to by the Senate; agreed to the conference asked by the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. EATON, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. JONKMAN, Mr. BLOOM, and Mr. KEE were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

EFFECTS OF REDUCED APPROPRIATIONS ON THE RECLAMATION AND POWER PROJECTS OF THE WEST

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I rise to speak at some length on the effect of reclamation and power projects of the West of reductions made by the House of Representatives in the appropriations carried in the Interior Department appropriation bill. In view of the lateness of the hour, and because of my desire to have my remarks appear in the RECORD in continuity, without unnecessary interruptions, I shall decline to yield during the course of the discussion. These remarks I contemplate having reprinted and distributed in considerable quantities throughout the Pacific Northwest, and I desire to have them in treatise form.

I desire to point out, Mr. President, that already I have spoken several times on the floor of the Senate in opposition to the very drastic cuts in the appropriations for the western projects made by the House of Representatives. I told my colleagues in the Senate immediately after the cuts were made that they would arouse a considerable amount of critical opposition in the Western States, because the people of the West familiar with the problems involved in these great wealth-creating projects well know that the cuts cannot be justified.

I have listened with close attention from time to time to the comments of some of the spokesmen for the Republican majority in the Congress who have attempted to rationalize the cuts, but I can assure my colleagues that their rationalizations are not acceptable to the West, for the simple reason that the facts will not support their statements.

The matter has reached such serious proportions that I understand the governors of 11 States will appear this week before the subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations having charge

of the Interior Department appropriations, because those governors of States in the West, thoroughly familiar with the problems of the western projects and their vital importance to the economy of the West and of the entire country, know that the cuts which have been made by the House action cannot be justified on the basis of the facts.

Furthermore, Mr. President, I have endeavored to point out, in my discussions heretofore, that these projects are self-liquidating in character, and when appropriations upon which they are dependent are reduced to the extent the House has reduced them, I do not propose to let the Congress forget that they are self-liquidating. The people of the West are being told that one reason for the action taken by the House of Representatives is that the Federal budget is a mixed budget. In my judgment, it is a very unsound budget set-up. I believe that in the Federal budget appropriations for what may be called capital investments, which will produce returns and tax dollars in the future, should be separated from the appropriations for the operating expenditures of the Government.

I called upon the Bureau of the Budget to prepare for me certain material which will enable me to point out in the future how unwise and unsound it is, from a budgetary policy standpoint, for us to mix in the budget of administrative or operating costs of the Government capital investments which result in the creation of new wealth, out of which tax dollars can flow, to the great benefit of the Nation.

I repeat, Mr. President, these are self-liquidating projects about which I am speaking, and I say that in view of the great need for them it is false economy for the Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress to cut these items in such an amount as the House of Representatives has cut them in the appropriation bill.

I know that the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations having charge of the Interior Department bill is going to do its very best to restore the appropriations and make good as much of the loss suffered because of the House cuts as it can. But here again, Mr. President, we must be realists, and I think we can take notice of the fact that once the House cuts appropriations to the degree it has cut them in this instance, it is not to be expected that in conference the Senate conferees, no matter how strongly the Senate votes to restore the appropriations, can succeed in making the final figure equal to the budget estimates and adequate to carry on the absolutely essential work.

I know that my distinguished colleague, the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON] who is a member of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations considering Interior Department appropriations, can be counted upon to see to it that the Senate subcommittee will have placed before it all the available facts justifying the restoration of the full amount that was cut by the House. In fact, the entire Oregon delegation can be counted upon to give

to the senior Senator its unanimous backing to this end.

I intended to occupy the floor of the Senate in order to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and thus make available to every Member of the Senate facts and figures having to do with the great reclamation and power projects of the West. I propose to keep myself in a position where I can at all times say to my party, on behalf of the people of my State, "I gave you the facts in regard to this problem, and the people had the right to expect you to act on the basis of the facts."

Mr. President, the resource development activities of the Department of the Interior are of vital importance to the economy of the entire country and, particularly, to the economic well-being of the West. I have, therefore, studied with great care the report of the House Appropriations Committee on the Interior Department appropriation bill. I have analyzed carefully the debate on the House floor, and have read the editorial comments of our newspapers and columns.

I am convinced from my study of the matter that the subject has been thoroughly confused; that the House Appropriations Committee unwittingly did things which it did not intend to do; that questions were raised in the course of the House debate which were never answered and which, consequently, tend to confuse further the issues involved. Out of this confusion has come an action by the House which drastically curtails the power and reclamation projects of the West; which deprives the country of the urgently needed benefits of the potential resources of the West. What is needed to clear away the mists that shroud Senate consideration of these vital programs is a factual analysis which answers the questions that have been raised and clears up the confusion by which the House did one thing when I suspect it probably in many respects intended to do another.

Inasmuch as the greatest confusion exists with respect to the reclamation and power projects of the West, and it appears that these programs were damaged more than any others by the House action, I shall, for the time being, confine myself to the presentation of what I believe the facts to be with respect to these projects. This is not to deny or slight in any way the vital importance of the mineral exploration, range management, forest management, and other programs which have been adversely affected by the House action.

The following are some of the specific questions which were raised during the House debate and which require definitive answers:

First. It is charged that the Bureau of Reclamation and Bonneville Power Administration have substantial unexpended balances which will carry over into the fiscal year 1948 and that, when added to the moneys appropriated by the House for these programs, these agencies will have as much or more to spend in 1948 than they had in 1947.

Second. It is charged that the freeze order on new construction issued by the President in August 1946 imposed limita-

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

MAY 13, 1947.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. EATON, from the committee of conference, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

[To accompany S. 938]

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following: *That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—*

(1) *by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;*

(2) *by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: Provided, however, That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;*

(3) *by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;*

(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or accounts existing or established for the purpose.

(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to such countries in accounts established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement; the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred

pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this Act; (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities, which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments, under authority of this Act.

SEC. 8. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice

and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe.

And the House agree to the same.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
BARTEL J. JONKMAN,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,

Managers on the Part of the House.

A. H. VANDENBERG,
ARTHUR CAPPER,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
TOM CONNALLY,
WALTER F. GEORGE,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

STATEMENT OF THE MANAGERS ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE

The managers on the part of the House at the conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 938) to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, submit the following statement in explanation of the effect of the action agreed upon by the conferees and recommended in the accompanying conference report:

The House amendment struck out all of the Senate bill after the enacting clause. The committee of conference recommends that the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House, with an amendment which is in the form of a substitute for both the text of the Senate bill and the House amendment, and that the House agree to the same.

The bill agreed to in conference is for the most part the same as the bill passed by the House. Except for minor technical and clerical differences, the differences between the House amendment and the conference agreement are noted below.

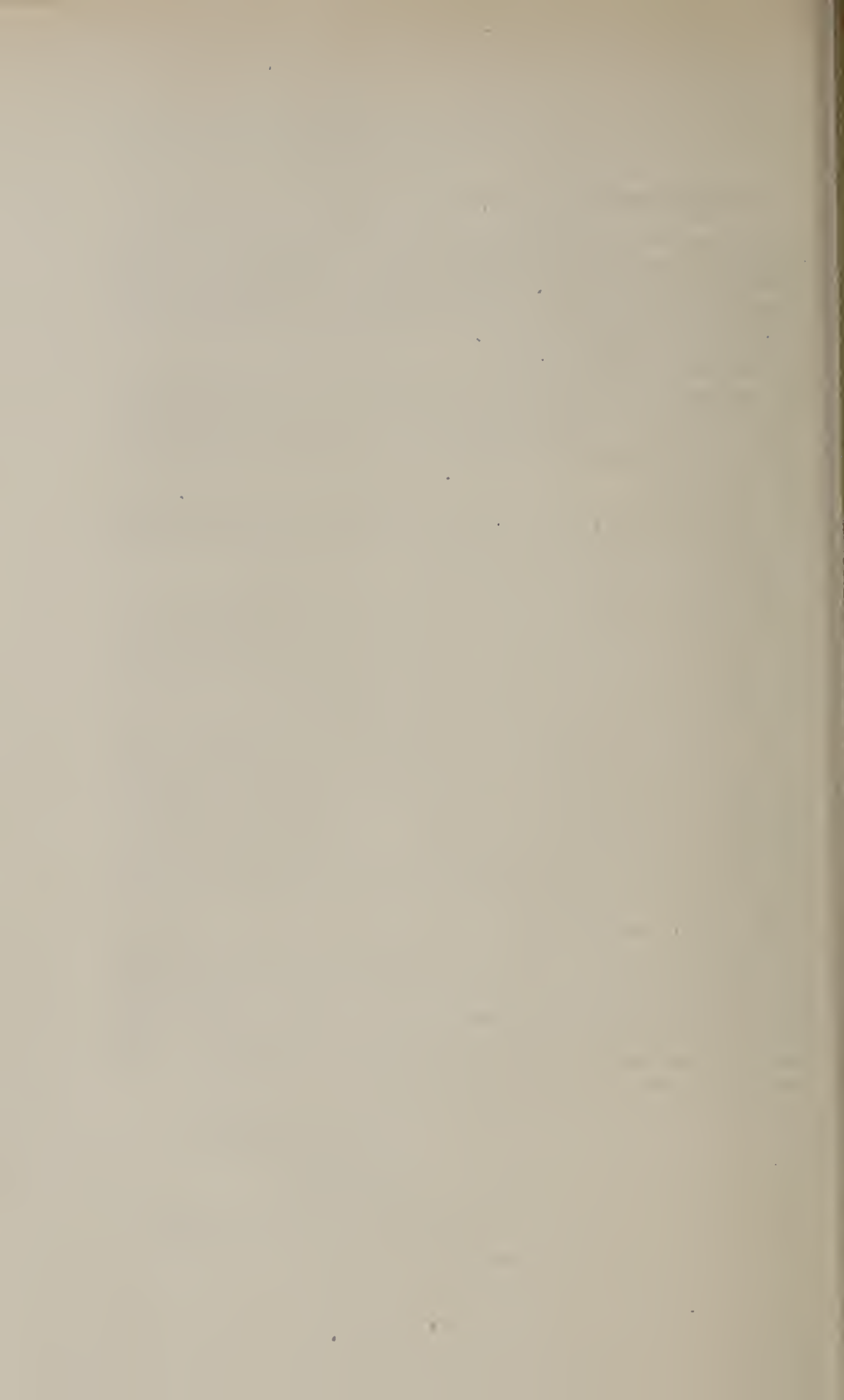
The House amendment contained a provision that no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of the act until such personnel has been approved by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The conference agreement provides that no such assignment shall be made until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The House amendment contained in substance the provision known as the Vandenberg amendment. As passed by the House, the second paragraph of this amendment was not identical with the paragraph as passed by the Senate. The conference agreement includes the language finally adopted by the Senate. The provision requires the President to withdraw aid if the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable.

The bill as passed by the Senate contained a provision requiring that the chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of the act as the President shall prescribe. There was no corresponding provision in the House amendment. The conference agreement includes this provision.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
BARTEL J. JONKMAN,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,

Managers on the Part of the House.



May 15

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE

Division of Legislative Reports
(For Department staff only)

Issued

May 16, 1947

For actions of

May 15, 1947

80th-1st, No. 92

CONTENTS

Adjournment.....	6	Lands.....	10	Research.....	2, 8
Appropriations.....	2, 6, 7	Legislative program.....	6	Small business.....	30
Cotton.....	12	Livestock and meat.....	2	Taxation.....	29
Economy.....	13	Organization, executive.....	14, 23	Territories and pos-	
Flood control.....	11	Patents.....	16	sessions.....	4, 28
Foreign affairs.....	1, 3, 6, 25	Personnel.....	5, 6, 17, 22	Trade, foreign.....	30
Forests and forestry.....	9, 11	Poultry.....	2	Transportation.....	24
Government cafeterias.....	26	Prices, parity.....	15	Veterans' benefits.....	31
Health.....	19	Property, surplus.....	2	War powers.....	18
Housing.....	9, 27	Public works.....	21	Wildlife.....	11, 20
Labor.....	32	Remount service.....	14	Wool.....	6

HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses agreed to conference report on Greek-Turkish aid bill. Senate committee reported 2nd deficiency appropriation bill. Senate debated National Science Foundation bill. House received President's recommendation for increasing limit on certain ARA buildings. Both Houses received President's UNRRA report and recommendation for additional foreign relief. Rep. Halleck said agricultural appropriation bill will not come up next week but that wool bill is to be debated latter part of week.

HOUSE

- FOREIGN RELIEF.** Both Houses agreed to the conference report on S. 938, the Greek-Turkish aid bill (pp. 5489, 5459-60). This bill will now be sent to the President. For its provisions see Digest 90.
- APPROPRIATIONS.** Received from the President proposed provisions relating to 1947 ARA appropriations, as follows: Providing that the limitation on cost of constructing buildings shall not apply to the construction of 4 buildings at the New Iberia Livestock Experiment Station, La., to replace buildings destroyed by windstorm. Increasing from \$30,000 to \$65,000 the limitation on the amount which may be used to construct a building for research on pneumoencephalitis in poultry. To Appropriations Committee. (H. Doc. 253; p. 5533).
Passed with amendments H. R. 3311, the State, Justice, Commerce, and Judiciary appropriation bill (pp. 5489-525).
Received from the President a supplemental appropriation estimate of \$75,000,000 for care and handling of surplus property overseas (H. Doc. 251). To Appropriations Committee. (p. 5533.)
- FOREIGN RELIEF.** Both Houses received the President's report on UNRRA, in which he repeated a recommendation for a \$350,000,000 authorization for foreign relief (H. Doc. 254). To House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. (pp. 5530, 5453.)
- HAWAII.** The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. R. 49, the Hawaii statehood bill (p. 5526).
- PERSONNEL.** The Rules Committee reported without amendment H. Res. 176, authorizing the Post Office and Civil Service Committee to investigate matters within its jurisdiction (pp. 5525-6).

6. ADJOURNED until Mon., May 19 (p. 5532). Majority Leader Halleck announced next week's program as follows: Mon., memorial services; Tues., private calendar; Navy appropriation bill; after Navy bill (probably Thurs. or Fri.), wool bill and resolution authorizing civil-service investigation. Also conference report on foreign-relief bill and labor bill. In response to a question as to when the agricultural appropriation bill will be considered, Rep. Halleck said, "I cannot say when that will come up, but I will say it will not be on the program for next week" (p. 5530.)

SENATE

7. SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL, 1947. The Appropriations Committee reports with amendments this bill, H.R. 3245 (S.Rept. 175) (p. 5454).
8. RESEARCH. Continued debate on S. 526, the National Science Foundation bill, agreeing to the committee amendments (pp. 5460-2, 5464-84). Agreed to vote today on amendments by Sen. Kilgore (W.Va.) and others on mandatory amounts to be distributed to the various States (p. 5483).
9. VETERANS' HOUSING; ACCESS ROADS. S. 1154, as reported (see Digest 39), amends the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946 so as to reduce to \$75,000,000 the authorization for RFC to make premium payments and provide funds for access roads (\$50,000,000 for premium payments and \$25,000,000 for access roads, the latter amount including the \$10,000,000 authorized by S. 800).
10. LANDS. Received from the Hawaii Legislature a resolution urging amendments to the territorial laws changing the rate of interest on land sales (p. 5454).
11. FLOOD CONTROL. Received a Wis. Legislature resolution urging amendments to the act governing the operation of dam pools on the Mississippi River so as to give the same position to agriculture, forestation, wildlife, recreation, and sanitation as is now given to navigation and flood control (p. 5454).
12. COTTON. Sen. Johnston, S.C., inserted a London, Eng., press release noting that a bill banning private importation of cotton and closing the Liverpool Cotton Exchange was passed by Parliament (p. 5458).
13. ECONOMY. Sen. Thye, Minn., inserted a St. Paul Pioneer Press editorial, "Town and Country," comparing the economics of rural and urban communities (pp. 5484-5).

BILLS INTRODUCED

14. REMOUNT SERVICE. H.R. 3484, by Rep. Case, S.Dak., to transfer the Remount Service from the War Department to the Department of Agriculture. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 5533.)
15. PARITY FORMULA. H.R. 3489, by Rep. Hoeven, Iowa, to amend various Federal statutes, having for their purpose to provide a permanent formula for arriving at parity prices for farm commodities; to provide administrative agencies to be responsible for the carrying out of this act and existing laws pertinent thereto; to promote the greatest normal economic exchange of goods and services among the people of the U.S. and with the people of other nations; to protect the people of this country and their property from the recurring evils of world-wide inflation and deflation; and to stabilize the purchasing power of money. To Ways and Means Committee. (p. 5533.)
16. PATENTS. H.R. 3485, by Rep. Hartley, N.J., to provide for the renewal of certain patents which expire during 1947 and 1948. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 5533.)

17. PERSONNEL. H.R. 3480, by Rep. Lane, Mass., to amend the U.S. Employees' Compensation Act so as to increase the maximum and minimum monthly compensation. To Judiciary Committee. (p. 5533.) Remarks of author (p. 5488).
S. 1298, by Sen. Gurney, S. Dak. (by request), to validate payments heretofore made by disbursing officers of the U.S. Government covering cost of shipment of household effects of civilian employees. To Armed Services Committee. (p. 5454.)
18. WAR POWERS. S. 1297, by Sen. Reed, Kans., "to extend certain powers of the President under title III of the Second War Powers Act." To Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. (p. 5454.)
19. HEALTH. S. 1290, by Sen. Saltonstall, Mass., (for himself and others), to provide for the general welfare by enabling the several States to make more adequate provision for the health of school children through the development of school health services for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of physical and mental defects and conditions. To Labor and Public Welfare Committee. (p. 5454.) Remarks of author (pp. 5454-5).
20. WILDLIFE. H.R. 3487, by Rep. Bates, Mass., to abolish the Parker River National Wildlife Refuge in Essex County, Mass., and to authorize and direct the restoration to the former owners of the land comprising such refuge. To Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. (p. 5533.)
21. PUBLIC WORKS. H.R. 3490, by Rep. Muhlenberg, Pa., to enable States and their agencies and political subdivisions to plan for the construction of public works. To Public Works Committee. (p. 5533.)

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

22. PERSONNEL. Extension of remarks of Rep. Blatnik, Minn., in support of his bill to increase, by \$500 per year, salaries of Federal employees (pp. A2443-4).
Extension of remarks of Rep. Douglas, Calif., in support of her bill, H.R. 3285, a bill similar to Rep. Blatnik's (p. A2452).
23. EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION. Sen. Lodge, Mass., inserted George E. Sokolsky's Times-Herald article discussing Sen. Lodge's and Rep. Brown's (Ohio) proposed legislation to provide for reorganization in the executive branch (pp. A2440-1).
24. ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY. Sen. Ellender, La., inserted a Mobile (Ala.) Register editorial opposing this project (p. A2437).
25. FOREIGN RELIEF. Sundry remarks and insertions on aid to Greece and Turkey (pp. A2444, A2451, A2452).

COMMITTEE HEARINGS Released by G.P.O.

26. GOVERNMENT CAFETERIAS. Pursuant to S. Res. 42, Pt. 7. Senate Civil Service Committee.
27. HOUSING. S. 287 and related bills on housing. Senate Banking and Currency Committee.
H.R. 2549, housing and rent control. House Banking and Currency Committee.
28. TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS. H.R. 49 and related bills on statehood for Hawaii. House Public Lands Committee.
29. TAXATION. H.R. 1, individual income tax reduction. Senate Finance Committee.

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30. SMALL BUSINESS; FOREIGN TRADE. S. 414, participation by small business in foreign exports. Senate Banking and Currency Committee.

31. VETERANS' BENEFITS. H.R. 1389, to amend the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944. House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

BILL APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT

32. LABOR. H.R. 2157, the portal-to-portal pay act. Approved May 14 (Public Law 49, 80th Cong.).

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COMMITTEE-HEARINGS ANNOUNCEMENTS for May 16: H. and S. Public Lands, Reclamation Act amendments; S. Appropriations, Interior Department appropriation; H. Agriculture, FPMC-type loans through land banks; H. Armed Services, Export-Contract Act(ex.); H. Education and Labor, Federal aid to education. For May 21: S. Agriculture, interchange of agricultural students and Graduate School's operations and status (Rohrbaugh to testify).

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For supplemental information and copies of legislative material referred to, call Ext. 4654 or send to Room 113 Adm. Arrangements may be made to be kept advised, routinely, of developments on any particular bill.

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even deeply we may be divided on many other matters—until our goal is reached and our hopes are realized.

In our task of reviving the glories and happiness of Europe, her culture, and her prosperity, it can certainly be said that we start at the bottom of her fortunes.

CITES WORLD CONTRIBUTIONS

There is the fairest, most temperate, most fertile area of the globe. The influence and the power of Europe and of Christendom have for centuries shaped and dominated the course of history. The sons and daughters of Europe have gone forth and carried their message to every part of the world. Religion, law, learning, art, science, industry throughout the world all bear in so many lands, under every sky and in every clime, the stamp of European origin and traces of European influence.

But what is Europe now? It is a rubble heap, a charnel house, a breeding ground of pestilence and hate. Ancient nationalistic feuds and modern ideological factions distract and infuriate the unhappy, hungry populations.

Evil teachers urge the paying off of old scores with mathematical precision, and false guides point to unsparing retribution as the path to prosperity.

Is there then to be no respite? Has Europe's mission come to an end? Has she nothing to give to the world but the contagion of the black death? Are her peoples to go on harrying and tormenting one another by war and vengeance until all that invests human life with dignity and comfort has been obliterated?

Are the states of Europe to continue forever to squander the first fruits of their toil upon the erection of new barriers, military fortifications and tariff walls and passport networks against one another?

DEPENDENT ON UNITED STATES

Are we Europeans to become incapable, with all our tropical and colonial dependencies, with all our long created trading connections, with all that modern production and transportation can do, of even averting famine from the mass of our peoples? Are we all, through our poverty and our quarrels, forever to be a burden and a danger to the rest of the world? Do we imagine that we can be carrier forward indefinitely upon the shoulders—broad though they be—of the United States?

The time has come when these questions must be answered. This is the hour of choice and surely the choice is plain. If the peoples of Europe resolve to come together and work together for mutual advantage, to exchange blessings instead of curses, they still have it in their power to sweep away the horrors and miseries which surround them and to allow the streams of freedom, happiness, and abundance to begin again their healing flow.

This is the supreme opportunity, and if it be cast away, no one can predict that it will ever return or what the resulting catastrophe will be.

In my experience of large enterprises it is often a mistake to try to settle everything at once. Far off, on the sky line, we can see the peaks of the delectable mountains. But we cannot tell what lies between us and them.

PERSUASION, NOT ORDERS

We know where we want to go, but we cannot foresee all the stages of the journey or plan our marches as in a military operation. We are not acting in the field of forces, but in the domain of opinion. We cannot give orders. We can only persuade.

We must go forward step by step.

I will, therefore, explain in general terms where we are and what are the first things we have to do. We have now at once to set on foot an organization in Great Britain to promote the cause of United Europe and to give this idea the prominence and vitality necessary for it to lay hold of the minds of

our fellow countrymen to such an extent that it will affect their actions and influence the course of national policy.

We accept, without question, the world supremacy of the United Nations Organization. In the constitution agreed at San Francisco, direct provision is made for regional organizations to be formed. United Europe will form one major regional entity.

This is the United States, with all its dependencies; there is the Soviet Union; there is the British Empire and Commonwealth; and there is Europe, with which Great Britain is profoundly blended. Here are the four main pillars of the world temple of peace. Let us make sure that they will all bear the weight which will be reposed upon them.

It is not for us at this stage to attempt to define or prescribe the structure of constitutions. We ourselves are content to present the idea of united Europe, in which our country will play a decisive part, as a moral, cultural, and spiritual conception to which all can rally without divergence about structure.

It is for the responsible statesmen who have the conduct of affairs in their hands and the power of executive action to shape and fashion the structure. It is for us to lay the foundation, to create the atmosphere and to give the driving impulsion.

First I turn to France. For 40 years I have marched with France. I have shared her joys and sufferings. I rejoice in her reviving national strength. Certainly I will not abandon this long comradeship now.

But we have a proposal to make to France which will give all Frenchmen a cause for serious thought and valiant decision. If European unity is to be made an effective reality before it is too late, the wholehearted efforts, both of France and Britain, will be needed from the outset. They must go forward hand in hand. They must in fact be founder-partners in this movement.

GERMANY CENTRAL PROBLEM

The central and almost the most serious problem which glares upon the Europe of today is the future of Germany. Without a solution of this problem, there can be no united Europe. Except within the framework and against the background of a united Europe, this problem is incapable of solution.

In a continent of divided national states, Germany and her hard-working people will not find means or scope to employ their energies. Economic suffocation will inevitably turn their thoughts to revolt and revenge. Germany will once again become a menace to her neighbors and to the whole world; and the fruits of victory and liberation will be cast away.

But, on the wider stage of a united Europe, German industry and German genius would be able to find constructive and peaceful outlets. Instead of being a center of poverty and a source of danger, the German people would be enabled to bring back prosperity in no small measure, not only to themselves but to the whole continent.

Germany today lies prostrate, famishing among ruins. Obviously no initiative can be expected from her. It is for France and Britain to take the lead. Together they must, in a friendly manner, bring the German race back into the European circle.

No one can say, and we need not attempt to forecast, what will be the future constitution of Germany. Various individual German states are at present being recreated. There are the old states and principalities of the Germany of former days to which the culture of the world owes so much.

END OF RETALIATION SEEN

Without prejudice to any future question of German federation, these individual states might well be invited to take their place in the council of Europe. Thus, in looking back

to happier days, we should hope to mark the end of that long trail of hatred and retaliation which has already led us all, victors and vanquished alike, into the pit of squalor, slaughter and ruin.

The prime duty and opportunity of bringing about this essential reunion belongs to us and to our French friends across the Channel. Strong bonds of affection, mutual confidence, common interest, and similar outlook link France and Britain together.

The treaty of alliance that has lately been signed merely gives formal expression to the community of sentiment that already exists as an indisputable and indestructible fact.

It is true that this task of reconciliation requires on the part of France, who has suffered so cruelly, an act of faith, sublime in character; but it is by this act of faith and by this act of faith alone that France will regain her historic position in the leadership of Europe.

ROLE OF ITALY DISCUSSED

There is also another leading member of our ancient family of nations to be held in mind. There is Italy. Everything that I have said about the imperative need of reaching a reconciliation with the German race and the ending of the fearful quarrels that have ruined them, and almost ruined us, applies in a less difficult degree to the Italian people, who wish to dwell happily and industriously within their beautiful country and who were hurled by a dictator into the hideous struggles of the north.

I am told that this idea of a united Europe makes an intense appeal to Italians who look back across the centuries of confusion and disorder to the glories of the classic age, when a dozen legions were sufficient to preserve peace and law through vast territories and when freemen could travel freely under the sanction of a common citizenship.

We hope to reach again a Europe purged of the slavery of the ancient times in which men will be as proud to say, "I am a European" as once they were to say, "Civis Romanus sum." We hope to see a Europe where men of every country will think so much of being a European as of belonging to their native land, and wherever they go, in this wide domain will truly feel: "Here I am at home." How simple it would all be, and how crowned with glory, if that were to arrive.

BOUNDARIES NOT IN ISSUE

It will next, of course, be asked: "What are the political and physical boundaries of the United Europe you are trying to create? Which countries will be in and which out?"

It is not our task or wish to draw frontier lines, but, rather, to smooth them away. Our aim is to bring about the unity of all nations of all Europe.

We seek to exclude no state whose territory lies in Europe and which assures to its people those fundamental human and personal rights and liberties on which our democratic civilization has been created.

Some countries will feel able to come into our circle sooner, and others later, according to the circumstances in which they are placed. They can all be sure that whenever they are to join, a place and a welcome will be waiting for them at the European council table.

When I first began writing about the United States of Europe some 15 years ago, I wondered whether the United States of America would regard such a development as antagonistic to their interest, or even contrary to their safety.

But all that has passed away. The whole movement of American opinion is favorable to the revival and re-creation of Europe. This is surely not unnatural when we remember how the manhood of the United States has twice in a lifetime been forced to recross the Atlantic Ocean and pour out their treasure as the result of wars originating from ancient European feuds.

SEES AMERICAN BLESSING

One cannot be surprised that they would like to see a peaceful and united Europe taking its place in the foundations of the world organization to which they are devoted. I have no doubt that, far from encountering any opposition or prejudice from the great Republic of the New World, our movement will have their blessing and their aid.

We here in Great Britain have our own self-governing dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. We are joined together by ties of free will which have stood unyielding against all the ups and downs of fortune.

We are the center and summit of a world-wide commonwealth of nations. It is necessary that any policy this island may adopt towards Europe should enjoy the full sympathy and approval of the peoples of the Dominions. Why should we suppose that they will not be with us in this cause? They feel with us that Britain is geographically and historically a part of Europe and that they also have their inheritance in Europe.

If Europe united is to be a living force, Britain will have to play her full part as a member of the European family.

The Dominions also know that their youth, like that of the United States, have twice in living memory traversed the immense ocean spaces to fight and die in wars brought about by European discord in the prevention of which they have been powerless.

We may be sure that the cause of united Europe, in which the mother country must be a prime mover, will in no way be contrary to the sentiments which join us all together with our Dominions in the circle of the British crown.

It is, of course, alleged that all advocacy of the ideal of united Europe is nothing but a maneuver in the game of power politics, and that it is a sinister plot against Soviet Russia. There is no truth in this.

TO PREVENT AGGRESSION

The whole purpose of a united democratic Europe is to give decisive guaranties against aggression. Looking out from the ruins of some of their most famous cities and from amid the cruel devastation of their fairest lands, the Russian people should surely realize how much they stand to gain by the elimination of the causes of war and the fear of war on the European continent.

The creation of a healthy and contented Europe is the first and truest interest of the Soviet Union. We had therefore hoped that all sincere efforts to promote European agreement and stability would receive, as they deserve, the sympathy and support of Russia. Instead, all this beneficent design has been denounced and viewed with suspicion by the Soviet press and radio. We have made no retort, and I do not propose to do so tonight.

But neither could we accept the claim that the veto of a single power, however respected, should bar and prevent a movement necessary to the peace, amity and well-being of so many hundreds of millions of toiling and striving men and women.

We see before our eyes hundreds of millions of humble homes in Europe and islands outside which would be affected by war. Are they never to have a chance to thrive and flourish? Is the honest, faithful bread-winner never to be able to reap the fruits of his labor? Can he never bring up his children in health and joy and with the hopes of better days?

PERILS TO BE ELIMINATED

Can he never be free from the fear of foreign invasion, the crash of the bomb or the shell, the tramp of the hostile patrol or, what is even worse, the knock upon his door of the secret political police to take away the loved one far from the protection of law and justice; when, all the time, by one spontaneous effort of his will, he could wake from all these nightmare horrors and stand forth in his manhood, free in the broad light of day?

The conception of European unity already commands strong sympathy among the leading statesmen in almost all countries. Europe must federate or perish, said the present Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, before the late terrible war; and I have no reason to suppose that he will abandon that prescient declaration at a time when the vindication of his words is at hand.

Of course, we understand that, until public opinion expresses itself more definitely, governments hesitate to take positive action. It is for us to provide the proof of solid popular support, both here and abroad, which will give to the governments of Europe a confidence to go forward and give practical effect to their beliefs.

URGES BROADER VIEWPOINT

We cannot say how long it will be before this stage is reached. We ask, however, that in the meantime His Majesty's government, together with other governments, should approach the various pressing continental problems from a European rather than from a restricted national angle.

In the discussions on the German and Austrian peace settlements, and indeed throughout the whole diplomatic field, the ultimate ideal should be held in view. Every new arrangement that is made should be designed in such a manner as to be capable of later being fitted into the pattern of a United Europe.

I must end where I began, namely, by placing this immense design of Europe within and subordinate to the United Nations Organization. Unless some effective world supergovernment, for the purposes of preventing war, can be set up and begin its reign, the prospects for peace and human progress are dark and doubtful.

But let there be no mistake upon one point. Without a united Europe there is no prospect of world government. It is the urgent and indispensable step toward the realization of that ideal.

EARLIER FAILURE CITED

After the first great war the League of Nations tried to build, without the aid of the United States, an international order upon a weak, divided Europe. Its failure cost us dear.

Today, after the Second World War, Europe is far weaker and still more distracted. One of the four main pillars of the temple of peace lies before us in shattered fragments. It must be assembled and reconstructed before there can be any real progress in building a spacious superstructure of our desires.

If, during the next 5 years, it is found possible to build a world organization of irresistible force and inviolable authority for the purpose of securing peace, there are no limits to the blessings which all men may enjoy and share. Nothing will help forward the building of that world organization so much as unity and stability in a Europe that is conscious of her collective personality and resolved to assume her rightful part in guiding the unfolding destinies of man.

In the ordinary day-to-day affairs of life, men and women expect rewards for successful exertion, and this is often right and reasonable. But those who serve causes as majestic and high as ours need no reward; nor are our aims limited by the span of human life.

If success comes to us soon, we shall be happy. If our purpose is delayed, if we are confronted by obstacles and inertia, we may still be of good cheer, because in a cause, the righteousness of which will be proclaimed by the march of future events and the judgment of happier ages, we shall have done our duty and done our best.

BRITISH COTTON BILL SET FOR KING'S SIGNATURE

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I rise to read into the RECORD a news release from London dated

May 13 and issued by the Associated Press. This item was carried in the New York Herald Tribune of May 14. It reads as follows:

BRITISH COTTON BILL SET FOR KING'S SIGNATURE

LONDON, May 13.—Except for the formality of King George's assent, a bill banning private importation of cotton and closing down the famed Liverpool Cotton Exchange became law tonight.

The bill, already passed by the Commons, was given final passage in the Lords without a vote after Conservative Lord Rea, leading a last futile attack against the measure, declared 80 percent of Britain's cotton spinners opposed it.

I wish to recall for the record that I voted against the British loan because the Senate was unwilling to write in reservations which would require credit balances to be canceled in the event that Great Britain used any of the funds to the detriment of the United States.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE—ADDRESS BY ALF M. LANDON

[Mr. CAPPER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address entitled "The Truman Doctrine," delivered by Hon. Alf M. Landon, before the Optimist Club of Topeka, Kans., on May 9, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT—ARTICLE BY GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

[Mr. LODGE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the record an article relating to a bill introduced by him and Representative Brown of Ohio providing for reorganization of executive branch of the Government, written by George E. Sokolsky, and published in the Washington Times-Herald of May 1, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

THE ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAY—EDITORIAL FROM THE MOBILE REGISTER

[Mr. ELLENDER (for Mr. OVERTON), asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "New Drive To Sink Vast Federal Fund in Part-Time St. Lawrence Waterway," published in the Mobile (Ala.) Register of May 10, 1947, which appears in the Appendix.]

MEETING OF COMMITTEE DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Aviation may be permitted to meet this afternoon during the session of the Senate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, consent is granted.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be absent tomorrow on official business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the leave is granted.

AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY—CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, I submit a conference report, and ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The conference report will be read.

The Chief Clerk read the report, as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 938)

to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows: In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted in the House amendment insert the following:

"That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

"(1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

"(2) by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: *Provided, however,* That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this Act until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

"(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

"(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

"(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

"Sec. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds, or accounts existing or established for the purpose.

"(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to such countries in accounts established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

"(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement, the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or in-

dependent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment thereof shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

"(d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

"(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

"Sec. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this Act; (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

"Sec. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

"(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

"Sec. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

"The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

"(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

"(2) If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

"(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other intergovernmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

"(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

"Sec. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

"Sec. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities, which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments, under authority of this Act.

"Sec. 8. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe."

And the House agree to the same.

A. H. VANDENBERG,
ARTHUR CAPPER,
ALEXANDER WILEY,
TOM CONNALLY,
WALTER F. GEORGE,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

CHARLES A. EATON,
KARL E. MUNDT,
BARTEL J. JONKMAN,
SOL BLOOM,
JOHN KEE,

Managers on the Part of the House.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the conference report?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the report.

Mr. VANDENBERG. Mr. President, this is a unanimous report from the conferees, and I shall make a brief statement respecting it. The report has just been adopted by the House of Representatives.

The bill as it comes from conference is practically in the form in which it was passed by the Senate. The bill passed by the House did not include provision for confirmation of the administrators by the Senate. The conference report does include such a provision.

The bill as it passed the House did not contain the correct version of the so-called Vandenberg amendment respecting the United Nations. The House recedes, and the conference report bill contains the formula contained in the Senate bill.

In addition, the Senate conferees have agreed to the following three additional restrictions put into the bill by the House:

First. Provision for investigations of personnel by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Second. Provision for termination of the act by concurrent resolution of the Congress whenever Congress so wills.

Third. Provision for termination of the act if the President finds any of the requirements of the act not being carried out.

About the only change in the bill as it passed the Senate was the elimination of the so-called Johnson amendment, which provided that, "Nothing in this act shall be construed to imply that the Government of the United States shall be bound to support private agreements made between American oil companies and foreign governments or between American oil companies and nationals of foreign governments."

It was the position of the House conferees and a majority of the Senate conferees that no such agreements can by any stretch of the imagination be considered to exist now or to be in contemplation, and that therefore this particular amendment was unnecessary.

Otherwise, I repeat, the conference bill is practically in the form of the bill passed by the Senate, plus the acceptance by the Senate of the three additional protections as provided in the bill as it passed the House.

Mr. President, I move that the conference report be agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish to express my approval of the conference report. Substantially it contains all the vital matters the Senate bill embraced. While I personally disagree with one provision, to the effect that the act can be terminated by concurrent resolution, which I do not think would be legally effective, I shall not press that matter. I agree to the conference report, and I trust the Senate will adopt it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 526) to promote the progress of science; to advance the natural health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes.

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the pending legislation, if we shall be successful in having it passed by the Senate today, and perhaps passed tomorrow by the House of Representatives, may well be one of the most important pieces of legislation enacted during the present session of Congress. It may be recalled by Members of this body that the proposed legislation is not of recent origin. The subject has been studied for the past two and a half years by many Senators on both sides of the aisle, by many of the scientists of the Nation, and by prominent lay persons and prominent Government officials.

The bill comes to the Senate from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare with a unanimous report. There are some slight differences of opinion regarding certain features of the bill, but the basic principles are agreed upon by practically everyone.

A year ago when the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. KILGORE] and I, together with other Senators, held hearings on the legislation similar to this we interviewed approximately 150 witnesses—I believe 151, to be exact. Those

witnesses, Mr. President, included all the eminent scientists of America, prominent businessmen, Government officials, Cabinet officers, and practically everyone we could think of in high place in the economic and scientific life of America. Of the 151 witnesses, 150 testified in favor of the basic principles of the legislation. Of course, during the testimony suggestions were made by many of the witnesses regarding certain features of the bill. After the hearings were concluded we sat down and tried to frame a bill which would more or less coincide with the ideas of all those prominent people, including Government officials, Cabinet officers, and Members of Congress. We were successful in doing so, and after about 4 days' debate in the early part of last summer the bill passed the Senate by practically unanimous vote. In the closing days of the session it was lost in the House, not because the members of the House committee or Members of the House did not favor the bill as it was written, with minor amendments, but because the pressure of legislative business at the close of the session was such that the House adjourned before it could take action.

Now the new Congress has again taken up the legislation. It was wisely suggested by the distinguished Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] that we hold no further hearings on the matter but that the House committee hold hearings, because last year the House committee did not interview and hear all these witnesses. The House has done so, and I think I can say without fear of misunderstanding the situation, that the House committee is also ready to report a bill somewhat in the form of the pending Senate bill.

Mr. President, yesterday the Senator from New Jersey gave the Senate a very careful résumé of the bill. As I previously pointed out, many other Senators have made a thorough study of the legislation. The only feature which has been added to the legislation is the very vital and important subject of cancer and cancer research in the United States. Personally I am somewhat familiar with that subject and legislation dealing with it, including the new feature placed in the pending bill, because approximately 10 years ago the then distinguished senior Senator from my State, now a member of the circuit court of appeals in San Francisco, former Senator Bone, and I introduced a bill to establish a cancer institute, which now exists in Maryland. That cancer institute has been operating for approximately 20 years with a great deal of success. It might be well to note that of all the appropriations dealt with by the House, the only appropriation which has been voluntarily increased is that made for the cancer institute in Maryland. However, in several discussions held recently, those of us interested in the bill, both in Congress and outside of Congress, have decided that we might well incorporate in the National Science Foundation the broad purposes of cancer research, and not only cancer research, Mr. President, but research into heart disease and, if you please, the common cold, and many other diseases and ailments which reduce the human life span.

Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Michigan said recently during a floor debate, "You cannot drive the scientists into their laboratories"; but, Mr. President, we in Congress can provide a common meeting ground and an adequate facility wherein a free science, both within and without the Government, can come together voluntarily and in the interests of humanity plan a mass attack on those problems of science and medicine which have not yet jelled to our best efforts.

Science, medicine, and their life blood, education, have taxed their existing resources to keep pace with our complex civilization and our expanding frontiers. The individual efforts must continue to be encouraged, but where the problem requires Nation-wide effort and facility, the resources of individual or even group effort are inadequate.

President Roosevelt recognized this in 1939 and 1940 when he created the National Defense Research Committee headed by Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, and later the Office of Scientific Research and Development directed by Dr. Vannevar Bush. I could recite at length the brilliant record of secret weapon development within these agencies from the atomic bomb to the commercial development of DDT and penicillin.

Mr. President, these were wartime agencies operating under wartime conditions to mobilize science for war. When peace was at hand, President Roosevelt in a letter dated November 17, 1944, requested Dr. Bush to report on a program for postwar scientific research. Once again, the Government turned to science for peacetime guidance of our scientific future. Dr. Bush and his colleagues and the eminent scientists of America prepared a report for submission to President Roosevelt. After President Roosevelt's death the report was submitted to President Truman. Copies of it are on the desks of all Senators. The report is well worth reading. The broad and basic principles of the bill are founded upon the report.

Mr. President, I know of no legislation in my experience where the testimony of so many outstanding men in every walk of life were in agreement. Federal aid to basic research and a scholarship program were unanimously recommended by these men in answer to the Government's desire to provide for a postwar scientific program.

We cannot stand by and allow our world scientific leadership to be frittered away. Less than two-thirds of 1 percent of our national income goes into research and only one-third of one-tenth of 1 percent of our national income goes into basic research, I doubt if any business, large or small, can gain or maintain leadership in the future, whether it be domestically or in the world, with so little investment.

Mr. President, Dr. Bush in his report, Science the Endless Frontier, estimated last year that the country needed to have 17,000 more persons trained in the basic sciences. I do not know what the figure is this year, but I suspect that if an estimate were made, it would be even larger.

ANOTHER BRITISH LOAN? NOT WITH MY VOTE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, there is evidently a great deal of propaganda being spilled into this country by the British Information Service, the British Embassy, and other British agencies to whoop up enthusiasm for another British loan—the third British loan.

This money is being asked to support British socialism at home and imperialism abroad. Great Britain is suffering the pains of Empire. She is now paying the penalty for her Empire sins, like the Amritsar massacres, the Black and Tan murders, and Dov Gruner executions. The chickens of her policy of divide and conquer are coming home to roost. For all of this she has the audacity again to ask our help.

Under the second loan agreement, she promised to dissolve the sterling area bloc pool by July 18. She must default on this promise. She owes over \$14,000,000,000 to India, Egypt, Brazil, South Africa, Iraq, Palestine, and so forth. All these countries have refused to scale down her debt. She cannot pay the dollars she owes them. Hence she will default in her promise to dissolve the pool. She deliberately violated the loan agreement when she signed her trade pact with Argentina, whereby she demanded that Argentina purchase her future goods within the sterling area.

She refuses to do away with imperial preference, which is a studied discrimination against our goods in all her far-flung dominions.

With our dollars she supports needlessly over a million men in arms. She said she could not afford to keep 14,000 troops in Greece, but she maintains over 100,000 troops in Palestine. These troops support a police state there and keep the country and its inhabitants in a state of fear and terror.

She will now ask another loan to bail out, to support that police state in Palestine and her Empire dominions in various parts of Africa and Asia.

The British Empire is sick and decadent and dollars will not save her.

ASSISTANCE TO GREECE AND TURKEY

Mr. EATON. Mr. Speaker, I call up the conference report on the bill S. 938, to provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey, and ask unanimous consent that the statement of the managers on the part of the House be read in lieu of the report.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the statement.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of May 13, 1947.)

The conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. The Chair will count. [After counting.] Sixty-two Members are present, not a quorum.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 58]

Auchincloss	Evins	Mansfield, Tex.
Barden	Fellows	Meyer
Bates, Ky.	Flannagan	Miller, Nebr.
Bender	Forand	Mitchell
Bennett, Mich.	Fuller	Morrison
Bland	Gavin	Patman
Blatnik	Gearhart	Pfeifer
Buckley	Gifford	Phillips, Tenn.
Buffett	Gregory	Powell
Bulwinkle	Hall	Rayfield
Butler	Edwin Arthur	Sarbacher
Byrne, N. Y.	Hartley	Scoblick
Case, S. Dak.	Jackson, Calif.	Simpson, Pa.
Clements	Jennings	Somers
Clippinger	Kearns	Sundstrom
D'Alesandro	Keogh	Taylor
Davis, Tenn.	Kirwan	Thomas, N. J.
Devitt	Lesinski	Vinson
Dingell	McDowell	Vursell
Dondero	Macy	West

The SPEAKER. On this roll call, 369 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

STATE, JUSTICE, COMMERCE, AND THE JUDICIARY APPROPRIATION BILL, FISCAL YEAR 1948

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill (H. R. 3311) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce, and the judiciary for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the further consideration of the bill H. R. 3311, with Mr. CURTIS in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The CHAIRMAN. When the Committee rose on yesterday, the Clerk had read down to line 5 on page 46. There was then pending the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY] and the substitute amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BAKEWELL] for the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY].

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, many Members of the House have come to see me this morning and asked me to explain what this amendment does and whether or not it has anything to do with another item in a subsequent page of the bill having to do with Federal airports.

This amendment seeks to restore \$4,849,000 on page 45 under the heading of "Civil Aeronautics Administration", line 18, reading "other agencies serving aviation; \$66,133,000." The amendment seeks to increase that by \$4,849,000 and would restore 130 air control towers in 130 locations plus 19 others in 19 locations over the country. You will find an explanation of that on page 797 of the hearings for the Department of Commerce. The hearings are available at the desk.

This has to do with the operation of the control towers only. It has to do with the restoration of the salaries paid to the operators in those 130 towns, plus 19 towns. It has absolutely nothing to do with the Federal-State airport program, the 7-year program, which we implemented with \$45,000,000 last year. We will come to that portion of the bill later on. This has absolutely nothing to do with the Federal airport program—merely with the operation of the control towers.

Mr. GARY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. GARY. On yesterday my colleague from New York [Mr. ROONEY] read a long list of names of cities that would be affected by the construction program. This particular item has nothing to do with those cities or the airports in those localities whatever. That deals entirely with the construction program, rather than with the operation program.

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman is absolutely correct. I want to further explain that the names of the towns to which this amendment applies are found on page 797, plus the names of the additional 19 towns that have been added.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. ROONEY. May I say that on page 5255 of the RECORD of May 13 will be found a list of the 148 cities which would be affected by the action of the committee in denying funds for the operation of these towers.

Mr. STEFAN. It has nothing to do with any other cities except the operation of the towers in those cities on the pages I mentioned.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. The gentleman is speaking with reference to the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York [Mr. ROONEY]?

Mr. STEFAN. Yes.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. A substitute was offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. BAKEWELL], and includes at least one city at the present time that has been approved, but approved too late to be submitted to the Bureau of the Budget for consideration.

Mr. STEFAN. Your town would also be included in that category, would it not?

Mr. COLE of Missouri. My town is included.

Mr. STEFAN. Your town is paying for its own operations. There are many other towns paying for their own and are satisfied with that. If they cannot get if they do not want others to have it.

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. RIVERS. Is the gentleman going to accept the amendment offered by the gentleman from New York?

Mr. STEFAN. Certainly not.

Mr. RIVERS. I think you would be wise to accept it, because we are going to win anyway.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. If it is the policy of the Government to subsidize control towers at the various airports, why should they not subsidize the railroad signal tower down here at Union Station?

Mr. STEFAN. Certainly.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. The gentleman has no airport in his district?

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Yes, I have; plenty of them.

Mr. RIVERS. In other words, if you cannot have it, you do not want us to have it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN] has expired.

Mr. PRIEST. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Rooney amendment. I do so because I think failure to adopt this amendment would strike a staggering blow at air safety in the United States.

Before I forget the question that was just asked by the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. VAN ZANDT] with reference to railroad signal stops, I should like to ask the same very distinguished gentleman if he favors turning back to local operation and local responsibility the navigation locks on all of the navigable streams in the inland-waterway system. I do not believe any such proposal will be made. I am certain the Congress would not give serious consideration to such proposal if it were made, because it has long been recognized that on the inland-waterway system it is a Federal responsibility to operate those navigation locks.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRIEST. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Inasmuch as the gentleman raised the question, I will say that I am positively opposed to the Government's subsidizing inland waterways. I think the users of the inland waterways should pay for their operation.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRIEST. I yield briefly, but then I should like to proceed to give a brief summary of the situation, if I may.

Mr. BONNER. With regard to the operation of the inland waterways system, the Federal Government recognizes the responsibility of safety at sea. We maintain the Coast Guard, light-house stations, and airplanes to provide safety at sea. It is just as necessary that the Government provide these aids for safety in the air as it is that they provide aids for safety in navigation at sea. It all has but one purpose, the preservation of life.

Mr. PRIEST. I thank the gentleman, and I believe the situations are similar, and that regardless of all other arguments, the big question presented here is that of the safety of our airways and the protection of human lives.

Now, Mr. Chairman, just briefly to review this situation. A year ago the committee recommended the elimination of funds for the maintenance of air traffic

control towers. At that time I offered an amendment to restore approximately \$3,000,000 to the appropriation bill for this operation. That amendment was adopted and the amount was restored for another year. The control towers were operated by CAA personnel from funds furnished by the Federal Government.

Mr. Chairman, I believe that air traffic control towers are the very heart of the Federal-airways system. I believe no one who has made a careful study of the situation will hold any different opinion.

I believe that failure to provide for Federal operation of these control towers would be a very tragic action on the part of the Congress of the United States.

The proposal here is to turn these traffic control towers back to the operation of the municipalities across the country. That is the proposal. In other words, at the beginning of a new fiscal year, and without previous notice whatsoever, at a time when the officials of most of the municipalities have already made their budgets, the Congress says: "You must assume this additional responsibility beginning July 1." Such action will create utter chaos and confusion in the airways of the country.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRIEST. I gladly yield to the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. And coming at a time when city governments throughout the country are having serious fiscal problems of their own, this is a matter of national concern.

Mr. PRIEST. It is indeed a very, very serious problem of national concern, and I thank the gentleman for his very apt observation.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PRIEST. I yield.

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. I wish to concur in the views of the gentleman from Tennessee and to ask this further question: Is it not true that these control tower employees are required to pass examinations and meet CAA standards of competency?

Mr. PRIEST. That is correct. And let me add one statement in that connection. In the report of the committee—and I do not say this with any desire or intention to be critical of the subcommittee or its distinguished chairman—the statement is made that these towers, in the opinion of the committee, should be operated by CAA trained personnel. That, however, is not the requirement of any law, and I do not see how we could say to a particular city in a particular State that it must employ certain persons who have not certain standards. I do not believe we can require that, under any existing law.

Mr. Chairman, as a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I have, along with the other distinguished members of that committee, given a great deal of time and attention to the whole question of air safety. Our committee, acting under direction of the House, has carried on a very extensive investigation of air accidents and safety since the first of the year.

As a result of that investigation and previous study of the subject, I feel very strongly that failure to provide funds for the operation of control towers will endanger the lives of thousands who fly our airways each day, and in effect would mark the beginning of the breaking up of our Federal airways system.

I hope the amendment will be adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Tennessee has expired.

(Mr. PRIEST asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COLE of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kansas?

There was no objection.

[Mr. COLE of Kansas addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of the Rooney amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Chairman, I feel that the committee has made a serious mistake in eliminating all appropriations for the employment of personnel who operate the airport traffic control towers now established throughout the Nation. The committee must realize that if these control towers are closed down, it will prove a real hazard to air travel, and it may well be assumed that air lines will detour all airports not providing control tower service. In this connection I want to make special reference to the situation as it presents itself at the Sioux City Municipal Airport in my congressional district. There have been over 8,000 aircraft movements, that is, landings and takeoffs, on the Sioux City Airport during the month of April this year. The facilities of this airport are also used by the Iowa National Guard for training purposes. At the present time the Iowa National Guard has 35 planes stationed at this airport, 25 of which are P-51's. These planes travel at the rate of about 450 miles per hour and are often in the air at the same time as the smaller and slower planes are aloft. Anyone certainly can realize the great danger involved in such a situation without the use of a traffic control tower. Surely these control towers are just as essential to safe navigation of the airways as lighthouses are to the safe navigation of the searoutes. The continued development of aviation depends greatly on the element of the danger involved.

The elimination of this appropriation will also place on cities the responsibility for financing operations of the airport control towers in all municipalities except the city of Washington. Unless these cities are prepared to finance the operation of the towers by July 1, 1947, the effect may be a virtual paralysis of commercial air transportation. The committee report advocates that the full cost of operating these towers should be defrayed by the cities and municipalities in which the airports are located and who derive the benefit from the airports.

cluding an editorial from the Pittsburgh Catholic entitled "To the Point." This editorial sets forth in clear and explicit language some of the problems confronting the Congress in its proposed labor legislation. It expresses a viewpoint that is entirely logical and sound.

TO THE POINT—REFORM OR WRECK?

(By the Editor)

Is it possible to bring calm thinking and sound reasoning to bear on the country's labor problem, before misunderstanding, selfish propaganda, political considerations, personalities and plain stupidity run the country back into the swamp of social injustice from which it extricated itself with such difficulty? Out of the present confusion a pretty grim prospect is looming. A dozen State legislatures have passed bills outlawing the closed shop and have adopted other measures designed to weaken labor unions; the House of Representatives has voted for a bill embodying just about every proposal which the foes of the working man have been demanding; the Senate is grinding out a companion bill which, though somewhat milder than the House version, is still calculated to render the workers helpless to protect themselves against predatory employers; and while it is predicted that the President will veto so one-sided a measure as Congress seems bent on presenting to him, its advocates confidently predict that they can pass it over his veto.

What's back of all this? The antiunion forces make no secret of their belief that the time has come to strip labor of the protection it has enjoyed under the Wagner Act, the Norris-LaGuardia Act and other legislation adopted to correct the evils of the past. But surely all the legislators who are supporting today's antilabor proposals are not foes of the working man; most of them, indeed, while accepting at face value the smooth propaganda prepared by the National Association of Manufacturers, the Committee for Constitutional Government, the Hearst stable of Adam Smith economists and other spokesmen for laissez-faire reaction, vehemently assert that they are friends of the worker. They say they must back these restrictive bills because the people were enraged by the strikes of the postwar years and demand that labor leaders be curbed; they say they were elected on pledges to do something about these strikes; they cite the Gallup polls as proof that the public wants action; some of them have circulated questionnaires among their constituents and claim that they are merely obeying the will of the majority when they join in the hue and cry which the foes of organized labor are leading.

All very hysterical, and specious, and shot through with false reasoning. The sharp answer to all such defensive pleas is that the first duty of legislators and of every other public official is to serve the public welfare. Gallup polls, questionnaires, the output of propaganda agencies and paid lobbies, even if they form a pile as high as the Rockies, don't create a single principle; they are no part of the American system of constitutional government. No line in the Constitution requires a Congressman to read the Gallup reports, or to take his own polls, or to listen to the spokesmen hired to testify before congressional committees on behalf of antiunion forces. A Congressman is elected to act for the people, and his most solemn duty is to satisfy his own conscience that any vote he casts is in their interest. If he wants to study arguments for and against any proposal, in order to inform himself, he shows that he is wise; but if he accepts the conclusions spelled out for him by those who argue for the current shackle-labor projects, he cannot escape having his sincerity or his power of discernment brought into question.

Yes, the public disliked the strikes which caused widespread inconvenience or hard-

ship. Yes; there was plenty of growling that something should be done about them. The NAM gaily and glibly translates this feeling into a public demand that labor unions be weakened, labor leaders be deprived of power, the workers be stripped of the rights in which they are now protected by the Wagner Act. That is, the NAM sets up, without any proof whatever, the premise that the strikes were caused by the strength of the unions, the power of the union leaders, and the Wagner Act; whereas the strikes originated directly in the killing of price control and the refusal of employers to grant wage increases to meet the jump in the cost of living. The do-something mandate could far more reasonably be interpreted as calling for reestablishment of the OPA; that would be the obvious way to serve the public as a whole and to make strikes unnecessary. To attempt to shackle labor while leaving workers and the rest of the people exposed to exploitation by price profiteering is the rankest sort of injustice.

As to the polls and questionnaires; they are utterly worthless, since they asked stupid and misleading questions. A question suggesting a change in public policy should always state the alternative, and the whole thing can be put thus: "Do you favor depriving labor of the rights it is now guaranteed and thereby returning to the conditions that existed before 1932?" "Do you think strikes are worse than bread lines?" "Which year would you rather see repeated—1946, with all its labor disturbances, its record profits for industry, its high income for workers, and its widespread prosperity, or 1931, with its closed banks, its soup kitchens, its idle millions? The former had strong unions, powerful labor leaders and the Wagner Act; in 1931 there was no labor movement to speak of and no Wagner Act."

The alternatives make only one answer possible. And Congressmen who are reckless enough to vote the country back into pre-Wagner Act conditions can't expect the public to be satisfied with any claims that the NAM and Mr. Gallup told them it would be all right.

THREE-QUARTERS

One must admire the frankness of Senator Taft's admission that the version of the antilabor legislation in the Senate, which he is supporting, represents about three-quarters of the matters "pressed on us very strenuously by employers." But such subservience to special interests cannot be admired.

SIDETRACKED

While Congress is consuming time and rousing bitterness on an ill-advised and totally unnecessary antilabor bill, legislation essential to the national welfare is languishing. This includes the appropriation to carry on some of the relief work abroad, formerly administered by the soon-to-expire UNRRA; the bill extending rent control; the long-range national housing bill (of which Senator Taft is one of the sponsors); the national fair employment practices bill; the Federal aid to education bill. Some of these, it is now apparent, will not get the attention of Congress at this session at all.

A peculiar sense of values seems to prevail.

Increased Compensation for Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to discuss briefly the bill which I

have introduced last week for the purpose of providing additional compensation for employees of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia. I am sure that almost everyone will agree that the wage scales for Federal employees are entirely too low and that a wage adjustment is long overdue.

As you know, the basic law establishing wage and salary scales for Federal workers in the departmental and field services is the Classification Act of 1923. This act set the wage rates for all Federal employees with the exception of: (1) employees in the field service of the Post Office Department whose pay rates are fixed by Congress under separate laws; and (2) per diem workers in the navy yards, arsenals, and other industrial establishments whose pay rates are adjusted from time to time by wage boards or other administrative agencies.

Under the Classification Act of 1923, the median annual salary for Federal employees in 1941 was \$1,620—the salary rate of a grade 3 clerk (CAF-3). The median annual salary for postal employees for the same year was \$1,902. During the war Federal employees, including postal employees, received some wage increases. The Federal Employees Pay Act of 1945 granted a 17-percent increase to Federal employees, and another increase was granted by Congress in 1946. The effect of these two increases brought the median average salary for Federal employees from the prewar level of \$1,620 up to \$2,168 per year. During the same war period, postal workers were granted increases which brought their median average salary up to approximately \$2,700 per year.

Thus the total salary increase for the average Federal employee since prior to the war has been about \$584—a 33.8-percent increase. During the same war-time period, the salary of the average postal worker was increased by about \$800 per year—an increase of 42 percent.

Although such increases appear substantial, they were not sufficient to maintain the real wages of Federal employees against the rising cost of living. Neither did they correspond to the increase in wage levels in industry. I maintain that the Federal and postal employees should be given a wage increase at this time for the following economic reasons:

First. The cost of living has increased by 56 percent since 1939 while the salaries of Federal and postal employees have increased by only 33.8 percent and 42 percent respectively. A salary increase of at least \$500 per year for all Federal and postal employees is necessary to bring wages in line with the increase in the cost of living and thus maintain the real wages and living standards of the employees of the Federal Government.

Second. Federal salaries must be adjusted upward in order to bring Government wage policy into balance with wage policies in industry. During the period that Federal employees were obtaining a 33.8-percent wage increase and the postal employees a 42-percent increase, wages in manufacturing industries were going up by approximately 76 percent. Wage increases in durable goods industries amounted to 61 percent for the same period. Moreover, the wage pattern for industry which is developing indicates

that industrial workers are to realize another 15-percent increase during the next few weeks. Thus it seems that a salary increase for the employees of the Federal Government is necessary to provide equity and justice to the workers in the Federal services.

And third, an increase in Federal wage rates is in keeping with a sound Government program of full employment and prosperity. Let me remind you that business prosperity is dependent upon the maintenance of adequate purchasing power in the hands of the great majority of the people. To permit this volume of purchasing power to fall makes depression inevitable. To combat this danger it becomes mandatory to maintain wage levels to insure the purchasing power necessary to purchase the goods produced by industry. Thus the proposal to raise Federal salaries is based on sound economics, and is part of a policy of full employment and prosperity.

The bill that I have introduced is designed to provide the increase in the salaries of Federal employees by granting a cost-of-living bonus of \$500 per year to all Federal and postal employees. I feel that such an increase is most necessary in the light of the increased cost of living, the wage levels in industry, and the urgent need to maintain real wages and mass purchasing power. In justice to the thousands of people who are making a career of Government service, I feel that this proposal deserves serious consideration by the Congress.

Living in Dreamland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of May 6, 1947:

LIVING IN DREAMLAND

One sure road to a mood of utter discouragement is to pick up a newspaper and read these words from the House Appropriations Committee: "Our forebears planted on this soil the seed of liberty and freedom which, if properly nurtured, should outgrow our boundaries and reach out into the rest of the world, not through a centralized disseminating agency but through the force of its own dynamics."

Having delivered themselves of this, the committee members proceeded to kill the \$31,000,000 appropriation for the State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs. Henceforth, so far as the committee is concerned, there will be no voice to carry the American story to those areas of the world where communism, with its propaganda of lies and distortions, is seeking to discredit and destroy democracy. The field would be left to the hostile philosophy, and if perchance the seed of liberty and freedom should not be able to reach out into the rest of the world through the force of its own dynamics it need expect no help from the Appropriations Committee.

This action has been taken in the face of

an urgent plea in behalf of the program by Secretary of State Marshall and its vigorous indorsement by Lieutenant General Smith, our Ambassador to Russia. The country looks to these men, particularly to General Marshall, to lead us in this struggle with communism which will shape the future of the world. Presumably the country has confidence in General Marshall and his judgment. But the members of the committee, on the basis of an argument which would not carry weight with a school child, deprive him of a tool which he considers essential for the job. And this to save the relatively insignificant sum of \$31,000,000.

These committee members are living in a dream world. If their words can be taken at face value, they are in the grip of an illusion which will lead us straight to disaster. Democracy cannot win this battle with pious hopes or platitudes. It is not enough to wait for some miracle that will get our story out into the world. We should do everything in our power to make certain that it gets there, and this program is one means to that end. The Senate most certainly should restore the necessary funds.

Civil Government in Guam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. NORRIS POULSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. POULSON. Mr. Speaker, under permission to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter by Mr. Richard H. Wells, as printed in the New York Times under date of May 13, 1947, concerning civil government in Guam:

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN GUAM—HEARINGS SAID TO GIVE OPPORTUNITY FOR GUAMANIAN TO PRESENT CASE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Chairman FRED L. CRAWFORD of the Subcommittee on Territorial and Insular Possessions of the House Public Lands Committee has scheduled hearings before his committee on the various bills which have been introduced in Congress with respect to Guam. The hearings will commence probably late this month.

The treaty of peace with Spain, which was entered into by the United States in 1898 and which was the instrument which brought Guam under the American flag, provided that "The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the Territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress." Until July of 1946—some 48 years later—when Representative ROBERT A. GRANT, of Indiana, introduced a bill to make the Guamanians American citizens and to give them some form of democratic self-government, not a single step had been taken by Congress to redeem the obligations which had been assumed by the United States under solemn treaty.

The hearings which have been scheduled by Representative CRAWFORD will provide the first opportunity that the citizens of Guam have had to present their case to Congress and the American people. The committee will examine the merits of H. R. 3044, introduced by Representative GRANT, and H. R. 2753, introduced by Representative NORRIS POULSON, of California. Either bill would remedy the neglect and injustice which the Guamanians have sustained for half a century.

It is to be hoped that the State and Navy Departments will present recommendations

to the committee consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter which specify that "Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of Territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these Territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost * * * the well-being of the inhabitants of those Territories, and, to this end: I, to insure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, and their protection against abuses; second, to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each Territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement."

RICHARD H. WELLS.

NEW YORK, May 12, 1947.

An Open Letter to the President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANCIS CASE

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, under permission granted, I place in the RECORD the following open letter I have written to President Truman:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 10, 1947.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I wish you might have heard the debate in the House of Representatives on the bill to extend aid to Greece and Turkey. The printed RECORD can never convey the intensity of feeling that accompanied the words as Members voiced their deepest convictions about their country and the world picture.

Presiding as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House for the consideration of the bill, I had an unusual opportunity to hear each word spoken during the 4 days and to observe how it was said and how it was received. And because the issues do run to the very existence of our country as a Nation and to the existence of a stable society in the world, I am venturing to write you about it. I do so in the sincere hope that it will prevent any misinterpretation of the rejection of practically all amendments and the very heavy majority on final passage.

1. There was no comfort for communism as a doctrine in the United States. The House froze when one Member (KERSTEN of Wisconsin) told that a group of Communists called on him that last morning to oppose the bill and, in response to his questions, admitted that if the issue arose, they would have to follow Moscow rather than the United States. And, it should be kept in mind that of those who did vote against final passage, many were men who have been most outspoken for years in their opposition to communism.

2. Very, very few spoke of the bill with enthusiasm. Support was reluctant. Argument was not "We like to do this" but rather "We have to do this." The situation was regarded as an accomplished fact. You had spoken to the world. The Senate had acted. At least 75 Members, I judge, would have voted against final passage, myself included, had it not been that we thought it would be like pulling the rug out from under you or Secretary of State Marshall in the post

tions you had taken at Moscow and would of necessity take until settlement is reached of many problems affecting the peace of the world today.

3. Even so, the bill would have had rougher sledding except for two provisions: (1) the condition that the aid to Greece and Turkey be "upon request of their governments" and (2) that the program will be stopped whenever the United Nations says that "the continuance of such assistance is unnecessary or undesirable" with respect to which finding the United States waives its veto power (the so-called Vandenberg amendment).

In other words, the House of Representatives in my opinion does not want to by-pass or weaken the United Nations. We, and the country, are committed to the idea of collective security. We do not want small nations used as pawns in a balance of big powers or even bolstered internally, without their consent. We believe that the only lasting peace rests upon government by consent of the governed.

4. Some members were impressed by the talk about oil reserves in the Middle East. I was not. The Secretary of the Interior tells me that the lignite fields of Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota offer a reserve of 530,000,000,000 barrels of synthetic gasoline as compared with proven reserves of 21,000,000,000 barrels of crude petroleum in the entire United States. (Middle East 13 to 18 billion.) The Bureau of Mines says German processes with brown coals make these reserves competitive with oil at \$1.50 per barrel. Oil shales and waste coals increase this. More research and large-scale production will cut costs. It is clear we can lick our fuel problem a lot cheaper than by policing the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

5. A handful may have supported the measure as a step toward an inevitable war, but many times more opposed it on the ground that it would lead to war. Practically all who spoke on that point either said it would lead to war or was the only alternative. I do not think anyone could have heard the entire debate and have the idea that the Representatives believe the American people are ready for war or want it.

If this program leads to war and devastation and destruction sweep the earth and the seas and the air, as they would from what we call modern weapons, would the despair that followed mean more or less communism in the world? If the United States somehow survived, what would be the condition of our factories, our cities, our homes, our families, our form of government? And if this program leads us into World War III will those who administer it escape responsibility?

That places a very heavy burden upon you, as everyone must realize. The President determines when assistance should be supplied and where and how, under the terms of the act. And that is why I have ventured to write you this background of the passage in the House as I saw it.

6. And finally, may I say that I think the adoption of this program must be regarded as merely a stop-gap. The people of the United States are weary of government by crisis. Every man must realize that no country, ours or any other, is wise enough or rich enough or just plain big enough to run the rest of the world.

We must find a way for nations to live and let live. The bill to aid Greece and Turkey was passed by the House of Representatives, as nearly as I can sum it up, in the hope that it might give you a little help and a little time to get that job on its way.

Men spoke of their convictions during the debate as the result of "prayer at home alone." I think the bill was passed in that mood.

Earnestly and respectfully,

FRANCIS CASE,
Representative in Congress,
Second South Dakota District.

Adequate Funds for Antitrust Division Imperative

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time that I have spoken in opposition to what I consider to be the short-sighted and irresponsible slashing of the budget. Such appropriation cuts which eliminate essential public services beneficial to the people, however, have no relationship to real government economy. Such a "penny-wise and pound-foolish" policy is one of false economy, and is just as detrimental to the national welfare as the reckless squandering of public funds.

In the time I am allotted it is impossible to survey all the items in this appropriation bill (H. R. 3311), and point out the many instances where there has been sacrificed the well-being of the people and the interests of the Nation. I would, however, like to mention a few items in this bill which represent flagrant violations of the principles of sound public finance.

I have noticed that the Appropriations Committee has slashed \$32,500,000 off the Budget Bureau's recommendations regarding the appropriation for the Federal-aid airport program. As my distinguished colleague from New York [Mr. ROONEY] pointed out on Tuesday, the effect of this cut will be felt in every State in the Union, hundreds of Federal airport projects must be discarded. In my State of Minnesota this appropriation reduction will mean that the proposed Federal airport projects at Duluth, Bemidji, Rochester, and Alexandria must be eliminated completely, and the Minneapolis project must be reduced by \$375,000. Such a drastic slash will be a severe blow to our aviation industry and will tend to retard progress in the field of aviation.

Another glaring example of this short-sighted policy is found in the failure of the Appropriations Committee to give adequate funds to the antitrust division of the Department of Justice. It is true that the committee's estimate is only \$100,000 below the recommendations of the Budget Bureau. But it is also true that the antitrust division has always been understaffed and short of funds. Year after year this division has been starved to death for lack of funds, while the task for which it is responsible—the checking of monopolies—has been getting bigger and bigger.

Let me remind the Members of the House that broad changes are taking place in the economic structure of the United States. The economic pattern of our society is changing, and this change is marked by the long-continued trend toward the concentration of economic power in the hands of fewer and larger corporations. This fact is borne out by the report of the Temporary National Economic Committee, and the 1946

report of the Kefauver committee. In this last report entitled "The United States Versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly," the following conclusions are set forth:

First. That 250 great corporations and trusts now hold approximately two-thirds of the Nation's usable manufacturing facilities.

Second. That the 250 largest corporations now have control of 70 percent of the new publicly financed war facilities.

Third. That eight banking houses now control 106 of the 200 largest corporations—the Du Pont, Mellon, and Rockefeller families alone control 11 percent of the 200 largest corporation.

Fourth. That this growth of economic concentration is slowly driving small business enterprises out of business; some 500,000 small businesses folded up during the war, and today there are 160,000 fewer small business units than in 1941.

In other words, the degree of concentration of economic power is fast approaching the point where the control of American economic life will be vested in the hands of a very few industrial giants and trusts. The effect of this monopolization of American industry is far-reaching and detrimental to the public welfare. As the committee report demonstrated:

First. Monopoly has meant high prices. In one case a company reduced the life of lamp bulbs and discouraged testing. Prices fall less in concentrated than in competitive industries. For example, from 1929 to 1932, prices fell only 4 percent on aluminum, a field in which the entire output was controlled by a single company. Prices in the highly competitive lumber industry dropped 36 percent.

Second. Monopoly has suppressed new products and restricted production. For instance, the introduction of fluorescent light bulbs was delayed because they would reduce the consumption of electricity. Similarly, the development of synthetic rubber was blocked before the war.

Third. Monopoly agreements with foreign cartels have interfered with United States trade. The report points a finger directly at three Federal Government agencies for promoting the growth of economic concentration, and indirectly at the Bureau of the Budget for starving the antitrust forces for funds.

The evils of monopoly control, however, are not limited to monopoly pricing, the exploitation of the consumer public, and the restriction of production. The growth of monopoly is a serious threat to our free enterprise system. As the industrial giants grow bigger, the area of business competition becomes smaller. Such competition is a basic principle of our free enterprise system, and to restrict said competition is to undermine the system. Our economic system can stand only so much of this sort of thing. Unless we act vigorously to prevent the great corporations and chain stores from crushing the life out of small business enterprises in Amer-

ica, our competitive system will surely be destroyed.

Yet what is the Government doing to check this trend toward industrial monopoly? The Sherman Act has been on the books since 1890, but only lip-service has been given to it. The law has remained a dead letter most of the time for the simple reason that the Antitrust Division has never had sufficient funds to maintain a staff needed to enforce the law.

On April 1, 1947, the total staff of the Antitrust Division consisted of only 333 persons, of which 143 were functioning as field units. About 190 lawyers are employed along with 20 economists and experts. The remainder of the staff consists of clerical help.

It is obvious that such a small staff is unable to check the growth of industrial monopoly. The Antitrust Division receives, on the average, about 650 written complaints a year. Due to the lack of personnel, only about 50 cases are instituted a year—a ratio of 1 case to 13 complaints. There can be no doubt that there are many well-founded cases among the 600 regarding which no action is taken.

I am convinced that the Congress should be more liberal in making appropriations for the enforcement of the Sherman Act. I might say that during the last 6 years the Division has paid into the Treasury just under half of its own cost of operation in annual fines collected. But this is neither here nor there. In the face of this monopoly threat to our free enterprise system, the cost of enforcement of the Sherman Act is cheap at any price. Let us give the Antitrust Division the funds necessary to do its job and do it well.

East European Nations Desire Ties With West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES R. ROBERTSON

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, writing in the New York Times of Sunday, May 11, throws some light on the involved conditions in the neighboring countries of Russia, and particularly those countries which found themselves under the direct influence of the Russian Government.

There is evidence that these people, despite their geographical location, are kindly disposed toward western Europe and toward some of the philosophies as expressed by the United States.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article written by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger in the Sunday, May 11, New York Times:

EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS DESIRE TIES WITH WEST—CZECHS AND POLES, THOUGH LEFTIST, HOPE TO RESTORE NEEDED TRADE

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

PRAGUE, May 10.—That the United States and the Soviet Union should not be getting

on as well as they ought to be is awkward, nerve-racking, and costly to the hundreds of millions of citizens of those two nations. But it is a positive tragedy to central and eastern European countries which lie along Europe's broken backbone.

These are the lands which traditionally suffer most when the continental equilibrium—and now global equilibrium—is upset. They are almost inevitably the first to be invaded and occupied in times of war. They are the last to be liberated. They can recover—and indeed exist—only in times of harmony. Since no such harmony has yet been established, they are miserable.

Poland and Czechoslovakia typify this unhappy condition. In each of these countries, geographical facts (their position between Russia and Germany) now force them to depend for their security upon Soviet Russia. But their traditions, culture, and trade have always looked westward rather than eastward. Now they are definitely under the Soviet wing and cut off from western Europe by an occupied, disorganized Germany which effectively serves as a barrier to keep them within the Muscovite orbit.

SOVIET RUSSIA UNPOPULAR

Outside of the ranks of the large Communist parties founded in the western Slavic states—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—Soviet Russia is definitely not popular.

One can hear all kinds of sarcastic political jokes muttered in bourgeois Prague or the shattered cafes of Warsaw. For example this from Prague:

Question: "Why do Russian dentists extract teeth through the nose?"

Answer: "Because nobody in the Soviet Union is allowed to open his mouth."

Or this from Warsaw:

Question: "What is the largest country in the world?"

Answer: "Poland. Its western frontier is on the Oder and the Neisse. Its capital is in Moscow. And most of its population is in Siberia."

Whether these people like it or not, geographical facts and great power deals have placed them in a position where it is difficult to see how they could have, at this moment, governments very different from those in office and foreign policies other than those they have adopted. That is not to say that these western Slavic states are exactly similar in a political sense. Such is not the case.

The trend toward Marxist socialism is unmistakable in all these lands, and with it a vastly increased reliance upon the great Slavic socialist mother, Russia. But in Yugoslavia, where tough, independent-minded and politically immature peasants are essentially against any government, the revolution is being beaten into their reluctant brains and bodies.

In Poland, whose history of partitions, shifting frontiers and a prewar medieval, feudal land system made it a special case, the installation of socialism (although it has brought certain definite benefits to the people) is bitterly resented by a population prepared to hate anything Russian. The Catholic clergy's comments on Marxism add a sharp, strong flavor. Firmly as it is at present in the saddle, the Warsaw Government is detested.

CZECH SITUATION

In Czechoslovakia, socialism is coming about in a thoroughly bourgeois way. The Czechs are cast in what might be called a Platonically idealistic middle-class mold. Even the boss of their Communist party looks and talks like the president of a rural agricultural bank. Socialism by evolution and not by revolution seems to be the motto of most politicians in Prague today, all the way from wily little Edouard Benes to the presidium of the Communist Party.

As a result, now that the normal legal system of trial by jury has been restored

and it has been announced that there will be no further nationalizations for a long time to come, Czechoslovakia has more stability and more industrial and economic promise than either of the two other western Slavic lands.

But communism is having its troubles. These are based more on economic factors than on the dislike of governmental ideology which is deeply rooted in the landholding peasants of Poland, Yugoslavia, and Slovakia and the merchants and businessmen of Bohemia. The reason for this is that so far the Soviet Union has little to offer these cousins in the way of trade, and prosperity goes a long way toward swinging political sentiment.

Both Yugoslavia and Poland specialize in the export of raw materials—grain or coal, grapes, meat, etc. Czechoslovakia, with a more industrialized economy, thrives normally on the extensive trade of manufactured goods and special products.

Before the war—even before the advent of nazism—all three economies were linked closely to Germany and to the western nations. For example, only 3 percent of Czechoslovakia's prewar commerce was with Russia.

GERMAN ECONOMY

Now German economy is, of course, smashed. Western lands are wary of investing any money in countries where the nationalization bug is rampant and they are seeking elsewhere for markets.

The Soviet Union, sorely shattered and scarred by the war, needs everything central and eastern Europe can produce for it—either raw materials or finished goods. But so far it has little exchange. The governments of central Europe find they are building up sizable balances in the Soviet Union, but they are not getting anything like what they would want in the form of either of goods or free currency in exchange for their exports eastward.

That this situation will someday change is certain. Not only will the Soviet Union no longer require the same amounts of raw materials when its recovery has advanced—because its own economy produces these—but gradually it will be able to sell more and possibly better goods abroad.

But that will take a long time. What central European economists devoutly hope for is the reestablishment of better diplomatic relations between the East and West so that with a decrease of Occidental mistrust of the "iron curtain" region there will be an increase in markets.

Actually, the term "iron curtain" is a most inept one. In none of eastern Europe's lands is freedom as the Occident knows it so stifled as in the U. S. S. R. itself. The Yugoslav regime is probably roughest on the individual rights of any western Slavic land.

LACK OF CENSORSHIP

Incidentally, in contrast with the U. S. S. R., in none of those three countries is there censorship of foreign correspondents, although one feels an unfriendly reporter would not be permitted to remain forever in Yugoslavia. What, especially in Czechoslovakia and Poland, is hoped may develop when friendlier relationships are eventually established between Washington and Moscow, is a new type of European socialism. It would someday be sufficiently solidified to serve as a political and economic bridge between the strikingly different systems of the American and Russian continental masses—Eurasia being distinct from Europe.

There were many political philosophers before the last war who saw a chance of such a bridge—not a buffer—being created in eastern Europe. But these trends are now dead. The U. S. S. R. vigorously stamped out the independent peasant movement of the Balkans and is operating strongly on what is left of it in Poland.

The device picks up obstacles ahead, to the sides and directly downward, Mr. Hughes explained.

Development work was undertaken by the Hughes company after TWA recently concluded a year's research program on the use of radar in air-transport operations.

During today's tests Mr. Hughes put the *Star of the Adriatic* through all maneuvers suggested by his guests as a test of the ability of the device to locate obstacles. It picked up foothills and mountain peaks within the limits of its range setting, and Mr. Hughes then demonstrated the corrective maneuvers. A bridge and a ship were picked up in flights over water.

Ye Shall Know the Truth About Greece and Turkey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, gradually the American people will be told the truth underlying President Truman's new foreign policy. As part of my remarks, I am including herewith an article by Mr. Philip J. Allen which appeared in the May 14 issue of the *Christian Century*. Mr. Allen served as a chaplain in the recent war and was stationed in the European and Mediterranean areas. He worked in and out of Rome in the Air Transport Command, and his duties required him to visit the airfields at Trapani, Erakleion, Araxes, and Athens. He is now teaching sociology at the University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. Members of the House will, I am sure, be interested to get the very valuable information contained in Mr. Allen's following article:

LET'S GET THE TRUTH ON GREECE

(By Philip J. Allen)

Congress, as I write, is on the point of rushing through its endorsement of President Truman's policy of "containing" Russia by extending aid to Greece and Turkey. The President presented this as a means of dealing with a totally unforeseen crisis. Suddenly, without any warning, Britain had served notice that it would have to pull out of Greece. Just as suddenly, the United States had to decide whether it would move in to keep the Russians out. And just as suddenly, Congress must act to implement that decision. Any disposition Congress may have had to secure more factual information before committing the Nation to a course that may prove disastrous has been swept aside by the demand for speed. This was a bolt out of the blue, and we must counter it by unloosing another lightning bolt.

But was it a bolt out of the blue? Was it a totally unexpected emergency? Or is this entry of the United States into the struggle for control of the eastern end of the Mediterranean something that someone high in authority in this country has been coming for a long time, planned for and worked toward? Has the United States actually been preparing to intervene in Greece ever since the end of the war? And is the pressure now being put on Congress only a method of regularizing and financing a policy which was agreed on and started long ago?

THINGS CONGRESS SHOULD KNOW

Of course, I do not know the answers to such questions. But I have seen enough in Greece with my own eyes to make me ask such questions. And what I know, of my own personal knowledge, suggests certain things that any Congress with an appreciation of its responsibilities should be finding out. I believe that Congress should be asking why new military installations were constructed in this strategic eastern Mediterranean area by the United States Army long after need for them had passed.

Congress should investigate why two American airfields were built on the Greek mainland, at Athens and Araxes, after the war was over. It should find out why another field was built on Crete, at Erakleion, and another on Sicily, at Trapani, after the fighting was over. I am not talking about the laying out of landing strips only, but the erection of concrete structures for permanent living quarters. And I speak of only four of these air bases, although I have heard of others, because these four I personally know were built after the German surrender.

I was in Crete in December 1945, fully 7 months after the war in Europe had ended. The airfield at Erakleion had just been completed, except for the minor finishing touches which were still being applied. A skeleton crew of a captain with a dozen GIs were keeping things going, aided by about a dozen natives. I cannot imagine what military value the field could have had at that time. A cargo plane, C-47, went there from the Athens headquarters twice a week, simply to carry mail and other supplies.

In the same month, both the airfields at Araxes and Athens were in process of completion. United States Army engineers were working frantically to get the job done. By February 1946, the majority of the concrete structures, including a beautiful permanent chapel, were about finished at Athens. Much speculation circulated on the reasons for building such permanent structures at American cost in that foreign country after the war had ended. But questions were discouraged, and the work went on.

WHY WERE AIR BASES BUILT?

The airfield at Trapani, Sicily, was completed late in the fall of 1945. When I last visited there in January 1946, it was being maintained by an officer, a half dozen GIs and a group of natives. Only one plane a week visited Trapani, a C-47 from the Rome headquarters, sent for the purpose of carrying a few parcels of mail and "orders from higher headquarters." The Trapani GIs obtained their food and other supplies from our Navy installation at Palermo, 100 miles away. That airfield at Trapani could not possibly have had any military value at that time. It had even less value than the fields at Araxes or Erakleion. Just why were these airfields built and maintained by the United States Army, after the war had ended?

It may, of course, have been that orders from higher headquarters, issued months or even a year and more earlier, had decreed that such airfields should be constructed, and that those orders were never rescinded, even after the war had ended. It would not be the first time orders had been carried out in the Army long after reason for them had expired. Other factors, too, may have entered the picture. It was charged by some that a number of high-ranking officers in the Air Transport Command were also top civilian air-line officials. We were, therefore, building these airfields for the later benefit of American civilian air lines. The amount of truth in this allegation can be ascertained only by careful investigation.

WAS IT TO BOLSTER STATUS?

Another possibility suggests itself as an explanation for the building of these air-

fields. They may have been needed to enhance somebody's status. It is the commanded who give status to the commanders, and the more of the former, the higher the status of the latter. Hence the never ending cry for more men sent up by commanders to echelons above them. And when more men do arrive, cries are sent up for more material facilities with which to meet the needs of the men in this command and to accomplish the mission.

It is possible, therefore, that the unnecessary construction of military installations overseas after the war ended may be explained partly by the desire of local commanders to entrench themselves or to enhance their status. The status and prestige of the commanders under whom the airfields at Athens, Araxes, Erakleion, and Trapani were built would certainly be enhanced. This would especially be true if upon their completion, the cry for more men to maintain them and accomplish the mission found a responsive ear.

One or more of the above reasons may explain the building of these airfields. But since the President proclaimed his new foreign policy, to start with our rushing to the aid of Greece, I have thought a lot about those postwar airfields that puzzled us who watched their building so much. What relation do these installations have to the containment of Russia? Is it possible that the new policy existed in the minds of persons in high places as early as 1945? It is at least something Congress should look into.

RECENT OIL DEALS

Finally, consider the recent colossal oil deals in the Middle East involving the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Standard Oil of California and the Texas Oil Co. Did the Persian plum offered to Standard Oil of New Jersey and Socony-Vacuum by the British betray a fear that England felt no longer able to ward off the Russian bear unaided? Or could the ripping of oil pipe lines by Jews who charge Britain with favoring Arabs in exchange for Persian oil have been an additional reason why the British Government-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Co. has turned to the United States for badly needed help? All along, Britain seems to have worked on the theory that if she could succeed in attracting American investors, official help would also be forthcoming from this side of the Atlantic. And her calculations appear to have been correct.

Admittedly, private American investments in the Middle East are now heavy. The Arabian American Oil Co. is said to have a quarter of a billion dollars invested in Saudi Arabia. In addition, a huge pipe line, two-and-a-half feet in diameter, spanning a thousand miles of Arabian desert, has been contracted for. The Geneva works of the United States Steel Corp. and the Consolidated Steel Corp. of Los Angeles are to do the pipe-fabricating job.

Exactly how long these recently hatched American oil deals in the Middle East were in process of incubation I do not know. But is it possible that the eastern Mediterranean airfields I have spoken of were constructed by the United States Army after the war was over in full knowledge of the impending oil transactions? Also, is it possible that the airfields were built without the knowledge of Congress? If so, Congress should set out to dig for the facts, for only so can we avoid pursuing a blundering, costly course. What is more important, the American public should be let in on the facts and help decide the course to pursue. For when the die is cast, the policy and course is ours, not the President's, not the oil companies', and certainly not Britain's. We pay the bills. We do the dying. We should know.

Time for Action Is Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DAVID M. POTTS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, May 9, 1947

Mr. POTTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith for inclusion in the Appendix a copy of an editorial in the Brooklyn Tablet of May 3, 1947, with respect to communism. I concur entirely in the thoughts as therein expressed. It follows:

TIME FOR ACTION IS NOW

Amidst the misery of millions of people in the stricken nations of Europe, the Balkans, and Baltic States and the pessimistic outlook for the future, there is one fact that stands out. It is that the world has no hope for peace unless and until Russia withdraws her forces of aggression, her agents striving for the destruction of Christian civilization, and ceases her plottings. Whether it is in Poland, Germany, Austria, Finland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, or Rumania, the cry heard on all sides is: There is no peace, no liberty, no chance for freedom as long as Russia is here. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and eastern Poland have been liquidated by Russia; Greece and Turkey must be protected against Russia; France and Italy are threatened by Russia; China and Korea are in the throes of civil conflict because of Russia's machinations.

In his message delivered Monday evening Secretary of State Marshall stated the Moscow Conference failed because of Russia and in his specific report on the inability to make progress in Austria, Germany, and elsewhere he blamed the Soviet. Two years after the end of the war peace still has not come and millions of people are in a desperate condition because one powerful nation endeavors to promote and maintain chaos in order to bring about communism. The objectives of the war have been almost completely lost.

The time is opportune for the United States to take a consistent, sincere, firm, united stand in its dealings with Russia and with communism, for otherwise not only will we be untrue to civilization and the guarantors of world enslavement, but we will insure more depredations and future warfare. The stand we must take—and it should have been taken years ago—is twofold.

First, we must do everything in our power to prevent the totalitarian Soviet state from enslaving additional nations abroad and we must strive to unite with mankind everywhere to restore liberty to those nations now suffering under the dictatorship of a minority ruled and directed by Russia. This means we should give every possible kind of support to the victimized and should not help in any way the puppet tyrants who were installed by and are directed from Moscow.

Secondly, the time has come for President Truman to translate into action the position he recently announced on Communists in the United States Government. Not only should we spend the money asked to protect Greece and Turkey from Red fascism, but the President must prove his sincerity by banning all material contributions to the Soviet state and by throwing out of office, and refusing to appoint again, the Communists and Communist stooges in the State and other Federal departments and in the employ of the American Government in foreign countries, who owe their first allegiance to Moscow. They have not only hampered

and sabotaged the American program abroad, making our professed war aims ridiculous, but they are actually selling into slavery and slaughter countless Christians whose one crime has been their opposition to the Red dictatorship.

The people of the world, including the United States, have placed their hopes in President Truman. They witness, and in many cases suffer, far worse miseries under the Communists than they did under the Nazis. For this reason they want no treaties, whether in Italy or elsewhere, which will give Stalin or his stooges the opportunity to conquer and destroy nations, but instead they want clear-cut support to those who fight for freedom and national existence. And at home they will insist the President and Congress throw out the Communists in key positions who have abused the authority entrusted to them to further Russian rather than American objectives. The hour is late and the President must act rather than talk.

H. R. 3285

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 8, 1947

Mrs. DOUGLAS. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 3285, providing an immediate \$500-a-year pay increase for all Federal employees, because they need it to regain their prewar levels of income and because our economy needs the support of the market for consumer goods which such an increase will give.

Fairness to the million and a half Federal employees, comprising about 2.5 percent of the Nation's working force, requires such an increase. It is overdue. Federal workers' median salary increased from \$1,620 in January 1941 to \$2,148 in February 1947, an increase of only 33.8 percent, while during the same period the average wage in manufacturing rose from \$1,385 to \$2,433 a year, an increase of 76 percent. The increase in the durable-goods industries for the same period was from \$1,585 to \$2,557, an increase of 61 percent.

The economic squeeze has been particularly severe for Federal workers between January 1946 and March 1947, when the cost of living rose steeply with no salary increase whatever. As against the 33.8 percent increase in Federal salaries, the cost of living has jumped 61 percent since January 1941.

This is too rugged. It is unnecessary and shameful sweating of our civil servants, particularly in view of an expected surplus this year and of private corporation profits after taxes running at the rate of \$17,000,000,000 for the current year. It is out of line with last year's 18.5 cents an hour wage increase pattern in private industry and the present 15-cent-an-hour pattern.

My bill is based on the assumption that it is not in the national interest to force employees out of Federal employment in order to earn a decent living. I assume that these workers perform useful and essential public services. This assumption may seem a little old-fashioned, in

view of the slurs and abuse heaped upon them day after day by some of the Members of Congress.

The flat \$500 increase is admittedly an emergency measure. But it is fairer than a percentage increase which would give most to those who need it least and least to those most in need. Later a careful adjustment of salaries for all grades and classifications can be made.

Federal employees are also consumers and would consume more if they were paid more nearly decent wages. An increase such as this bill proposes would immediately flow almost 100 percent into the market for consumer and durable goods, thereby toning up the faltering demand which is already alarming economists and businessmen who fear the piling up of inventories until they become top-heavy and topple over into a recession.

I know that Federal employees will be advised to wait and make the best of their present salaries until prices and the whole cost of living falls as supply catches up with and passed demand. This is the old NAM line. It will be offered by industrialists whose corporations are piling up record-breaking profits after taxes, and by Members of Congress who recently voted themselves flat salary increases of \$5,000 a year—10 times the amount this bill proposes for the rank and file of Federal employees. The advice simply will not wash.

Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 15, 1947

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a report of the Resolutions Committee of the Sixteenth Annual Encampment of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, Department of Massachusetts, on May 4, 1947, at the Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, Mass. In my opinion this report contains a great deal of information in which we as Members of Congress are interested. I know that the members of this committee, all of whom are highly respected in their various professions, have given much of their time and study to these various problems which affect not only the people of our own United States but peoples of other nations. I feel certain that this report is of such importance that it should be read by each and every Member of Congress from Maine to California.

As we convene we look back upon almost 2 years since the cessation of hostilities in a struggle which gave promise of solution of problems, some inherent and more artificially created by dictators but which in the main have yet to be solved.

Principally among them may be listed:

I. DISPLACED PERSONS

The plight of homeless, stateless persons of all creeds to whom the end of hostilities

[PUBLIC LAW 75—80TH CONGRESS]

[CHAPTER 81—1ST SESSION]

[S. 938]

AN ACT

To provide for assistance to Greece and Turkey.

Whereas the Governments of Greece and Turkey have sought from the Government of the United States immediate financial and other assistance which is necessary for the maintenance of their national integrity and their survival as free nations; and

Whereas the national integrity and survival of these nations are of importance to the security of the United States and of all freedom-loving peoples and depend upon the receipt at this time of assistance; and

Whereas the Security Council of the United Nations has recognized the seriousness of the unsettled conditions prevailing on the border between Greece on the one hand and Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia on the other, and, if the present emergency is met, may subsequently assume full responsibility for this phase of the problem as a result of the investigation which its commission is currently conducting; and

Whereas the Food and Agriculture Organization mission for Greece recognized the necessity that Greece receive financial and economic assistance and recommended that Greece request such assistance from the appropriate agencies of the United Nations and from the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom; and

Whereas the United Nations is not now in a position to furnish to Greece and Turkey the financial and economic assistance which is immediately required; and

Whereas the furnishing of such assistance to Greece and Turkey by the United States will contribute to the freedom and independence of all members of the United Nations in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter: Now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the President may from time to time when he deems it in the interest of the United States furnish assistance to Greece and Turkey, upon request of their governments, and upon terms and conditions determined by him—

(1) by rendering financial aid in the form of loans, credits, grants, or otherwise, to those countries;

(2) by detailing to assist those countries any persons in the employ of the Government of the United States; and the provisions of the Act of May 25, 1938 (52 Stat. 442), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph: *Provided, however,* That no civilian personnel shall be assigned to Greece or Turkey to administer the purposes of this

Act until such personnel have been investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

(3) by detailing a limited number of members of the military services of the United States to assist those countries, in an advisory capacity only; and the provisions of the Act of May 19, 1926 (44 Stat. 565), as amended, applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to such Act, as amended, shall be applicable to personnel detailed pursuant to this paragraph;

(4) by providing for (A) the transfer to, and the procurement for by manufacture or otherwise and the transfer to, those countries of any articles, services, and information, and (B) the instruction and training of personnel of those countries; and

(5) by incurring and defraying necessary expenses, including administrative expenses and expenses for compensation of personnel, in connection with the carrying out of the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 2. (a) Sums from advances by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) and from the appropriations made under authority of section 4 (b) may be allocated for any of the purposes of this Act to any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government. Any amount so allocated shall be available as advancement or reimbursement, and shall be credited, at the option of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, to appropriate appropriations, funds or accounts existing or established for the purpose.

(b) Whenever the President requires payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey for assistance to be furnished to such countries in accordance with this Act, such payments when made shall be credited to such countries in accounts established for the purpose. Sums from such accounts shall be allocated to the departments, agencies, or independent establishments of the Government which furnish the assistance for which payment is received, in the same manner, and shall be available and credited in the same manner, as allocations made under subsection (a) of this section. Any portion of such allocation not used as reimbursement shall remain available until expended.

(c) Whenever any portion of an allocation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) is used as reimbursement, the amount of reimbursement shall be available for entering into contracts and other uses during the fiscal year in which the reimbursement is received and the ensuing fiscal year. Where the head of any department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government determines that replacement of any article transferred pursuant to paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 is not necessary, any funds received in payment therefor shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(d) (1) Payment in advance by the Government of Greece or of Turkey shall be required by the President for any articles or services furnished to such country under paragraph (4) (A) of section 1 if they are not paid for from funds advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under section 4 (a) or from funds appropriated under authority of section 4 (b).

(2) No department, agency, or independent establishment of the Government shall furnish any articles or services under paragraph

(4) (A) of section 1 to either Greece or Turkey, unless it receives advancements or reimbursements therefor out of allocations under subsection (a) or (b) of this section.

SEC. 3. As a condition precedent to the receipt of any assistance pursuant to this Act, the government requesting such assistance shall agree (a) to permit free access of United States Government officials for the purpose of observing whether such assistance is utilized effectively and in accordance with the undertakings of the recipient government; (b) to permit representatives of the press and radio of the United States to observe freely and to report fully regarding the utilization of such assistance; (c) not to transfer, without the consent of the President of the United States, title to or possession of any article or information transferred pursuant to this Act nor to permit, without such consent, the use of any such article or the use or disclosure of any such information by or to anyone not an officer, employee, or agent of the recipient government; (d) to make such provisions as may be required by the President of the United States for the security of any article, service, or information received pursuant to this Act; (e) not to use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit, grant, or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this Act for the making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to such government by any other foreign government; and (f) to give full and continuous publicity within such country as to the purpose, source, character, scope, amounts, and progress of United States economic assistance carried on therein pursuant to this Act.

SEC. 4. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other law, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed, until such time as an appropriation shall be made pursuant to subsection (b) of this section, to make advances, not to exceed in the aggregate \$100,000,000, to carry out the provisions of this Act, in such manner and in such amounts as the President shall determine.

(b) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the President not to exceed \$400,000,000 to carry out the provisions of this Act. From appropriations made under this authority there shall be repaid to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation the advances made by it under subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 5. The President may from time to time prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary and proper to carry out any of the provisions of this Act; and he may exercise any power or authority conferred upon him pursuant to this Act through such department, agency, independent establishment, or officer of the Government as he shall direct.

The President is directed to withdraw any or all aid authorized herein under any of the following circumstances:

(1) If requested by the Government of Greece or Turkey, respectively, representing a majority of the people of either such nation;

(2) If the Security Council finds (with respect to which finding the United States waives the exercise of any veto) or the General Assembly finds that action taken or assistance furnished by the United Nations makes the continuance of such assistance unnecessary or undesirable;

(3) If the President finds that any purposes of the Act have been substantially accomplished by the action of any other inter-governmental organizations or finds that the purposes of the Act are incapable of satisfactory accomplishment; and

(4) If the President finds that any of the assurances given pursuant to section 3 are not being carried out.

SEC. 6. Assistance to any country under this Act may, unless sooner terminated by the President, be terminated by concurrent resolution by the two Houses of the Congress.

SEC. 7. The President shall submit to the Congress quarterly reports of expenditures and activities, which shall include uses of funds by the recipient governments, under authority of this Act.

SEC. 8. The chief of any mission to any country receiving assistance under this Act shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall perform such functions relating to the administration of this Act as the President shall prescribe.

Approved May 22, 1947.